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NOTES

America's War Guilt

a condemning the actions of a Western
Asians have to be particularly careful
accusations of prejudice; partisanship
Western feelings. If one could
quote passages from the pages of
journals to prove one's case against
nation, that would certainly be
achieving one's purpose. About
inhuman conduct in Vietnam, one
all one's condemning facts and argu-
the pages of the British weekly New
which said, "Mr. Michael Stewart
the British government does not
atrocities. But this is precisely
s been doing ever since America
solved in Vietnam. For the meth
his war has been waged
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past of all the British
sources inform
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steel pellet canisters; of gas in let
of helicopter gun-ships again
herbicides and other poisons ag
countryside all these are of
tted policy, against which
has uttered not one syllab
Americans have assisted,
or spectators, in the
that they have gunned
and witnessed the
cold blood is a m
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excuse by saying, "They also did things like that". For no civilised human beings can imitate the conduct of snakes, hyenas and leopards for the reason that those creatures follow their base instincts and bite helpless blind persons, eat up little babies and kill for the sheer joy of killing. Another contributor in the above quoted British journal finds a scientific reason for the behaviour of some American soldiers in Vietnam. "Civilisation is a frail thing". He says. "It is so hard to construct a pattern of behaviour which our more barbarous instincts are subdued, so easy to unleash them again. The lesson of Hitlerism is not that the Germans are evil but that even the most civilised societies can revert so rapidly and easily to barbarism. The Germans were highly educated people on earth; they were the most self-disciplined and capable of the highest reaches of philosophy and science; profoundly religious and law-abiding—originators, of a system of law which we, and the Americans, have inherited. Their behaviour was profoundly frightful. We should recognise that the Germans could, and were, equally sophisticated

as an unprecedented evil. It is a case of genuine evil.....the indigenous

ground like what he has described. Americans may be expected to be brutal and senselessly barbarous at times. They may not however, give a reason for the slaughter of villagers; men, women, boys, girls, infants, by the Vietcong, who did not have a background of genocidal excesses like that of the Americans. In fact, all nations are capable of acting in a barbarous manner if they are not deterred from so doing. The British acted mercilessly in India after the Sepoy Mutiny. They chopped off the fingers of Indians with a view to help Manchester. They also tortured political prisoners, put them in infected cells, and shot hundreds of men, women and children at Jaliwanwalla Bagh. We suppose that American soldiers too had not always acted so brutally and ethically and in the best tradition of Western culture. Some races have eaten their prisoners of War, others have burnt their unbelievers at the stake. Christians have been fed to wild animals—we cannot stop endlessly giving a comprehensive list of atrocities committed by human beings. It will serve no useful purpose; for the reasons that these crimes are not true facts of Marxism not of Democratic Ideology. The Vietnam War began because some human communities wanted all to accept their communism as a political system and some wanted non-Communism to prevail in South Vietnam. The Americans helped the latter and eventually, became fully involved. The Russians and the Chinese helped the Vietnamese from behind. They were actually taking part in the guilt of the War in the destruction of nations in various ways.

result of individual criminality and are not justified to a limited extent by the actions of some criminals. But the war, as such, is an atrocity of wider dimensions. Those who use wars and thereby create great suffering to humanity are guilty persons; no matter what ideology they recite or sponsor.

We must try to bring others to accept your political ideology or social institution. Evil and should be stopped when it begins. We have seen some of this kind of propagation of ideals. These must be stopped right now. We may have a Vietnam in India and the soldiers of other nations, men, women and children in Democracy or Communism.

by the Vietnamese Fight

Vietnam is now divided into two states, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. This is the same South-East Asia has been the home of many races of people who have been free and have always fought for freedom. Two thousand years ago North Vietnam (then called Nam) was under the domination of the Han of China. In the Tenth Century the Vietnamese managed to become independent, but they acknowledged a loose sort of suzerainty from time to time. Vietnam was divided up into several regions which were conquered at different periods. The regions of Annam, Cambodia, Champa, Tonkin, China, Laos etc were found. The French tried to dominate this region from the 16th Century to the end of the 19th century and the French language was introduced freely in this area. During the Second World War the Japanese occupied the territories of Vietnam and when they were defeated, the Vietnamese reorganised themselves into different states among which the communist state of North Vietnam.

The other important state was a kingdom in South Vietnam which overthrew its king and became a republic. After this the Communists wanted to convert that Republic to a Communist state and the people of the Republic resisted the efforts made by the North Vietnamese to establish their type of totalitarian government over South Vietnam. The two Vietnamese States are similar in size, population, education, economic development, military strength and in many other respects. There are no particular historical, cultural or other reasons for which the two Vietnams should of necessity combine to form one state. Chances are that such a combination will not be stable and the two will split up again if they combined.

Although there are more than a hundred thousand North Vietnamese soldiers at "the front" and many more South Vietnamese and Americans facing them; much of the "fight" is carried on by guerillas, fifth columnists, peasants, workers, students and plain clothes adherents of the two political groups of Vietnamese. The fight is carried on by terrorism, assassinations, arson loot and attacks on civilians of the most ruthless and inhuman type. Very large numbers of villagers are involved in these fights and their minor children and womenfolk take an active part in the fight. Attacks on villages and the destruction of the property of village dwellers, accompanied by mass killings have become quite common in the two states. Bombing and shelling also affect the village people more than the organised soldiers of the two groups. The war in Vietnam, therefore is largely carried on by civilians of both sexes and all ages and the soldiers also attack civilians of every description in a savage and barbarous manner which the civilised world looks upon with horror and utter disgust. They feel that this war has degraded humanity to the level of beasts. No political ideology, however superior from the

moral intellectual or economic point of view, would be worth establishing by the slaughter of toddling infants, boys and girls and non-combattant men and women. And that is what is happening in Vietnam for the establishment of Democracy or Communism. The Americans are very much concerned about this moral degeneration that has set in among their soldiers. It is the Americans who published all facts relating to mass murders carried out by U. S. troops. We have not come across any confessions from the Communists so far but we are sure the Communists also disfavour these base crimes against humanity which their soldiers and guerillas commit. The wars in which men descend to low bestial savagery should be stopped by international effort, as a part of the world's endeavour to establish human rights wherever men live in organised communities.

Organised Anti-Socialism

We hear a great deal about socialism now a days. The persons who talk about socialism at all hours have also discovered certain very easy methods of converting an individualistic, acquisitive and exploitation prone community into a society of self-less persons who render service to others without ever trying to make any personal profit. Persons who have the correct socialistic outlook, give as much as they can and take only what other fellowmen willingly give. There is no attempt to grab, to hoodwink or to cheat, to put any pressure of any kind on any one in order to get some thing extra out of him. In true socialism there is no stealing, no robbery, no food adulteration, no watering of milk—in short no anti-social activities of any kind by persons, who put their own gains above everybody else's rights or human necessities. In fact much of what one finds to condemn in human society arises out of the selfish man's anti-socialism rather than

from any basic faults of any kind in socialisation. Where men are moral and scrupulously follow the teachings of the prophets and saints, even monarchial capitalism have not harmed the weak, the unqualified and those who lack personal or powerful friends. It is the individual's immoral desire to acquire what is not right and his insatiable ego; that causes human beings to suffer from want, exploitation and pain. All injustices, unfair practices, persecutions, denial of rights are the result of immoral desire to acquire unfairly what rightfully belongs to others. Just as socialism is prescribed by the wishers of humanity as a cure for human suffering and lack of social security, so do all who recommend the removal of anti-socialism found in immoral and criminally selfish men and women. If one were to weigh the relative advantages of introducing socialism and removing anti-socialism, the latter will be adjudged as being more potent and more efficacious than the former.

In India there are too many persons who have no social sense of right and wrong. They go by their own personal chances of gain, no matter what sort of social organisation is set up, these immoral types will soon find a way to make improper use of the new systems. If banks are nationalised, it will not prevent misuse of power. It will not guarantee any granting of equal facilities or opportunities to all persons. Favouritism and unfair deals will continue.

People who are anti-social and are engaged in unfair practices quite often combine and work together in order to be more powerful and efficient in achieving their illicit aims. Edmund Burke exhorted all who wish to do good to organise and to work together. He said "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." In India, if good men wish to stop

ould lose no time in organising to act jointly. It is already quite late; but there may be still some hope for the godly to defend themselves from the onslaughts made by the ungodly. It is not merely a great danger for the good, the just and the clean minded members of society; but it is a scourge that will eventually destroy the nation. To quote Burke again, "Corrupt influence, which is itself the perennial spring of all disorder; which loads us, more than millions of debt; which takes away vigour from our arms, wisdom from our councils and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our constitution." Corrupt influence is rampant in India. Large numbers of unscrupulous self-seekers have planted themselves in strategic positions watching for opportunities to carry out their evil designs. People who are not of their mentality vastly outnumber them; but, where the bad men are organised, the good have no unity, nor the ability to act collectively. If only the good could combine and act the evil doers will soon vanish from the scene of their anti-social activities. But will the good take the trouble to organise? The bad men are looking for profit; so they combine in order to gain collectively. The good men have no ideas of gaining anything; so they devote themselves to the little things of life and ignore larger issues. Some one must make them feel that they are not doing their duty to the nation by remaining disorganised. They may then change their attitude and outlook.

Towards Socialism

There are two ways of looking at socialism. One is to declare that we shall organise the country in a socialistic manner, come what may and without considering its consequences. We shall accept socialism as our mode of economic development unconditionally and absolutely. The other way is to build up a socialistic type of economic institu-

tions with a view to achieving greater productivity, greater equality and to reduce exploitation and national waste of resources. If, in the second case, we find that private enterprise will give us greater productivity; greater and more equitable earnings for the workers, less exploitation of the workers and the suppliers of raw materials, and fuller utilisation of national resources; we shall then stick to private enterprise. In other words, there shall be no total surrender to socialism as a matter of principle by the people without considering its usefulness and effects.

In India industries of various kinds perhaps employ less than 2% of the population. The total capital used by these productive units perhaps does not exceed 10,000 crores of rupees. In other types of productive work, such as, agriculture, transport, trade and finance, service, fishery, animal husbandry etc. India employs at least 25% of her population and the capital employed viz in the shape of land, trees, rivers, lakes, reservoirs, road, railways etc. will also be greater than the industrial capital by 10 or 15 times. So, when we go in for socialistic efforts for achieving an economic objective we should do well to discover in advance the benefits accruing to society by our efforts. For instance when we desire to nationalise this industry or that institution, we should see what benefits will come of such arrangements. If there are no clear indications that nationalisation will increase gross productivity as well as the share of workers in the value produced, better utilisation of resources and other incidental gains to the nation at large; nationalisation will merely mean changing over from private to state capitalism. It might even mean a fall in productivity, increased costs (not due to higher wages) and loss through mismanagement and waste. As a matter of fact nationalisation quite often does not bring any gains to society; but

merely puts more power in the hands of the bureaucracy and enable the political leaders to distribute largesse to their camp followers. As far as we can judge nationalisation of any or all the industries of India cannot abolish poverty nor create greater employment or improved terms and conditions of service for the workers. Private enterprise has been of great use in the growth of the gross national product of India, as well as in capital growth and the establishment of a higher standard of living for the working classes. Workers who are employed in organised industry earn much more than workers employed by the state or in agriculture, fishing, animal husbandry and similar occupations. There is another aspect of private enterprise. Profits usually accumulate and increase the capital resources of the country. State managed enterprises usually mean establishments which run at a loss. For bureaucrats are seldom efficient in organising industry or in managing them scientifically and profitably. Nationalisation, therefore, of industries or other economic establishments, may not lead to increased social well being, nor to any progress in the spheres of production, employment, improved standard of living and capital formation. To make a fetish of social ownership of the means of production cannot necessarily play a vital part in the removal of poverty from India. For India's poverty cannot be removed by a more equitable sharing of that poverty. Rather if all persons got an equal share of our meagre total national product that will merely help to lower the standard of living of some Indians, who now produce and consume more than the nation's average per capital product and income.

The only way to remove our poverty is to put all able bodied Indians to productive work of a kind which will increase the quantity of saleable goods in the Indian market and our exports. It is only by improving and creating

wider variety in our standard of consumption that we can really assure ourselves of stable employment for our unemployed and partly employed millions. When that is done and greater purchasing power is put in the hands of our workers who will utilise that for buying and consuming more of a greater variety of goods that they themselves will produce; then India's poverty will begin to become less day by day.

Going through the list of goods that we import and which means goods that we have a ready market for, we find certain items which can be safely taken up for a production program. These items can be produced by nationalised or private enterprise or by both. The items are as follows and the figures in brackets show the value of the goods imported in 10 months in the year 1966-67 in 1000 rupees. Milk and cream (incl. dried.) Rs. 10,02,28, chemical wood pulp Rs. 2,13,37, coal tar dye stuff and indigo Rs. 3, 52, 99, Newsprint Rs. 10,74,79, Iron and steel various Rs. 34, 60, 82, Wire rods wire Rs. 20, 30,95, steel tubes and fittings Rs. 12, 68, 44, copper and alloys Rs. 35, 90, 09, Machine tools and metal working machinery Rs. 41, 24, 99, textile machinery Rs. 26,72,15. Other things which will find ready buyers will be food articles like wheat, rice, fish, eggs, poultry fruits, vegetables, small houses built for sale on instalments, Furniture for sale on instalments and other articles popularly preferred also for sale on instalments. If arranged these may be found readily acceptable to the people.

Congress, Congress and Congress

The Congress has been long associated with the freedom movement of India. The people during the British Imperial rule over their motherland resented British domination, British persecution of Indians and British assertion of racial superiority.

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business and trade was deliberately destroyed by the imperial overlords for the advantage of their own traders and producers. Most ordinary Britishers were put above highly qualified Indians purely on the ground of their alleged racial qualities. Indians found it very difficult to express their opinions freely or even to get British criminals tried and punished by Indian courts. In the Indian Army, though the rank and file of Indian soldiers fought for their British masters loyally and courageously and helped them to build an empire; Indian officers were kept separately and at a lower level, and the British officers held Kings Commission which was denied to the Indians. All these and many more acts of injustice, unfair practice and gross breach of ethical and human rules of conduct made British rule in India hated by the people of India. When we obtained independence in 1947 we had already a long history of political struggle behind us with hundreds of martyrs and thousands of sufferers recorded in it. There were freedom fighters in it who shed their blood for the freedom of the motherland and there were others, much bigger in numbers, who fought by resistance, boycott of British goods, and a positive and constructive development of national institutions. The fight that was carried on by use of arms, was begun by the soldiers who defied the British rulers in 1857; by various groups in many parts of India who rebelled from time to time; by the terrorists of Punjab, Maharastra and Bengal who carried on an armed struggle over long years and, at times, made spectacular coups, as, at Chittagong; and lastly, by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army which invaded India during the S. W. W. The unarmed struggle was mainly carried on by the Indian National Congress led by various leaders in the beginning and, lastly, by Mahatma Gandhi and his able assistants. In the beginning the Congress did not always

remain fully united and we found Moderate Extremists and other groups adopting a Left Right or Middle path at times. But nothing like what has happened during recent years ever happened before. The first group to break away now was the Bangla Congress led by Sri Ajoy Mukherjee. Then followed the Syndicate group led by Nijalingappa and Morarji Desai which broke away from the Indira Gandhi and Jogjivan Ram group now in power over the Central Government at New Delhi. So we have three Congress groups now which are working hard to become the major group in the States or at the Centre. They are followers of socialistic ideals; by which they understand institutional types of ownership of economic establishments rather than any ethical outlook directing human conduct in the socio-economic sphere. In the old days Indian patriots fought for liberty, equality and fraternity after the ideals sponsored by the revolutionists of France of 1789. They tried also to build up national industries and in this work, they quite often found private enterprise more effective than collective effort which were quite rare. Many great Indian patriots devoted their entire fortunes to development of national industries and large numbers of patriotic Indians gave money developing industries, insurance companies, banks and commercial establishments of national character. Many Maharajahs gave money freely to develop the national economy. Lawyers, doctors, engineers, serf holders as well as trades people helped in patriotic endeavour quite whole heartedly. The ideals of social justice and fairplay remained in the forefront of the economic outlook of these nationalists. Quite often, we found some of them organising the labour force employed by British traders, planters and industrialists. The British had in those days found a good substitute for the African slave trade in the indentured labour system organ

by them by exporting Indian workers to their colonies. This was abolished by the efforts of many great Indians and a highly morally conscious son of Britain, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews.

The idea that collective or social ownership of economic establishments is a necessary and fundamental part of human progress is a new idea brought into Indian nationalism by Pandit Nehru, who liked to think as the Russians and the Chinese thought without accepting fully the social-economic system set up by the Communists. That national ownership of the means of production and distribution did not necessarily prevent injustice, exploitation of individuals by the state and loss of freedom; did not appear to have actuated any thoughts in our later day Congress leaders. They took it for granted that socialistic institutions automatically guaranteed the propagation of liberty, equality and fraternity in human society. This is a great mistake; as many totalitarian states do not permit their people to enjoy the freedoms which all human beings aspire to have. Nor do these states allow their people to have a proper standard of living or to own or inherit much of what they or their predecessors produced.

In other words there can be injustice, inequality and exploitation in a socialist state as in one in which private enterprise prevails. On the other hand a totalitarian state can be ethically quite perfect as can a state in which private individual rights exist.

The main problem always remains one of establishing justice, fairplay, equality and human rights. All social systems can deny these to the persons who adopt the systems. Again, most social systems can be ethically sound, provided their top organisers go by facts and not by names. Mrs. Gandhi's government is full of iniquities, injustice, lack of equal opportunities, unfair practices, inefficiency and corruption. The social system which this government upholds and tolerates is also not free from objectionable practices. In the circumstances nationalisation of banks, sugar mills or anything else will not change the face of India. Mrs. Gandhi should learn to go by facts and not by paper descriptions or classifications of ownership of institutions. If she does that she will do much good to India. If India learns to observe the rules of morality that will remove poverty sooner than establishment of socialised institutions.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER IN BULGARIA

Prof. G. SHELEV

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist state in which power belongs to the people. In accordance with the Constitution power is implemented directly by the people or through representative organs, which are elected by virtue of universal, equal and direct ballot with secret voting.

The representative organ of the whole people is the National Assembly which is the supreme organ of state power.

As a unitarian state the People's Republic of Bulgaria is divided into administrative-territorial units—districts and municipalities, in which state power is implemented by local representative organs called people's councils.

They were set up according to the Constitution for the first time in 1947. At present the system of people's councils consists of municipal and district people's councils. They are elected directly by the population for a term of three years according to norms: for the municipal people's councils in the villages one councillor is elected by an electoral district of 150 citizens, and for the district people's councils—of 1,500 citizens. The number of members of the municipal people's councils is different and depends on the number of the population of the municipality. It is between 30 to 150 people. The number of members of the district people's councils may not exceed 180 people. As collective organs of state power in the localities, the people's councils perform their activity and adopt their acts at sessions. In accordance with the law the municipal people's councils are obliged

to hold meetings at least once every two months, and district ones—at least once in three months. The sessions are legal when two thirds of the members of the respective people's council are present at them. They take their decisions with qualified majority of more than one half of the total number of members of the council and not of those present.

The people's councils elect executive committees from among the people's councillors, which are their executive and administrative bodies. The executive committees have a chairman, deputy chairman, a secretary and members.

The smallest executive committees consist of three and the largest of 17 members. Managements, departments and services at the people's councils are set up in the different branches of the administration, such as: department of education, of finance, of trade, etc.

While the executive committees are organs of state power, whose competence is general, the chief of these administrations, departments and services are specialized local organs of state power.

The people's councils also elect standing and temporary committees which are their auxiliary and control bodies. The standing and permanent committees help the people's councils in their activity and are instrumental in enlisting the people in the administration. As a rule, they consist of councillors, but workers, peasants and employees who are not councillors are also elected to them.

The people's councils are local organs of state power. They implement the policy of the state in the districts and municipalities and decide all local questions. There are no other bodies of central power in existence, apart from them.

According to the law, the municipal and district people's councils have the right to discuss and solve questions of a political, economic, educational, cultural and health, social and administrative character which fall within their competence. They direct the institutions enterprises, establishments and economic organizations under their jurisdiction. In addition, they take care of the development of education, culture and public health, carrying out special cultural and communal enterprises aimed at raising the material and cultural standards of the population. One of the essential tasks of the people's councils is to watch over the observance of legality and public order and to defend the rights and interests of the citizens.

On the basis of the state plan and budget the district and municipal people's councils draw up their own plans and budgets and see to their implementation. Administrative services to the population are mainly in the hands of the municipal people's councils, for which purpose special services are set up there.

The people's councils take decisions which are obligatory for all. They are entitled to impose administrative punishments—fines to the amount of 40 leva, as well as social and political punishments—warnings, reprimands and censure for non-fulfilment of the orders issued by them.

The People's councils in the people's Republic of Bulgaria are not only local organs of state power, but also organs of people's self-government. In the fulfilment of their tasks they rely on the broad participation of the working people and their political, mass, professional, economic, cooperative and other organizations.

The people's councils are highly democratic organs. They are not only elected directly by the population, but are also obliged to report to their electorate every year. Electors who attend the meetings can ask questions, exercise criticism and come forward with proposals in connection with the activity of the councils.

As state organs, they merge with the people and in conjunction with them settle the questions within their competence.

THE UNIVERSAL LAW OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR HUMANITY TODAY

KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948 is a most significant event in the whole of human history. The United Nations which became a going concern with effect only from October 24, 1945 was then just over three years old when this important step was taken in the interest of human rights for the human race. Forty-eight Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations at that time came out openly to declare their votes in favour of this Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Of the fifty-six nations that were then Members of the United Nations none went directly against this Universal Declaration. Only eight nations abstained from voting. These were (1) U. S. S. R., (2) Byelorussia, (3) Ukrania, (4) Czechoslovakia, (5) Poland, (6) Yugoslavia, (7) Saudi Arabia and (8) South Africa. This mild opposition in the shape of abstention from the Communist bloc was obviously their sincere doubt about a formal document not likely to be implemented especially in its economic aspects without the enthusiastic activities of a totalitarian party like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A conservative nation like Saudi Arabia with its persisting medieval customs and traditions obviously found it difficult to keep pace with the advancing strides of the human race in the post-war world after the Second World War. The nation most genuinely hostile to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was, of course, the Union of South Africa, that stronghold of Hitler's Nazi ideology of

racialism and Apartheid or Untouchability following from that racialism.

The United Nations today is much bigger than what it was in 1945 or in 1948. Beginning as an international organization of fifty or fifty-six nations in 1945 or 1948 respectively, the United Nations today is a fast-growing world organization of 124 nations with possibilities of further growth in future. The Membership of the United Nations may rise in the near future to still higher figures and the whole of the human race with nearly 3356 millions including Communist China may be effectively brought within the scope of the ideals, principles, laws and actions of the United Nations.

It is important therefore to consider how the human race or its most representative organ of nations, the United Nations, will react to the naturally growing demands for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed on behalf of the human race on December 10, 1948. For nearly two decades, in accordance with a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly adopted on December 4, 1950, citizens everywhere, especially the younger generations still in schools, colleges and universities have been told and retold about the future of humanity based on the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The most significant achievement through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is still in the sphere of ideas or ideals. It is the growing idea of devotion to Humanity as a whole over and above the claims of

nationalities. Some twenty-three centuries ago Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, had to stop at the idea of the city-state over and above a collection of villages brought together into a community. The general opinion at the dawn of human history was that an ideal state had within it only about 10 thousand heads of families with about 50 thousand individuals, men, women and children as citizens or subjects. Here and there empires came into and went out of existence. The Greek, Hindu, Roman, Pathan, Moghul, Spanish, Austrian, Portuguese, Russian, Turkish and other empires had their days in different parts of the world in their respective periods of history. But by the beginning of the 16th century the revolutionary ideals of Reformation imposed on humanity the new ideal of the nation state in place of city-states, feudal states or empires. Since about the 16th century until about the middle of the 20th Century, for some three hundred years or more, nation-states and nationalism with fairly effective and even democratic rights for even millions of persons in each state—not for thousands only as previously—have been the recognised order in the course of history. There have been here and there also empire-builders of almost inter-continental scope, like the British and the French especially during the last two or three centuries. But during this period of two or three centuries people mostly thought and acted in terms of “one nation, one state” for the general realisation of their social, political and economic rights.

But from now on, especially after the acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the guiding idea for social, political and economic rights is bound to be sooner or later—rather sooner than later—“one individual, one humanity”.

Prior to about 1500 A.D. men and women

were primarily citizens living in this or that city or village under the control of this or that feudal ruler at most over a larger area. After about 1500 A.D. men and women were primarily national or national citizens, i.e., members of this or that nation-state, though often moving to all corners of the world in view of the gradually improving means of communications and improving knowledge of the earth as a spherical object. The improved means of communication through steamers, railways, electricity, telegraph, telephone, radio, aeroplane, television and the rapid growth of these instruments at every moment even today have facilitated the growth of the idea or ideal of Humanity as a whole over all national distinctions based on such traditional factors of community as race, residence, religion, language and connected cultural, social and economic conditions. Surely under modern conditions relating to transport and communication coupled with the newly adopted Declaration of Human Rights, the idea of Humanity as against all distinctions of nationalities has the prospect of a very fast growth indeed.

So an immediate prospect for humanity in these days is bound to be an increasingly effective demand for a single world state for the whole of humanity in the interest of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Aristotle said that the city-state was the natural development of the family and village in which men and women had to live. The philosophers of and after the period of Reformation until almost our days in the 20th century had to think and act by showing that the nation-state—not simply the city-state—was a most natural development for men and women in their social relationships. Thinkers of our times, especially H. G. Wells, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bertrand Russell, frequently

spoke of the unity of Humanity and even of Humanity as a single nation. Their ideas are being increasingly developed and confirmed by the natural aspirations of all, ideally as well as technologically under the impulse of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a most basic ideal of the United Nations since 1948.

It is very easy to see the growth of the World State idea under the impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Rights always mean duties. Accordingly rights proclaimed internationally require obviously for their implementation duties also on an international or world-wide plan; and this not only on the part of each of the individuals but also on the part of the whole society or its parts and organs to which these individuals must belong. The point here may be illustrated by reference to rights noted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself.

The Declaration states that "everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person" (Art. 3). If this right is to be truly implemented, it is necessary, first, that the society through its legislature, executive, judiciary and its police and armed forces must provide for the suppression of all violent and fraudulent elements amongst its members, the individuals; and, secondly, that the individuals themselves must have a genuine respect for their own life, liberty and security of person. No one would suggest that life, liberty and security of person could be protected for any individual, if the individual himself was bent upon committing suicide or on selling his liberty and security for a mess of pottage, or if in the society there was no state or law, but only anarchy.

Now because in terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we are thinking of the implementation of the rights of individuals directly as "human beings born

free and equal in dignity and rights" (Art. 1), —and not simply as citizens or nationals of this or that state of any lesser area than the world as a whole—we cannot remain satisfied only with the institutions of national laws and national states any more as we did so long for the last three or four centuries making rights justiciable only on a national scale. Universal Declaration of Human Rights being universal and for all men and women without any limitation whatsoever must require us to struggle for an effective world law and world state making human rights truly justiciable on a world-wide scale. Thus the United Nations growing into a world state over and above its Members, the nation states, is the primary condition of our respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

If we carefully examine the rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we must further insist that the state and law proposed for the whole of humanity all over the world along with the national states and national laws under that wider and higher whole must have also a socialistic bias.

An individualistic police-state for the world or any nation might protect its member in its own sphere or scale from "slavery or servitude" (Art. 4), torture or cruelty (Art. 5), recognise everyone everywhere as a person before the law (Art. 6), on a footing of equality (Art. 7), ensure the right to own property individually or collectively (Art. 17), and prevent other arbitrary interferences (Art. 9 & 12). But no such state, national or universal, could realise for any human being the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment (Art. 23), or the rights to social security (Art. 22), education (Art. 26), adequate standards of living (Art. 25), rest and leisure

(Art. 24), etc., unless the functions of the different institutions within the state, national or universal, were organized under a scientific plan of socialisation or social control of the major instruments of production. For without such socialization or social control requiring even social or public ownership, no state, national or universal, can have the necessary means for meeting the progressive as well as increasing demands of the people possible under modern conditions of plenty generated by the modern powers of science and technology.

Only in the U. S. S. R. and other Communist states like Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and China a systematic and, to a great extent, a successful attempt has been made through "the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production", as noted in Art. 4 of the Soviet Constitution, to implement such rights as the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to material security, the right to education, etc. as enumerated in Chapter X of the Soviet Constitution, and following it also in the latter parts of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The socialist law of Soviet economy permits "the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their own labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others" (Art. 9). In Soviet Russia, moreover, the personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling house and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law (Art. 10). But the economic essence of the Soviet system lies in the idea of the socialist property which exists either (i) in the form of state property belonging to the whole people, or (ii) in

the form of cooperative and collective farm property, i. e. the property of collective farms and cooperative societies or organizations (Art. 5), including of course small plots of household land for the personal use of households constituting the collective farms. And the essence of the economic essence in Soviet Russia lies in what is provided for under Art. 6 of the Russian Constitution: "The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organised agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like) as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people". Art. 131 in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights and Duties of citizens in the Soviet Constitution adds: "It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people".

It is difficult to see how any state, national or universal, can implement the socio-economic-cultural rights of the Universal Declaration, if not also the politics-civil rights in it, unless that state, national or universal, borrows this economic essence from the Soviet State. The Keynesian idea of the "multiplier" or the factor by which an increment of income exceeds the resulting increment of saving or investment might serve the purpose of multiplying the forces of production through skilful management by governments and banks specially towards plenty and still more plenty. But the relations of production, specially the relations between captains and labourers in industries can be controlled for better distribution of what is produced for better

consumption only when the Soviet idea of socialist property becomes an accepted fact of modern social life.

For in these days of machine technology, wealth in the absence of socialist ownership and control has a natural tendency to concentrate in the hands of those who possess the major instruments of production. A few centuries ago most of our production were organised on the cottage industry basis unable to make huge profits at the cost of the society, so that socialism in the economic sphere of our life was not then so much necessary. But today socialism has become indispensable to keep all anti-social tendencies in profit-making under control. The history of capitalism after 1500 A. D. with its growing paradox of poverty in plenty even in countries like India, devoted since 1954 at least, to a socialistic pattern of society, has convinced all major thinkers on society and its problems that without the widest possible and the most far-reaching regulation of the rights in land and capital, major portion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights may not be implemented.

Indeed, you should not also talk of the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, of opinion and expression, of assembly and association, as noted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Arts. 18, 19 & 20) for workers and peasants, when the printing presses, stocks of paper, radiostations and meeting halls are the private property of a section only of the citizens, i. e. the capitalists. The owner of a newspaper may not allow the publication of any article or news item that does not meet with his approval. A radio company may not allow any announcer to broadcast anything its owner does not like. Most of the desirable premises for public meetings belong to capitalists and the rent they demand for them for the sake of profit

is generally exorbitant. They may even refuse to rent the premises altogether.

Similar is the case with regard to such rights as those of forming and joining trade unions (Art. 23), of taking part in the government of the country, of making the government conform to the will of the people (Art. 22).

Those who know the normal life of the poor their constant fear of the morrow, their constant sense of an impending disaster, their fitful search of a beauty that perpetually eludes—will realise well enough that certain important rights may not seem worthwhile to their possessors and might even be exchanged for some sort of economic security.

The way to implement such rights is the way to socialism, which is, briefly, an increase in the functions of the state at all levels with a view to improving the forces and relations of production. This is what the Soviet system or Communist countries promise to do.

But while praising the Soviet system or Communist countries for their socialist tendencies, we must not ignore the autocratic tendencies in them in recognizing and encouraging only one Party, namely, the Communist Party of the country concerned and suppressing all other political parties. A people cannot really realise their rights to freedom of thought, opinion and expression, and of a government based on their will, if there be the dictatorship of only one political party. The Russians openly say in their Constitution (Art. 2) that "The political foundation of the U. S. S. R. is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat", i. e. the workers and peasants. The Russians further assert that "the most active and

politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state" (Art. 126).

The English and the Americans and many other democratic peoples in the world including India do not believe in such dictatorship. It seems in this respect they have set up an ideal in regard to the implementation of rights, national or human, an ideal which we should respect in national and world affairs.

If we are sincere and serious about the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Rights, many other reforms must be carried out sooner or later. The proposed World State must be not only (a) Socialistic, but also (b) Democratic, (c) Disarmed, and (d) Federal, or at least, Unitary in certain respects and Federal in many others.

Writing exactly twenty years ago in The Modern Review, October, 1949, the present author observed; "The U. N. could do nothing in the face of gross violation of fundamental rights against the Indians in South Africa, because in the General Assembly the South African Government received on racial grounds the unreasoning sympathy of the European and American Governments who predominate in the U. N. Or a rough estimate it could be said that, as represented in the U. N., Europe with a population of about 440 millions has about 20 votes in the General Assembly, America with a population of about 300 millions has got more than 20 votes, while Asia with a population of about 950 millions has only about a dozen votes. Of the Asian countries,

only China has been given a permanent seat on the Security Council".

In The Modern Review for February, 1962, the present author further observed : "The United Nations which began as a world organization in 1946 with 51 Members, with 4 of them only from Africa—the same 4 as in the case of the League of Nations (Viz., South Africa, Liberia, Egypt and Ethiopia) —is bustling in 1961 with as many as 28 from Africa, 28 from Europe, 23 from Asia, 22 from America and 2 from Oceania, making thus a total of 103 Nations within a single world organization".

The latest position, according to available records, in respect of representation in the United Nations General Assembly in relation to the population figures of the several continents is as follows :

Continents	Seats	Population
Oceania	2	13 millions
Africa	41	260 millions
America	25	390 millions
Europe	29	780 millions
Asia	27	1569 millions
Total	124	3003 millions

Thus as a more democratic organization, the United Nations is fitter than earlier to protect the democratic rights of humanity as a whole. But true democracy does not mean disproportionate representation. There is no reason why Africa should have 41 votes, and America, Europe and Asia with larger population figures should have only 25, 29, and 27 votes respectively.

If the individual, an individual apart from the nation to which he may belong, is really to be entitled to all the rights as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, then in our local, national and world-wide administration, the individual himself or

herself should be recognized by the United Nations or its successor, the proposed World State, as the unit of representation without distinction of any kind, such as "race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (Art. 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). For it is common knowledge confirmed by experience that discrimination in representation means that the legislative, executive, judicial, police and military powers may be easily manipulated to the advantage of the fortunate few.

Provision can be easily made, if necessary through an additional chamber, in all spheres of administration, local, national or world-wide, for proper representation of all diversities in men. Actually, the General Assembly of the United Nations serves only the purpose of a Second Chamber in an ordinary federal state in respect of representation of the different cultural units recognizable as constituent group units. The real Parliament of Man based on the usual democratic principle of "One Man, One Vote" for the protection of Human Rights for human beings without any distinction whatsoever all over the world is yet to come.

The different cultural groups, now defined as nations and often proud to be even at war with one another in the name of the false doctrine of arrogant nationalism, must be disarmed or disabled from violence, if humanity is to be governed humanly or humanely for the glory and safety of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For where war begins, humanity ends and human rights then simply disappear or wither away, specially in these days of atomic violence which appears to know no limits.

There is no intention here to minimise the factor of diversity in humanity the factors that often act as elements of nationalism in modern

civilization. To emphasise these diversities a large amount of autonomy may certainly be reserved for well-defined cultural groups. These groups or nations may have for them the principle of "sovereign equality" (Art. 2 of U. N. Charter) in matters of their internal administration. But where problems affect the whole humanity, the ultimate decision and action must be taken by the representative organs of the whole of humanity, and not by any single nation on the basis of the traditional theory of sovereignty or domestic jurisdiction often falsely used for the purpose of war or violence.

That is to say, the ideal world organization capable of implementing the Human Rights due regard being had to the differences among human groups must be based on the federal principle of constitutional distribution of powers between the Central Government of the World as a whole and its different constituent units. It is only through some form of federalism that we can reconcile everyone's "right to a nationality" (Art. 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) with his right to "a social and international order" (Art. 28 of the Universal Declaration). In the absence of federalism in world affairs, the unrestrained powers of certain nations may lead to colonialism or imperialism that cannot but destroy many of the Human Rights through violence and discrimination.

A very comprehensive view has been taken here for the law proper of the Human Rights in the world that is fast taking shape before our very eyes. They often talk only of national laws and education for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They also suggest that the existing General Assembly of the United Nations of a new International Court, Commission or Committee on Human Rights would

be sufficient, if only they received complaints regarding violation from individuals, groups or nations. But such partial or haphazard methods may lead only to partial or haphazard implementation of the rights so solemnly proclaimed.

So in the words of the very preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "if man is not to be compelled to have recourse as a last resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression", "human rights should be protected by a rule of law"; but a rule of law that is organized by the institutions of a Socialist, Democratic, Disarmed and Federal World State and similar nation states under that world-wide organization. This ideal closely following the Declaration of the United Nations itself on the subject is apparently some sort of a political L. C. M. which all the nation of the world or humanity as a whole can easily accept for the real implementation of the Human Rights. And that sooner, the better in view of growing violence among nations in spite of the United Nations which

is no federation, but a confederation with very weak powers for its central authority. Humanity confronted by modern atomic violence, but yet devoted to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, can only hope that once the political L. C. M. suggested here is accepted by world public opinion the very Charter of the United Nations and the National constitutions will be suitably amended or modified for implementation of the Human Rights.

Rights, however, in any society are implemented not simply because there is a satisfactory social machinery, but also because and more so because there are in it men who have the courage to resist, men who do not mind to do their duties, even if it means the hemlock as in the case of Socrates, the Cross as in the case of Jesus Christ, or the bullet as in the case of Mahatma Gandhi.*

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THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

The conquest of the air has captured the human mind since the earliest times. In Greek mythology, we find a great architect of Athens named Daedalus, who made wings of feathers and wax for himself and his son Icarus and flew away from Crete across the sea. Icarus flew too high. As he approached the sun, its heat melted the wax and loosened the feathers with the result that he fell into the sea and was drowned. The place of his death is to this day called the Icarian sea. Daedalus completed his flight and landed safely in Sicily. In the sacred books of the Hindus, we read about flying chariots, in which the heroes of antiquity used to travel. After the conquest of Lanka, Ramchandra flew to Ajyodhya with his consort and the retinue in a *puspak-rath* (flying chariot). In Persia and Arabia, stories are current about those who could fly on magic carpets. In early English literature, we come to know that men fashioned wings for themselves and flew into the air, only to crash to the ground after a short flight.

Most of the above seem to be the outcome of pure fantasy. The first person, who really applied reason to this problem, was the distinguished Italian painter and inventor, Leonardo da Vinci, who left behind him several suggestions on the art of flying and sketches of various flying machines. None paid much heed to his work till the seventeenth century. People then began to

think seriously about the problem, and came to the conclusion that there were only two ways of solving it. One was that they should construct a flying machine lighter than air, which would float in the air as a boat floats on water. The other was that they should find a means of flying like birds.

In 1670, a priest called De Lana wrote a book in which he demonstrated how a lighter-than-air flying machine could be constructed but he did not attempt to make his machine, as he believed that God would not allow it to work, with the apprehension that it was sure to be used for dropping fire-balls on cities. In this he proved himself a prophet. The study and discovery of radium by Madame Curie was the beginning of research, which led to the manufacture of the atom bomb, which can destroy thousands of lives in the twinkling of an eye and raze whole cities to the ground in a flash, as in the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which were ruined by these bombs towards the end of the Second World War. Had Madame Curie known that her discovery for the benefit of mankind would be used as weapons of war of wholesale human destruction, God alone knows whether she would have taken so much pains to isolate radium.

About a hundred years after de Lana's book, two French brothers, called Montgolfier, improved upon his idea, paper manufacturers as they were, they made a big linen

ball over thirty feet in diameter, and filled it with hot air. In September 1783, the king of France and a huge crowd of people watched, as this balloon rose into the air carrying a cage containing a sheep, a cock and a duck. Just a month earlier, another Frenchman, J. A. C. Charles, had taken advantage of the discovery that hydrogen was lighter than air. This had been shown by the famous English scientist Henry Cavendish. Charles made a silk balloon, and he filled it with hydrogen instead of hot air. A big crowd watched it, as it flew into the air. It travelled several miles, and then landed in a village after hitting against a tree. The villagers deemed it was a monster and attacked it with guns. Two years later, Blanchard crossed the English channel in a gas balloon. By this time, balloons were fairly common, but they were not really of much use for travelling from one place to another. Their dependance was mainly on the wind, and they would go wherever the wind drove them. The problem now was to make a dirigible or an air-ship, which could be steered. For another century, people went on experimenting. At last a German, Count Zeppelin, made a very successful dirigible, and later his air-ships made fifty-three air-raids on England during the First World War (1914-18).

The Wright brothers of U. S. A, Wilbur Wright and Orville Wright, were not interested in balloons, but wanted to make the second kind of flying machine, that would fly like a bird. Before they started work, they examined the researches of their predecessors. They found the history of these as follows. A scientist named Borelli had already stated in the seventeenth century that it was no use making wings which could set in motion with the help of men's arms, for the arms were too

weak for this purpose. Then came Sir George Cayley, who made a glider. He believed that it could fly if an engine could be put into it. The suggestion was taken up by Stringfellow, who made a big aeroplane, and put a small engine into it. It is said that it flew a short distance in a big room, but it remained at best a curiosity. One person, who had really advanced the science of flight, was Otto Lilienthal. He became interested in flying, when he was a child. He would spend hours watching the birds flying near his house in Germany. When he grew up, he wrote books on the subject. Then he made a glider in which he flew for quite a long distance. Afterwards he made many kinds of gliders, all of which were effective. He intended to fit an engine into his machine, but before he could do so, his glider crashed one day and he was killed. But his work had not been in vain, for in 1896, an American student of flight, Professor Langley, built a machine with an engine, which flew successfully over a river.

The Wright brothers took advantage of their predecessors' work, and started where they left off. Their ambition was to make a practicable heavier-than-air machine, but the problem was to fit a powerful motor to it to drive it. They set themselves to solve this problem, and summed it up in the following words.

"(1) those which relate to the construction of the sustaining wings (2) to the generation and application of the power required to drive the machine through the air and (3) the balancing and steering of the machine after it is actually in flight". Of these the first was solved to a great extent, but inability to balance and steer still confronted students of the flying problem. For sometime, they went on learning about the

principle of gliding and the control of gliders. but they soon realised that this was not enough. They felt they must make gliders of their own, and solve the problem facing them by their own practical experiments. They went to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, to make gliders. There they found supporters, who not only sustained their spirits, when every thing seemed to go wrong, but also helped them with money. They started on the work with a great deal of faith, and persevered inspite of many failures. Between 1900 and 1903, they built three gliders, in which they made hundreds of gliding flights. This gave them the practical knowledge they needed. Then they made a biplane glider with a wing span of thirty-two feet with which they seemed to be satisfied, for it could be controlled and steered, as they wished. They were as yet unaware what kind of power they should use to drive it through the air. Langley's solution did not appeal to them, for they thought a steam engine with fuel and water would be too much of an encumbrance. Then it occurred to them that they might use the internal-combustion engine, in which petrol was the fuel. Hence they constructed a 12 horse power engine, and fitted it in their machine. When this had been done, they felt confident that the machine could fly and all would be well.

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The 17th December, 1903, will always be remembered as a red-letter day in the history of flying, for on that day, the Wright brothers made their first trial flight in a self-propelled machine. They issued invitations to the inhabitants of the district to witness the first flight of a machine, which was heavier-than-air. It was a very cold day, and as a result, very few spectators turned up. Little interest was felt in what was to prove a historic event. Only five persons, including a boy of sixteen, attended. No news-paper reporter graced the

occasion. The machine was in the air only for twelve seconds, but no one could deny that a miracle had happened. Man had learnt to fly in a heavier-than-air machine.

That day the brothers made four flights. The fourth flight was the longest, for it lasted fifty-nine seconds, and a distance of 852 feet was covered. Perhaps the five spectators found it all rather amusing. When the news travelled round the district, people were likely to have thought that it was nothing of importance, just another freak of those queer Wright brothers. If so, their scepticism was characteristic not only of the local inhabitants, but also of people all over the world. Tales of flying seemed like children's nursery tales to almost every one.

But the brothers were encouraged by what they had achieved. They went on building new machines. In 1906 they had them patented in the U. S. A. The American public continued to be critical. None would come forward to aid them with money. Wilbur Wright thought of visiting France. He went there in 1908, taking his aeroplane with him. On August 8th, at Le Mane, he flew a mile and a quarter in one hundred and seven seconds. Three days afterwards, he was in the air for four minutes. On September 21st, he flew fifty-five miles in one hour and a half. The crowning triumph came on the last day of the year, when he flew ninety-three miles in two hours, twenty minutes and twenty-three seconds. The other brother Orville was not inactive. At Forb Meyer in America, he performed flights, which amazed those who witnessed them. These practical demonstrations silenced the critics, and eventually convinced every one of the possibility of flying. The Wrights' success heartened others, who were experimenting in flight. After years of neglect, the work of the two brothers was at

last publicly recognised. The American Congress gave them a special medal in 1909, and the American Government purchased one of their machines for thirty thousand dollars. They also earned one hundred thousand collars from France by the sale of their patents. Their names became known all over the world.

Wilbur died in 1912 at a relatively early age, when greater things were expected of him. Orville continued the work, which they had both begun. As managing director of the Wright Aeronautical Laboratory, he invented an automatic Stabiliser, which made flying much easier. In 1915, the patents of the Wright Aeroplane Company were sold to a New York firm, and Orville became their chief engineer. When the U. S. A entered the First World War in 1917, he became a major in the Aviation Corps. After the war he devoted himself successfully to research, and even during the Second World War (1939-45), he continued to advance the science of aviation.

Another pioneer of flight was Henry Farman, who designed the biplane, which bears his name. The son of an English journalist, he lived all his life in France, and was the first man to fly from one town to another. Later on, he made a flight of a hundred and forty seven miles. Nor was he the only pioneer in France. A Frenchman named Bleriot also had a great ambition to fly. Altogether he had about fifty accidents, and although none was serious, they might have well damped any one's enthusiasm. Nevertheless he persisted, and succeeded in flying a distance of twenty five miles. Later on, the Daily Mail, a London newspaper, offered a prize of £1000 to the first airman to fly across the English Channel. Hubert Latham, a Frenchman educated in England,

made the endeavour, but failed. The prize was won by Bleriot, who landed in a field near Dover in the early hours of July 25th, 1909. He became the hero of the day, and was accorded a royal reception. His machine was put on show, and thousands of people paid to see it. On the spot, where he had landed, a stone memorial, in the shape of an aeroplane, was erected to commemorate the event, and his machine was placed in a museum in Paris.

During the First World War (1914-18), airmen did marvellous work in making surveys and reconnaissance and taking photographs. During the years of peace that followed, flying was greatly developed. In 1919 two British airmen, John Alcock and Arthur Whitten Brown, made the first flight across the Atlantic, inspite of fog, hail and sleet. Both were knighted for this great feat. In the same year, Sir Ross Smith flew from England to Australia, a distance of 11,295 miles, in a hundred and twenty-four flying hours. Sir Alan Cobham made several flights to India, Cape Town and Australia, while Commander Byrd, an American, and Ronald Amundsen, a Norwegian explorer, flew to the North Pole. A young English woman, Miss Amy Johnson, flew alone in a small Moth machine from England to Australia. In the meanwhile, great improvements were being made in the construction of aeroplanes. Floats were added to them to convert them into sea-planes. Later, a new type of naval ship came into being, the air-craft carrier, which had a huge flat upper deck for planes. Air-craft began to be used for carrying passengers and mails. In 1919, a daily service between London and Paris was established, but this pioneer plane took only two passengers. Now flying is as well established as any other kind of travel, and all the important

cities of the world are connected with each other by means of air services. A great technical advance was made when jet propulsion was used for flying. This had been the principle of the German V-1's and rocket bombs with which the Germans attacked England in 1944-45, but jet-propelled aeroplanes differed from these in having human pilots. The original idea was perfected by Sir Frank Whittle, who took out a patent in 1930. A company was formed (Power Jets, Ltd.) to utilise his invention. After four years of hard work, the first jet engine was successfully used in 1937. A jet-propelled air-craft first flew in 1941.

While jet-propulsion is rapidly replacing the older type of engine in the latest kinds

of air-craft, Sir Frank is said to be perfecting an improved form of his invention, which is likely to render the present jet-propelled air-craft obsolete in their turn. The two super-powers, viz, the U. S. A and the U. S. S. R. have joined hands in the conquest of space. Formerly interplanetary travel and space-stations appeared to be like fairy tales. Russia has recently shown that space stations are possible. Three American astronauts have landed on the moon. Travels to Venus and other planets are in the offing. Human brain and skill have made apparently impossible things in space conquest really possible. Scientific knowledge and technology have been taken full advantage of in the conquest of space. The danger lies when science and technology are misused for the annihilation of the world and its civilisation.

THE PANORAMA OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

P. RAJESWARA RAO

In the field of Philosophy, which in the words of Bertrand Russel, is a no man's land between science and theology, India even in the remotest part reached great heights. It is not an auxiliary to any other science but always held a prominent position of independence. In the West even in the heyday of its youth, as at the times of Plato and Aristotle it leaned for support on some other study like politics or ethics. It was theology for the middle ages, natural science

for Bacon and Newton, history politics and sociology for the nineteenth-century thinkers. In India philosophy stood on its own legs and all other studies looked to it for inspiration and support. The Mundaka Upanishad speaks of Brahma Vidya as the basis of all sciences, means of performing all work and support of all duties.

Bishop Westcott, a former Metropolitan of India told Mr. C. F. Andrews that India was a great thinking nation. In 1786,

Warren Hastings recommending a translation of Bhagavad Gita—the song celestial, to Charles Grant, the then president of the East India Company declared that, “The Writers of Indian Philosophy will survive when the British domination in India shall long have ceased to exist and when the sources which yielded wealth and power are lost to remembrance”. Thoreau said, “I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmological philosophy of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita in comparison with which our modern philosophy and literature seem too puny and trivial”. Schopenhauer confessed that Vedanta philosophy was the solace of his life and it would be the solace of his death. Prof. Max Muller desired to be known as a Christian Vedantin. Aldous Huxley complimented Indian Philosophy on its perennial character. It is antique as well as modern. Sankaracharya successfully influenced Comte in France and Emerson in America. Lately Pope Paul paid a glowing tribute to the spiritual heritage of India.

Philosophy is an intellectual enquiry and a rational investigation converting intellectual propositions into a life's conviction. The doctrine of rebirth enunciated by the Indian thinkers is consistent with religion and science. Life is a perpetual going on. While at the Zoological level perpetuation of the species is the end, at the human level development of personality is the goal. The emergent view of the self makes the hypothesis of rebirth a reasonable one. This view is shared by a host of Western philosophers. It may be asserted that the theory of the conservation of cosmic energy and the law of compensation both demand adherence to this creed which affords the only reason-

able and credible explanation of the inequities and imbalances of the world.

To say that Indian philosophy is other worldly is a travesty of truth. Yoga-sutra insist on the development of physical prowess (Kaya Sampatti). Shankaracharya in his Prashnottaramalika (catechism) asks what we should earn and answers Vidya (knowledge) Vittam (wealth) Balam (Prowess) and Punyam (merit). World is called the seat of liberation (Mokshayate Samsaraha). The crown of Vedanta is not an abstraction but an experience. Jnana (knowledge) is Anubhava—(realisation). One cannot transcend the world without walking through it, with cosmic perspective and a shrewd eye. Life is neither a mid-summer night's dream nor a tempest. It is what we make it and not anything else.

When the Hindu thinkers ask us to free ourselves from Maya (illusion) they are asking us to shake off our bondage to the unreal values which are dominating us. Moksha (liberation) is not the renunciation of the world. It is the proportional development of mind, body and the spirit (Pranaramam Mananandam, Santi Samrudham Anrutam). The ten major incarnations (Dasavataaras) illustrate the stages of human evolution. They have been brilliantly portrayed by Vedanta Desika in his Dasavataara Stotram.

Asceticism is a frame of mind and a spirit of detachment. For a man of detachment his house is a hermitage. (Nivruthi Ragasya Gruham Tapovanam). Renunciation is opposed to attachment and not to enjoyment. At the moment of liberation one attains universality of spirit. (Samyag

Darshana Kalam Evatat Phalam Sarvatva-tvam Darsayati). Our thinkers do not ask us to treat life as an illusion or to be indifferent to the world's welfare.

We cannot get life eternal by mere textual learning (Vakyartha Jnana Matrena Na Amrutam Vidya). Karma is effort and not fatalism. We have to work for world solidarity (Loka Sangraha) our ideal is that the whole human race is one (Ekaiva Manu shi Jati). All are brothers (Bhatro Manavah sarva). Our motherland consists of the three worlds (Swadesho Bhuvana Trayam). The prayer in the Rig Veda is to invite noble thoughts from every quarter (Ano Bhadraha krutavoyantu viswataha). We responded to the changes within the frame work of our cultural heritage. Sakas, Huns, Kushans and Pallavas were successfully Indianized. Expansion is life and contraction is death. In death everything is cold and stiff.

The conservatism of Indian society is not quietism, but consolidation of what is good and lasting in the cultural traditions and national genius. If we are not to lapse into individual rationalism and ultimate negation and led astray by wandering whims and if we should be guided by the accumulated wisdom of the past we require tradition which is the memory of our past to sustain us. The tradition does not create the truth but clothes it in language and symbol for the help of those who do not see it. It can be used for correction and enrichment. In the Bhashya on Brahma Sutras, it is held that non-dwijas were entitled to Brahma Vidya and it cited the examples of Dharma Vyadhya and Vidura. While looking into

the future we have to live in the present rooted in the past. Indian approach accepts the validity of different traditions (Sarvagama Pramanya). Dogmatism is a sign of intellectual-immaturity. Hinduism--the basis of Indian Society is a synthesis of religions, a fellowship of faiths and a federation of philosophies. From the lowest form of fetishism to the highest form of absolutism all kinds of doctrines are there with an underlying unity. It is movement and not a position, a process and not a result, a growing tradition and not a fixed revelation.

The spiritual soil of India like a Delta is made up of layer upon layer of its religious endeavour from time immemorial which demonstrates how varieties of sustained religious strivings have contributed to its formation. Foundations of Indian tradition were not swept away by the invasion of occidental ideas and modes of life. Hindu thought never developed a Monroe doctrine in matters of philosophy and culture. Comprehension and sympathetic appreciation are its key notes. It is said endless are the Vedas (Ananta vai vedaha). Reciprocity is one of the greatest truths of life which is inculcated in the Geeta text (Parasparam Bhava yanta sreyaaha Parama vyapyatha). Sukla Yazur Veda enjoins that we should look at every thing from the view point of a friend. (Mitrasya Aham chakshusha sarvami bhutani samikshe).

The Universe is sustained by Dharma. It is the propelling force. Thought is always free though conduct is regulated by social conventions. (Vichara swatantraha Achara sanaja samaya Tantraha). Renunciation of thinking is an admission of spiritual bankruptcy.

Our tolerance is the homage which the finite mind pays to the inexhaustibility of the infinite. Our epics and classics have value for every generation. Thus India's heritage is composite, comprehensive and catholic. Weighed down by history, prostrated by invasions, endlessly vacillating from greatness to decline, India recovers her spirit century after century by her own power of self renewal. When times were out of joint wise men like Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhwa, Nanak and Kabir arrived and warned us about our lapses. In his history of philosophy, Hegel remarks, "India is a phenomenon antique as well as modern."

Our Darsanas or systems of thought are free from traditional religious bias. Sankhya is silent about the existence of God. Vaisesika and Yoga while they admit a supreme being do not consider Him to be the creator of the Universe and Jaimini refers to God only to deny His providence and the moral Government of the world. The early Buddhist systems are indifferent to God. The materialist Charvakas deny God ridicule the priests, revile the Vedas and seek salvation in pleasure. That is why the heretic, the sceptic, the unbeliever the rationalist, the free thinker, the materialist and the hedonist all flourished in India. The sturdy independence of Shankaracharya who revitalised Hinduism is patent in that there is no Mangalacharanam or invocation to God in the beginning of his works. He denounced untouchability in Manisha Panchakam.

Making a comparative study of the Darsanas, the great orientalist and a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta Sir William Jones observed, "It will be sufficient here to remark that the first Nyaya seems analagous to Peripatetic, the second sometimes

called Vaisesika to the Ionic; the two Mimamsas of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Vedanta to Platonic; the first Sankhya to the Italic; the second of Patanjali to the stoic Philosophy; so that Gowtama corresponds with Aristotle, Kannanda with Thales, Jaimini with Socrates, Vyasa with Plato, Kapila with Pythagoras and Patanjali with Zeus."

In the past India was brought into direct contact with Europe many a time. The Persian Empire included a part of India and Greece and Asoka sent Buddhist missionaries to the West. On every occasion she left her mark on Europe. It may be of interest to note that of the five schools of Astronomy two are known as Romaka (after Rome) and Paulisa (after Paul of Alexandria). Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Islam found a cordial welcome in India. The universal character of Upanishadic invocation is epitomised thus in a language that can not be bettered:-

Lead us from the unreal to the real
From darkness to light and
From death to immortality.

(Asatoma Sadgamaya Tamasoma Jyotirgamaya Mrutyorma Amrutam Gamaya). The composite Motto of Satyam (truth) Sivam (goodness) and Sundaram (beauty) is universal in its appeal.

The place accorded to truth in Indian thought is unique. It is said that there is no religion higher than truth. By proclaiming that truth is one though sages call it by different names (Ekam Sat Vipraha Bahada Vadanti). We never claimed a monopoly of truth. A

balanced and rhythmic life in harmony with Dharma which has ten valuable attributes namely endurance, patience, self control, integrity, purity, restraint, wisdom, learning, truth and absence of anger:

Dhruti Kshama Damosteyam
 Souchamindriya Nigraham
 Dirvidya satyamakrodho
 Dasakam Dharma lakshanam

is the contribution of India to world thought. It reminds us of the utterance of Edmund Burke; that "Men are qualified for liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put chains upon their own appetites; in proportion to their love of justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and the good in preference to the flattery of knaves."

Thus India is a tradition a light and a spirit. Its physical and spiritual frontiers do not coincide. The spirit has no nationa-

lity, no religion. He who is spiritual feels free to look at things from any point of view and is committed to nothing partial or exclusive. Each order of reality known to us is truly comprehended from a stand-point higher than itself. Physical world (Anna) is disclosed in the biological (Prana) that of the biological in the psychological (Manas) and that of the psychological in the logical and ethical (Vignana) and finds its meaning in the spiritual (Ananda). Man has far horizons, invisible hopes, thoughts that wander through eternity and lives for a purpose larger than he sees. Whether we recognise it or not the tree of civilization has its roots in spiritual values, which most of us do not recognise. Without these roots the leaves would have fallen and left the tree a lifeless stump. In the history of civilization it has been the privilege of India to enrich the minds of the world. Life must grow not only within itself but also outgrow into a higher meaning beyond it as a flower outgrows into a fruit. Indian thought is a chapter in the history of human mind full of vital-meaning.

BANK NATIONALIZATION AND THE PUBLIC SECTOR

P. R. DASWANI

The recent bank nationalization Act has brought into focus the broader issue of the role of the public sector in India. In the midst of the controversy raging in the country on the question of bank nationalization, it is worthwhile to consider the matter in the light of the broader issue. Perhaps, it will then be possible to have a sounder judgment on the specific question of bank nationalization.

It is difficult to believe that economic reasons alone can provide the justification for a decision of this type. Even if an economic criterion in precise terms could be found, the present state of knowledge about economics cannot provide a scientific answer to the question. For instance, if one were to agree that a "faster and more equal" economic development was the criterion to be applied in this question, one can produce two opposite expert opinions on whether bank nationalization will be in the direction of satisfying the criterion. Besides, an economist may even doubt whether a faster economic development in the present circumstances can be reconciled with a more equal distribution of its benefits among the people. The question in fact cannot be considered in a political vacuum. The existing power structure within which both the public sector and the private sector function is an important consideration. Besides, the ideological stance of the government and its capacity to carry through its programme in accordance with its ideology are both relevant questions. These considerations indeed affect every important planning decision of the government. An impartial observer, therefore, cannot suggest

what should be the proper limits to the spheres of public sector and private sector, in the light of 'pure' economic theory; he can only suggest these limits within the framework of a given political power structure. Ideology, which is used to consolidate that power structure, will also to some extent be a factor in the consideration of these limits.

In India, the "socialist pattern of society" is one such consideration. The political implications of the socialist pattern have not been fully taken into account by the government. The socialist pattern is generally equated with the predominance of the public sector and with the pursuit of equality. Such an equation at least for an underdeveloped country usually implies the adoption of an authoritarian political structure, dominated by leaders dedicated to economic development at a rate desired by them and possessing the will and the power (charismatic or military or both) to organise people in accordance with their way of thinking and to overcome determined opposition. What it implies, in fact, is a "mobilisation" regime which can really mobilise as in war or other emergency conditions. India, which has dedicated itself politically to the creation of a "conciliation" regime, simply does not possess this.

Writings on the socialist pattern emphasise two different conditions, which to a certain extent are contradictory to each other. Firstly, that "production will have to be centrally planned", that is, the government will decide the broad categories of goods to be produced, the volume of their output and

the timing of their production. Secondly, that "the consumer will have freedom to determine the nature of supplies of goods available to him", that is, the price mechanism has to continue for the purpose of determining the nature of demand and supply in the market. These two conditions can be reconciled only if it is assumed that the consumer has the final power to give guidance to the central planning body in the determination of the pattern of production. This cannot be legitimately assumed, because by its very nature, central decision in the matters of such a personal choice means a more or less authoritarian decision; besides it implies a long period of time between the consideration of the consumers' effective demand and its realization in the form of actual production of goods. The weightier and longer drawn-out the central decision, therefore, the smaller the freedom of the consumer. It can be argued that under a socialist pattern, the consumer in the weakest sections of the population, nevertheless, has greater freedom than would prevail in conditions of a capitalist economy. But this would be so only if measures of income re-distribution are carried out effectively so as to give enough purchasing power to the weakest consumer; and also if monopolist tendencies in the economic system are controlled in order to encourage truly competitive conditions in the economy leading to the detection and the satisfaction of the immediate needs even of the weakest category of people. Results of income re-distribution can be attained, as shown by general experience in other countries, partly by public enterprise but more significantly by budget measures; as regards effective monopoly control it is far from clear that such a control is more probable under public enterprise.

On pragmatic grounds, "control" in the present context must be understood, not in terms of more ownership of wealth or

property, but in terms of the control one can exercise by virtue of occupying a certain position in a business enterprise or an industry. The position may be that of an investor, director, manager, a high official, and the control may be over workers, consumers, finances or the processes of economic development itself, of whatever degree it may be. Undoubtedly it is a desirable goal to limit the potentialities of economic power that persons occupying high position in both private and public enterprises can exercise for good or for bad of the public interest.

Two questions follow at once: is it not possible to mitigate the concentration of power in a few individuals under private enterprise, and is it clear that the organisation of economic activity as public enterprise eliminates the problem of power and power concentration?

Private enterprise has been subjected to progressively elaborate and rigid regulation in the recent years, with the result that several possibilities of exploitation are removed from the purview of those holding charge of it. Labour laws are a powerful check on the private businessman's exploitative behaviour towards the workers; monopoly controls are used for protecting the interests of the consumer; the protection is strengthened by laws which simultaneously limit dividends and tax private profit at high progressive rates; the taxing of private capital gains helps to restrict the power derived from property ownership for controlling the extent and the pattern of resource allocation; legislation limiting inter-unit managerial or directorial inter-locking under the Companies' Acts, correspondingly limits the chances of power concentration. Social control over banks and large-scale industries, short of nationalization; in such matters as the use of funds and the nature of management, could be made an efficient means. Even limits to share-holding by individuals in private enterprises can be prescribed; the employees and

other relevant interests may be made : share-holders and participants in management of private enterprises. The experience of other democratic countries is available for these purposes.

The second question is more ticklish. The public sector implies the heaviest concentration, ever possible of economic power in the hands, not of the government in formal terms, but of the few top persons that tend to be chosen for direction and management of State enterprises. It is true that concentration differs from that under private enterprise; for it cannot be abused directly for personal gain, though it could be abused indirectly by way of corruption under public enterprises. But it does not differ in principle, since its potential liability to serious consequences through errors of judgment and lapses in managerial skill still remains. Perhaps a director or a manager of a public enterprise can behave with greater impunity in the case of such lapses.

It is true enough, of course, that the demand for equality is among those important circumstances which the political system and the administration have to reckon with. If the demand is vocal and active, something more than lip-service must be paid to it : if it is quiescent, it will cease to be so soon enough if the main visible effect of the chosen path of development is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of those who are already relatively rich. Effective development policies must be based upon some minimum of political consensus, and to achieve this there will normally have to be some visible and tangible diffusion of benefits. But adequate satisfaction of those demands, in the nature of a better standard of living for the people as a whole, which the word "equality" rather inadequately signifies does not necessarily depend on the adoption of a socialist pattern of society.

If, in fact, the socialist pattern involves—as it is believed is the case in India—a slower rate of economic growth than the one which may be achieved in a better organised and regulated system of private enterprises, it may render satisfaction of those demands less rather than more probable.

In India, the most socially-significant form of inequality, in fact, is that which divides the employed from the unemployed or under-employed and not the employers from the employees. The workers employed in large-scale enterprises enjoy by Indian standards the position of a privileged class among the labour, particularly now that the government has extended to them various forms of protection not available to those outside the "organised" sector of industry. The unemployed and underemployed are rapidly increasing in number, in both industry and agriculture and among both the educated and the uneducated. It can therefore be argued that both political and social considerations point strongly towards policies which, by maximising growth, maximise employment. For in the long run, though not always in the short, employment opportunities and growth processes tend to go together. Even if they do not, growth generates resources which can at least be partly devoted to relieving the unenviable condition of the unemployed and under-employed.

If employment growth is an important consideration in the present, is it desirable for the government to enter such spheres of business which private enterprise is already running well, and in which it is both able and willing to enter, under conditions of government regulation in the public interest ? Nationalization cannot be justified only on the ground of better distributional effects, nor could it be supported only on the ground of achieving higher efficiency, even if these were possible to achieve. The economic

justification would only be when such a course overbalances the loss of additional production and employment, which would have followed if the government's resources had been employed in fields in which private enterprise was neither willing nor able to come in. Except in the case of difference in the scale of operation, it is hard to imagine how nationalization would increase employment and national income. The mere fact of the transfer of ownership is incapable of achieving this increase.

The logic of this argument leads to three conclusions :— (a) That industries, in which private enterprise is already working well under conditions of government regulation in public interest, become protected against State enterprise; (b) That in such non-strategic fields where private enterprise is not working, preference should be given to it if it can show both capacity and willingness to enter under the same conditions. (c) State enterprise becomes a measure of last resort in conditions of urgent public interest.

From the economic point of view, the basic consideration is whether, after balancing costs and returns (or benefits), the net long-term advantage to society will be greater from State ownership and operation than from private ownership and operation. There are objections to the argument that the private sector is not all good at investing, that it never invests wisely from the social point of view. If it does not, the State has enough powers of regulation over the private sector to make it conform to the public interest. If regulation over the private sector cannot be as efficient as it may

be necessary under the circumstances, it is less likely that more efficiency can be achieved by nationalization. Neither indigenous capital nor foreign capital will be willing to invest and contribute to development if an unqualified bias against profits guides government policy. Moreover, the assumption that the government is necessarily a wise saving and investing agency is open to doubt. Government expenditure may be heavily affected with prestige and political considerations rather than only economic ones, as it is believed has been the case in India. It may lead to diffusion of interest, which has undoubtedly occurred in India; and the government rather than concentrating on pilot schemes and building the infra-structure, may go in less important and unessential directions.

State enterprise in India has not been advocated so far either for democratising power hitherto held without corresponding responsibility in the hands of the few, or for increasing the productive efficiency of decaying industries, or for safeguarding consumers against monopoly exploitation, or for protecting public interest already in danger, or for escaping from the costly burdens of regulating private enterprises. It has been advocated and accepted primarily for reasons of economic expediency, whatever the real motives. This has resulted in the State entering such fields of economic activity where even from the point of view of the principle of "expediency", no evidence of substantial benefit to any large section of the population has been available. The same fate appears to await the act of nationalisation of major banks recently undertaken by the government.

NATIONAL OR PETTY LOCAL INTERESTS ?

A. CHATTERJEE

After Independence we told the world :

"We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens :

Justice, social, economic and political ;
Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;

Equality of status and of opportunity ;
and to promote among them all ;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation ;

In our Constituent Assembly this twentieth day of November 1949, do Hereby Adopt, Enact, And Give to Ourselves this Constitution."

Among the various descriptions of the union and its territory we find that India shall be a union of States and the territory of India shall comprise the territories of the States, the union territories specified in the First Schedule and such territories as may be acquired. The Parliament (of India) can admit other States into the union and can also form new states by uniting, separating or altering the territories of the States ; as well as rename the States. In many cases the States of India are the same areawise as the provinces of British India. In other cases they are new creations.

The citizens of India shall have certain fundamental rights. All laws inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights shall to the extent of such inconsistency be void ; and no law shall be made which in anyway takes away or abridges the rights conferred by the Constitution and any law made in contravention of this fundamental

provision shall to the extent of the contravention be void.

The above constitutional provisions therefore make it quite clear and unequivocal that the sovereignty of the Nation belongs to India and the citizens of India have their fundamental rights of citizenship by virtue of belonging to the Indian nation. The States of India have originated by the will of the Indian nation and India has come into existence by the will of the people of India and not by any action taken by the States of India or their inhabitants as dissociated from their citizenship of India. The States can be abolished, united, partitioned or given new and altered shapes and boundaries by the Indian parliament. India therefore is sovereign and paramount and the States cannot claim any sovereign rights of their own. When India became an independent nation by an Act of the British Parliament to which the leaders of the Indian people agreed, the provinces of India, which were the basic territorial units out of which the States had been formed with additions, partitions or alterations, had no separate political rights. They were only some administrative divisions of India which had been altered many times by the British rulers of India. The States have no historical background generally speaking, which can be cited to justify their claims to greater independence to manage their own affairs than they now possess. The Indian Raj States of the British period too had limited sovereign rights. These states are now merged in India and the people of these states have no political rights other than

what they have as citizens of India. Section 246 of the Constitution states that "Parliament has exclusive power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in list I in the seventh schedule (referred to as the union list). List I, VII schedule has 97 items among which we find defence; naval, military and air forces or other armed forces of the union; naval, military or air force works; arms, firearms, ammunition and explosives; atomic energy and mineral resources for its production; central bureau of intelligence; preventive detention for reasons of defence; Foreign Affairs, Passports; Railways; National Highways; Shipping and Navigation, Major Ports; Airway, air traffic, aeronautical training; Post and Telegraphs, Telephones, wireless, broadcasting, public debt, currency coinage, foreign loans, post office savings bank, Reserve Bank of India; trade and commerce with foreign countries; inter state trade and commerce; Banking; Insurance; Stock Exchange; Patents; weights and measures; oilfields, mines and minerals; manufacture and distribution of salt; sanctioning of cinema films for exhibition; Survey of India, Geological, Botanical, Zoological and Anthropological surveys of India; Census; Union public services; Elections; Audits of the accounts of the Union and of the States; Constitution, organisation, jurisdiction and powers of High Courts and the Supreme Courts; Taxes on Incomes, Customs duties, excise on tobacco and other goods excepting liquor, opium, Indian hemp and other narcotic drugs; Corporation tax etc. etc. These create over all powers for India which limit the powers of the States to such size as make the States thoroughly dependent on the central government. The functions of the Union government are so important and vitally related to purposes essential for organised social existence and maintaining civilisation that the States cannot

enlarge their own powers very much more without dissolving the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

We all know how the states became so power hungry. In the beginning Pandit Nehru created the states with their Governors, Ministries, Legislatures etc. with a view to appease the provincial leaders who followed Mahatma Gandhi in his campaign for freedom. These people, after tasting power and enjoying V. I. P. rights wanted more power and greater gains for themselves and for their proteges. Some among them who at a later stage wanted increased powers in order to bring in communism; thought central control was not favourable to the organisation of large fifth columns for the Russians or the Chinese communists. Many of these leaders have been and still are the active agents of foreign powers and much of the propaganda for greater freedom for the states, emanates from these traitors. Not all of these people are agents of Russia and China only. Some are working for America and Britain too. There are many Indian citizens who are carrying out order issued by the leaders of Pakistan. In such circumstances more power for the states would merely mean less solidarity for the Indian nation and the introduction of a dangerous virus in the body politic.

Those who wish to become minor overlords in the limited areas which are called the states forget that politically the whole of India has only one nation or Jati. We have numerous Jatis in point of religion, race, caste or language in India as well as in the states. For instance we have in the state of Bihar, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Animists and may be, Atheists, Agnostics and Communists too. We have linguistically-Bhojpuris, Maithilis, Maghdis, Ardhamaghdis, Bengalees, Oraons, Kols, Santhals, English speaking Anglo Indians and Hindi speaking Biharis.

Historically various parts of Bihar had various kingdoms at various periods. We find many Rajahs here and there who might have had connections with the ancient and defunct dynasties like the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Palas, the Senas or the Pathans and the Moghuls. What the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad wanted to make out of Bihar with the connivance of Pandit Nehru, was creation of a large state in which he would include the rich mineral areas of Singhbhum and Manbhum which belonged to the Vishnupur kingdom of the Mallas in the past and whose people were Bengalis, Santhals, Kols and Oraons; and the sugar producing regions of Bhojpur and Mithila, so that his coterie could have a financially solvent state to rule or exploit as one likes to say.

When one comes to other states, one finds a similar variety in race, language, religion and historical connection. That is why India has one complex of jatis of various descriptions which we call the Indian Mahajati and numerous regions or pradeshes which constitute the Indian Desh or Mahadesh. The States are called Pradesh as they are parts of the Desh. The idea that they can and should have more freedom from control by the central Government of India, is born of urges which are not nationalistic nor progressive. All forces that work to break up the Indian nation are born in the States, save and except Hindi-ism which has come from the central congress party. In any case all these whims and desires are basically not of a type which may appeal to all Indians as a national desideratum. In so far as these refer to social characteristics of a local nature these can be helped to develop as part of a Pradeshic programme. Languages for instance can be helped to achieve greater refinement and expressiveness, to the extent that they are the mother languages of various groups of Indians according to the size of

such groups. There is no point in glorifying a language in order to use it as a weapon of self assertion by different coteries whose real aims are not literary or linguistic. Race, religion, caste or class cannot also be permitted to be used as levers for displacing established national ideals.

Human progress in the socio-political field has always proceeded from narrower to wider fields. Families or clans have developed into small city states or kingdoms which have later passed out of feudalism into nationalism. Nations too have tried to form larger joint organisations like the Holy Roman Empire, Alliances of nations, the League of Nations or the United Nations. Even communists have made the Iron Curtain or Bamboo Curtain pacts (like the Warsaw Pact) which force all participants to adhere to a common policy. Nowhere do we find any attempts at breaking up a large political body into its real or imaginary constituents excepting in post 1947 India. If India develops ten or twenty economies or nationlities in order to appease a number of self-seekers or agents of foreign power, that will be the end of the Sovereign Democratic Republic. We began our independent era by dividing the country into two states. Now if we permit the least far-sighted members of our nation to plan our political future we shall fail in all our greater human endeavour. Our great religious leaders of the historical period have always spoken of one humanity and universal brotherhood. In modern times Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi have preached about the unity of all mankind. We should therefore try to discard all narrowness of outlook and build up a national system based on the ideals of a wider internationalism. The idea that small provincial coteries should be made more powerful and should be permitted to play with the destinies of the Indian people in the name of greater local

freedom, is utterly fallacious from the point of view of human progress and the unity of the peoples of the world. It would take us back to the days when clans fought clans and numerous duchies, principalities and small kingdoms covered the face of the earth. There were times when Rajasthan had many kingdoms. Chitor, Bundi, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, etc. etc. had all their own Raj. Bengal had 12 Princelings and Oudh a few dozen Nawabs. That is history. If we consider languages Hindi has 44 dialects and the sponsors of each dialect may demand a separate state. In fact if we permitted all racial, linguistic, cultural, sectarian and other interests to put in their claims we could easily have demands for setting up 200 separate states in India. Surely we cannot think of having so many states. It is therefore necessary that we stopped the attempts at further division of India and encouraged all moves for emphasising India's unity in diversity. For if list I of schedule seven, referred to above, is cut down and the states list is made more extensive, a process will be set in motion which will ultimately lead to total disintegration of the Nation. It will also impoverish the poorer states by increased self aggrandizement by the more developed states. In international trade the

states with the major ports will be at an advantage as compared to the Hindi speaking inland states. One can go on endlessly describing probabilities of advantage or disadvantage to the peoples of India, if decentralisation becomes the order of the day. But the disadvantages will certainly outweigh the advantages very greatly. In fact just as in matters of local significance the village panchayats should have more power; things of a wider national importance should be centralised. India's economy and cultural structure have no provincial boundaries. If artificial boundaries are created in a state-wise fashion by empowering the state legislatures to interfere with interstate relations in an intensive manner; it will cause harm to the economy and obstruct cultural progress. As things are the states are becoming over critical of one another and national integration is not gaining ground by this undesirable development. The peoples of the states must realise that they have their statutory rights for their own material and cultural progress and not for imposing their will on others or for mutual exploitation. The peoples of the states are all Indians and not so many sub-nations viz Bengalis, Tamils, Muslims, Hindi-speakers, workers, entrepreneurs and so on and so forth. Every Indian must carry out his obligation to the Motherland India first.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND ACHARYA PRAFULLA CHANDRA

J. L. DAS

Mahatma Gandhi is the father of the Indian nation, and Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray is regarded as the father of modern chemistry in India. I have no competence to correctly assess the contributions to the motherland of two of her noblest sons,—one raising a whole nation from out of dust to its feet and giving the coup de grace to a mighty imperial power by his novel technique of non-violence, and the other training several generations of brilliant Indian scientists in his laboratory and putting our country on the map of the scientific world. Since this is the Gandhi Centenary Year, it shall be my humble attempt to briefly examine the deep bond of reverence and love that the Mahatma and the Acharya bore towards each other.

The first meeting between the two took place towards the end of 1901 at the Calcutta residence of G. K. Gokhale, who was Gandhiji's host during his sojourn in the city in course of his visit to India from South Africa. Let us hear of this meeting in Gandhiji's own words, "He (Gokhale) seemed to keep nothing private from me. He would introduce me to all the important people that called on him. Of these the one who stands foremost in my memory is Dr. (now Sir) P. C. Ray. He lived practically next door and was a frequent visitor. This is how he introduced Dr. Ray: 'This is Prof. Ray who having a monthly salary of Rs 800/-, keeps just Rs. 40/- for himself and devotes the balance for public purposes. He is not, and does not want to get married. I see little difference between Dr. Ray as

he is to-day and as he used to be then. His dress used to be nearly as simple as it is, with this difference of course that whereas it is khadi now, it used to be Indian mill-cloth in those days" (My Experiments With Truth).

Prafulla Chandra also "felt a strong attraction for him (Gandhiji) at the very first sight, because of their common habits of life characterized by simplicity and even of austerity, of their common solicitude for human welfare, and of their common disregard for wealth, power or position. Closer association with Gandhi made a deep and lasting impression on Prafulla Chandra, and, as we shall see later, his intimacy with and esteem for Gandhiji grew in intensity as the years rolled by. It was at Prafulla Chandra's initiative and insistence that a public meeting was organized at the Albert Hall on that occasion where Gandhiji spoke about the disabilities under which the Indian settlers in the Cape laboured. The well-known Calcutta daily, the Englishman, also took up Gandhiji's cause and a report of the meeting was published in its issue of January 20, 1902". (Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray Birthday Centenary Souvenir Volume).

In his autobiography Gandhiji recounts an interesting incident in connection with Prafulla Chandra's simplicity in dress and deportment. "Before settling down I had thought of making a tour through India travelling third class, and of acquainting myself with the hardships of third class passengers...It was necessary to equip myself

anew for the third class tour... Thus equipped I set forth on my travels. Gokhale and Dr. Ray came to the station to see me off. I had asked them both not to trouble to come, but they insisted. 'I shall not have come if you had gone first class, but now I had to,' said Gokhale. No one stopped Gokhale from going on to the platform. He was in his silk turban, jacket and dhoti. Dr. Ray in his Bengali dress. He was stopped by the ticket collector but on Gokhale telling him that he was his friend, he was admitted."

Prafulla Chandra was first and foremost a scientist. The turmoil and the tangled webs of politics were not in his element. To quote his own words, "I never considered that I was equipped by temperament and nature for playing the role of a politician. One whose best period in life has been mainly divided between the laboratory and the study finds it too great a taxation upon his time and energy to go about this vast country or rather continent and address meetings. The very physical strain it entails would render me hors de combat in no time. In fact, my fragile constitution and physique as also advancing age forbid my entering the political arena." Still as a true humanitarian, he could not confine himself exclusively to the seclusion of his research laboratory and turn a deaf ear to the wails of his miserable countrymen, and remain indifferent to their appalling poverty and their pressing problems. He, therefore, stood by the side of Mahatma Gandhi in such constructive activities as propagation of khadi, removal of untouchability, revival of cottage industries, uplift of women, village reconstruction, mass education, etc.

In 1922 there was a severe flood in North Bengal affecting the districts of Bogra, Pabna, and Rajshahi. It resulted in extensive damage to standing crops and property and

considerable loss of human lives and cattle heads. The total loss was estimated at six crores of rupees. As soon as Sir P. C. Ray heard of this calamity he took the initiative in forming a relief committee. He was elected its President, and he directed his stupendous energy and ability in ministering succour to the afflicted humanity. The premises of the University College of Science was turned into a relief centre. A band of selfless workers including his colleagues and students, engaged themselves in this mission of mercy under his inspiring leadership. A sum of over seven lakhs of rupees besides huge quantities of food, clothing and other articles was collected in a short time, and excellent service was rendered to the flood-stricken people. The clock-like regularity and precision with which this vast organization worked elicited the admiration of even foreigners and the reporter of the Manchester Guardian commented that if Gandhi could somehow create two more P. C. Rays then India would have got Sawaraj within a year.

In 1931 flood again created havoc in North and East Bengal. No less than two million people were severely affected, and the total financial loss, according to Dr. Meghnad Saha, who had also taken part in the relief operations in 1922, was between eight and ten crores of rupees. Acharya Ray again came to the forefront of relief operations, though he had then attained the Biblical span of three score and ten years of age. This time also the University College of Science became the headquarters of the relief organization under the name of "Sankat Tran Samity". Mahatma Gandhi came across Acharya Ray's appeal to the relief fund, and himself addressed the following appeal to them: "I hope people of the Bombay Presidency will go to the rescue

of flood-stricken Bengal and send their contributions to Dr. P. C. Ray". It would not be out of place to mention that in recognition of Sir P. C. Ray's conspicuous services in flood-relief operations Gandhiji used to call him, 'Doctor of Floods'.

It might seem strange that a scientist of the calibre of Acharya Prafulla Chandra should be an ardent exponent of the Charkha, which appeared to many an anachronism. His observation at the inauguration of the Indian National Swadeshi Exhibition at Poona in 1931 provides the answer. "...When Mahatmaji, in 1921, first made the Charkha the symbol of the new movement, I myself as a staunch believer in mechanization laughed at his efforts to rehabilitate this 'relic of medievalism'. But soon in connection with the famine and flood relief operations in my province which I felt called upon to undertake in some of the affected parts of Bengal, I felt the supreme need of secondary occupations for the teeming millions of India during the non-crop season". He urged the plying of the Charkha in every village home as "the poor man's insurance against famine," and himself started spinning everyday for about an hour in spite of his multifarious duties. From that time onward till his death he wore only home-spun apparel. Because of his earnest advocacy of the Charkha, his friend Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal, that encyclopaedia of human knowledge, playfully bestowed upon him the epithet of 'charkharshi' (from charkha Rishi, meaning saint), in course of his letter to Prafulla Chandra inviting the latter to deliver the Convocation address of the University of Mysore.

It would be however wrong to presume that the Mahatma and the Acharya saw eye to eye with each other on all matters. For

instance, Prafulla Chandra viewed untouchability as purely a social problem and did not like it to be used for propaganda purposes and as a political expedient as many of Gandhiji's followers were doing. Again, during the non-cooperation movement when the slogan of boycotting foreign, particularly British, goods rent the air, Acharya Ray did not like the use of the word "boycott". According to him "boycott" had only the limited object of bringing the foreigner to his sense by hitting his pocket whereas "swadeshim" was based upon genuine love of one's country-made products. In this connection he remarked, "I am Swadeshi and Swadeshi is my religion and it has been my life-long end to manufacture those articles which I have to import from foreign lands. Political consideration does not sway me". He also did not agree with the Mahatma on the Khilafat question, which had become an important plank in the Congress programme. He made no secret of his views on the subject in course of his Convocation address to the Jamia Millia Islamia, Aligarh. He said, "I am certainly not impervious to the grandeur of the Pan-Islamic movement as one of the most promising portents of the awakening of Asia, nor to the sublimity of the spiritual call of the Khalifa upon the rank and file of the faithful in all parts of the world, but these demands must be viewed in their proper perspective and must not be allowed to drown the clarion call of Mother India herself to her sons for achieving an independent, sovereign, national life. We must not allow our loyalty to the mother country to be swamped by the wave of extra-territorial patriotism. India must not be a spoke in the Khilafat wheel gyrated from Istambul. The Swaraj of India must be our one all-compelling goal, and everything else must be kept in its place."

A few of such differences notwithstanding, Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Prafulla Chandra held each other in the greatest esteem. Differences in outlook and opinion never led to any misunderstanding or estrangement between them. Mahatma Gandhi respected Acharya Ray as his elder brother and spoke of him thus on the occasion of his 70th birthday celebration, "It is difficult to believe that the man in simple Indian dress and wearing simple manners could possibly be the great scientist and Professor he even then was (in 1901). And it took my breath away when I heard that out of his princely salary he kept only a few rupees to himself and the rest he devoted to public

uses and particularly for helping poor students. Thirty years have made no difference to the great and good servant of India. Acharya Ray has set an example of ceaseless service, enthusiasm and optimism, of which we may well be proud. "Prafulla Chandra's admiration for the Mahatma found expression in the brief statement that the example of Gandhiji made him realize that "truth lived is a far greater force than truth merely spoken." I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute of respects to Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, two of India's most illustrious sons.

A LAND LEGISLATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

AMAR SAHA

It is intriguing to find that Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, the Chief Minister, Govt. of West Bengal has very recently emphasised upon the necessity of amending the Constitution to facilitate better land reforms. It is equally interesting to find that it has eventually been decided in the conference of chief ministers that within the frame work of the Constitution better land reforms can be effected. It may not be out of place to recall that unless the proposed bill of Sri Nath Pai is converted into an enactment to override the effect of the decision of *Golak Nath v. State of Punjab*, (1967) 2 S. C. J. 486, no amendment of the part III of the Constitution containing fundamental rights is possible. It may further be recalled that

recently West Bengal Acquisition and Settlement of Homestead Land Ordinance has been converted into an enactment and through regular legislative process. A brief review of this enactment and its impact on the doctrine of eminent domain as adopted in our Constitution would not be out of place.

This enactment embraces both types of lands namely agricultural and non-agricultural and it defines an *occupier* as a person in possession of land of another person without any interest there in based on title and who holds no land or not more than 8094 hectare of land whether as owner or tenant thereof including the heirs of such persons. The enactment provides that any such occupier

may apply to the Collector for settling with him at best. 0334 hectare of land occupied by him provided he or his predecessor had constructed a homestead on the land is his possession and he or his predecessor has been residing there continuously for a period of not less than three years immediately preceding the 22nd May, 1969. On receipt of such application the Collector shall start a proceeding to inquire about the ingredients aforesaid. The Collector may also start a proceeding suo motu. On being satisfied about the ingredients of the provisions of the Act the Collector shall acquire the land under the occupation of the occupier on payment of a compensation twenty times the annual rent or revenue to the real owner. Then the Collector shall settle the land to the occupier. The enactment in effect and in substance confiscates the land of a particular class and distributes the same to another on payment of a compensation twenty times the annual rent or revenue.

Art. 19 (1) (f) guarantees to a citizen the power to hold, acquire and dispose of property subject to reasonable restriction being imposed upon this power under clause (5) of Art 19 in the interest of general public or of the scheduled tribes. It is, however, regarded as an inherent right of the Government and an essential incident of its sovereignty, to take private property for public use. The Indian version of this doctrine of eminent domain is contained in Art. 31 and entry no 42 of list III of the seventh schedule of the Constitution. Clause (1) of Art 31 guarantees that a person cannot be deprived of his property by executive fiat. Clause (2) enunciates two principles, one being that inadequacy of compensation is no ground for challenging the vires of the legislation when by that piece of legislation property has been

acquired for public purpose. Art 31(2) so far as it relates to compensation has two limbs. Firstly such enactment must fix the amount of compensation or specify the principles on which compensation is to be paid. Secondly, inadequacy of such compensation is no ground for challenging the vires of the enactment. The first limb of the article aforesaid is independent of the second. The expression "compensation" having not been defined in the Constitution, its literal meaning must govern the field. Literally it means the just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of. Since the compensation or its principles is not specified in the enactment, the said piece of legislation under discussion is liable to be struck down if no just equivalent of what the real owner is deprived of or its principles are prescribed in the enactment. Is twenty times the annual revenue or the rent the just equivalent of what the true owner is deprived of by the Government action? Art. 31A of the Constitution introduced by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 and later amended by Fourth Amendment Act, 1955 however prescribes a way out to get round the difficulty. For it lays down, inter alia, that notwithstanding anything contained in Art 13, no law providing for the acquisition of any estate by the State or of any rights in estate shall be deemed to be void on the ground of its being inconsistent with the rights conferred by Arts 14, 19 or 31.

In order to bring it within the immunity of art 31A, the acquisition must be of any estate or of any rights therein. The expressions estate "and" rights in relation to an estate have been defined in sub-clauses (a) & (b) of Article 31A. It reads as follows:

(2) (a) the expression "estate" shall, in relation to any local area, have the same

meaning as that expression or its local equivalent has in the existing law relating to land tenures in force in that area and shall also include—

(i) any jagir, inam or muafi or other similar grant and in the States of Madras and Kerala, any janmam right;

(ii) any land held under ryotwari settlement;

(iii) any land held or let for purposes of agriculture or for purposes ancillary thereto, including waste land, forest land for pasture or sites of buildings and other structures occupied by cultivators of land, agricultural labourers and village artisans.

(b) the expression "rights", in relation to an estate, shall include any rights vesting in a proprietor, sub-proprietor, under-proprietor, tenure-holder, raiyat, under-raiyat or other intermediary and any rights or privileges in respect of land revenue.

Confining our attention to clause (b) of art 31A (2) the meaning of rights in relation to an estate is not exhaustive indeed, but all non-agr. tenancies cannot be covered within the meaning of the expression "intermediary" as such cannot be regarded as "interests" in relation to an estate, particularly when the definition of intermediary in W. B. Estates Acquisition Act has carefully excluded non-agr. tenancies from the purview of the expression intermediary. At best non-agr. tenancy having non-agr. under tenant under it may come within the scope of the expression

"intermediary" but it would be stretching the meaning of the expression "intermediary" to an inordinate length, to allow it to cover a non-agr. under tenant having no tenant under him.

So far as clause (a) of Art. 31A (2) is concerned, the position is very simple because Bengal Tenancy Act which defined estate was not our existing law on 22nd May, 1969, it having been repealed with effect from 1st Nov. 1956. Reading clause (a) as a whole we find except "site for building" no non-agr. tenancy can be regarded as our estate.

If that be so, W. B. Acquisition and Settlement of Homestead Land Act so far as it deals with non-agricultural lands except building sites, is liable to be collapsed at the first impact of arts. 19(1) (f) and 31.

Then again the term "acquisition" in the impugned legislation, it seems has been innovated to confer on it the immunity of art 31(A)-its real object being to confiscate the lands of a particular class to distribute to another. As an objective critic it is not within my province to eulogise the legislative process of creating a class less Soviets, but is it not liable to be regarded as a colourable legislative for the legislature seeks to achieve through camouflage what it cannot achieve straight ?

Time can only answer our queries. It appears however that the necessity of amendment of the Constitution ought to have been felt long ago.

WORLD PEACE PAGODA—RAJGIR (Bihar)
(A Unique & Concrete Tribute To Gandhiji)

Prof. N. C. PARASHAR

More than three hundred years ago the author of the *Paradise Lost* reminded us that peace hath her victories, no less glorious than those of war. Yet the world has forgotten this precious bit of wisdom more often than any other message of the past. Time and again, the statesmen and politicians, kings and generals, dictators and democrats have hurled the whole of humanity headlong into war. Every time, they have professed to fight a war with a crusading zeal and shouted from the house-tops that "theirs", is the war to end all wars. Yet the wars have followed in quick succession, driving mankind "from sun-shine to the sunless land". The only saviours of mankind have been the men of goodwill and the apostles of peace who have preached the cause of peace with all their sincerity and dedicated the blooming days of their youth as also the maturing years of declining age to this noble aim.

Gandhi was one such man in modern times as the Buddha was one in the distant past and Jesus Christ, some time later. We must remember the warning of Unesco that as wars begin in the minds of men, so the defences of peace must also be built therein. The human mind needs be reminded every now and then that preparations for peace are as essential as those for any other noble cause. Otherwise the evil in us lures us to the path of ruin and destruction, through war and bloodshed, in the name of petty ideologies or egotistic fads of a few high placed individuals.

It is with such a noble mission for the preservation of peace that the World Peace Pagoda has been constructed at Rajgir as a memorial to Gandhiji in his birth centenary year and as a symbol of reverence and worship to the memory of Lord Buddha who had preached the Gospel of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharma Pundrik Sutra*) to an assembly of noble Boddhi-Sattvas and Arhats, in the distant past. Earlier in his life the Blessed one had warned the Kolyas and Shakiyas to stop shedding human blood for the petty feud over the waters of the river Rohini. He had declared that the human blood was far more precious than water or any other wordly possession. He had gone a step further and declared that all wars are fruitless, since :

Jayam veram pasavati, dukkham seti parajito
Upsanto sukham seti, hitva jayaparajayam.

— Dhammapada 15/5

(Victory breeds hatred and the defeat causes humiliation, the wise ones transcend both victory and defeat)

It is therefore, only befitting that the Buddhist world has thought of the World Peace Pagoda at Rajgir as the true memorial to Gandhiji's blessed memory, since peace and non-violence were the dearest of all to his heart.

The man behind this peace Pagoda is Ven: Nichidatsu Fuji, Mahasthavir (popularly known as Guruji) who is the President of Japan Buddha Sangha. Sitting in the early dawn of New Year Day in 1933, on the peak of Gridhar Kut at Rajgir in Bihar, this vener-

able sage from "the land of the Rising Sun", had vowed to the Tathagata that in his lifetime he would build a chain of such peace pagodas throughout the different countries of the world in order to realise the dream of Nichiren, the great Bodhisattva of Japan. In an age of prophets this great saint had declared on 27th April, 1243 at Kyasummuki, in Japan that he would bring the kingdom of the Blessed One on earth. Ever optimistic about the final success of man in realising the Divine in him, Nichiren had thundered like a fiery prophet "I am the pillar of Japan". He beckoned his followers to march through snows and storms for the realisation of their dreams. So, taking the cue from this noble sage of yore, Ven: Guruji started his noble mission. He had earlier acquired the relics of the Buddha from a monk in Ceylon in 1932 and vowed to raise stupas as symbols of peace.

It was in 1932 that venerable Guruji met Mahatma Gandhi: The latter had returned disappointed after attending the Round Table conference in London. This meeting with the father of the Indian Nation inspired both of them. While Gandhiji started reciting:

Namu Myoho Renge Kyo

(Respects to the Lotus Sutra—Saddharma Pundrik)

Guruji took to the spinning wheel. The latter explained to Gandhi the concept of his peace mission and entrusted the task in India to (late) Ven: Maruyama, who became a companion of Gandhi for some time at Sevagram. Some years later, two temples in Japanese style were constructed one after the other in Calcutta and Bombay. The task of raising the peace Pagodas however, progressed slowly. Japan was heading for World War II. Guruji warned the rulers of Japan of the disaster that awaited them all. But they turned as deaf an ear to his warning as the

rulers of Kamakura period (1185-1333) had turned to Nichiren's warnings. It was, therefore no surprise for Guruji when Japan became the first victim of atomic bombs in August 1945. As if to highlight the universal necessity for peace, the whole of Japan had to undergo this fiery penance. With rock-like faith in Nichiren's teachings, Guruji went ahead with his plans. Success came to crown his efforts when in 1954 a peace Pagoda, the first of its kind was built in Japan. It was inaugurated on 8th April 1954. This first world peace Pagoda at Hanaokayama Hill top in Kumamoto city was the first symbol of hope for mankind. It was the stepping stone for the peace movement. The world Peace conference was held at that time and 35 million Japanese signed a petition to the nuclear powers to desist from testing the atomic bombs as they had proved to be the agents of doom for one and all.

Inspired by this initial success, Guruji marched from one goal to another. Ten other peace Pagodas were being raised in the important cities of Japan. (Ajat Satru and other Indian kings in the past had aspired to raise ten Pagodas each in their life-times, as a tribute to the memory of the Enlightened One and as token of contribution to the world peace, according to the *Buddha Charita*). Meanwhile, the work in India was not forgotten. Guruji visited India in 1956 to participate in the 2500th Mahaparinirvana centenary celebrations of Gautama Buddha and then the plan for a peace Pagoda was unfolded to Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, who readily promised help. He sent ten Buddha Statues for the ten pagodas being built in Japan by Guruji. In 1962, Guruji was invited to attend the Anti Nuclear Weapons Conference. It was, however, in 1964 that the Rajgir Buddha Society was set up under the Presidentship of Shri Morarji Desai. The

hour of promise came in 1965, when Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of India, laid the foundation stone of the Peace Pagoda at Rajgir. The work has demanded considerable attention and energy from Guruji and his colleagues in the field. They had to strain every nerve. The funds for the Pagoda were collected not from the kings, the ministers or business magnates, but from ordinary men and women who also signed a pledge to uphold the cause of peace at all times of their lives. Having seen before their very eyes, the death toll of two lacs of men, women and children in the twin cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the evil effects of the explosion on the babies, who were still to be born, these simple folk trembled at the thought of war. So the funds for the Rajgir Pagoda were contributed by these laymen who had lived through the horrors of war and who desired the unending reign of peace. Guruji meanwhile did not forget his work in Japan. Eleven more Stupas were raised during this time, bringing the total to 21 (in Japan). A glimpse of the total dedication that Guruji owes to his work can be seen from the fact that he started the construction of the latest Pagoda in Japan on New Years Day in 1959 and was successful in getting this inaugurated on 27th April, 1969 atop the Mt. Kiyosumi, where from Nichiren had embarked upon his noble mission 726 years ago.

The Peace Pagoda at Rajgir has cost more than Rs. 20 lakhs and is 38 metres high with a diameter of 45 metres at the base. The President of India Shri V. V. Giri inaugurated this Pagoda on the morning of 25th October, 1969, which happened to be a full moon day. When the whole world was bestowing the gifts of yellow robes on this sacred Pravarna day, on the monks of various Buddhist sects, as a mark of the culmination

of the Ienant (Varhsa Vas) this sage from Japan, offered this unique gift for the welfare of mankind. Witnessing the occasion, in addition to lacs of laymen, (including diplomats and dignitaries) were the saffron-robed monks from all over the world, representing each country and each sect of Buddhism. The Japanese delegation alone, was more than 150 strong—half of them nuns. At the advanced age of 85, Ven: Nichidatsu, Fuji, Mahasthavir can claim to have translated a dream into a reality, for wherever he goes he carries the motto in Japanese, which means as under (in free translation).

"We take the sacred relics of the Enlightened One as symbols of peace to different countries, construct peace pagodas and then we return them to this Pagoda at Rajgir in their original home—India".

The work of Guruji has already got a warm hearted response in Korea, U. S. A., Canada, Soviet Union and China in addition to Japan and India.

At a time when the nations are adding to the stock-pile of nuclear weapons, when the leaders of leading powers are determined "to pollute the earth and poison the air", may the peace Pagoda at Rajgir stand out as a true monument of peace reminding the statesmen and politicians all the world over of the duty they have to the cause of peace and the respect they should have for the sanctity of all life. The only words that come to mind on this auspicious occasion are the ones from Rabindra Nath Tagore in a "Prayer to Lord Buddha".

Man's heart is in anguish with the fever
of unrest

With the poison of self-seeking
With a thirst that knows no end.
Countries, far and wide flaunt on their
foreheads,

The blood red mark of hatred;
Touch them with thy right hand,
Make them One in spirit,
Bring harmony into their life,
Bring the Rhythm of beauty,
O Serene, O Free, the Soul of Sanctity
Cleanse the earth of her stains, O Merciful!

RELIGION IN MODERN AGE

Prof. MUKUNDABIHARI MITRA

No age is—and cannot be—entirely sceptical or fully believing, for mental make-up differs from person to person and, therefore, cent per cent people of any age can be neither believers nor non-believers. Even in the ancient and the middle ages, when implicit faith had an uninterrupted sway, were people—and they were important enough to force their way into history—who stepped out of the common track and loudly questioned the validity of accepted beliefs. In the modern age, too, dominated as it is by what is called rationality, faith is not so rare a thing as is generally supposed. Faith and scepticism, belief and non-belief, therefore, have all along co-existed side by side—and they do so even now—though the one or the other may be predominant in a particular age. To assert that the modern age is an age of non-belief, therefore, is to make an over-statement; it is correct only in the sense that the general climate does not promote the mentality of accepting things as they are. On a deeper probe, however, this also will be found, in the case of the vast majority, to be a psychology—resulting from an allergy to mental exertion—of swimming with the tide rather than a positive conviction—born of rational thinking—in the irrationality of beliefs sought to be summarily thrown overboard.

Lack of faith in God, religion and things spiritual in the modern age is the by-product, if not the direct result, of the process of scientific investigation into the mysteries of Nature. These investigations revealed, at the initial stages, that the universe—from the minutest

particle to the unimaginably vast celestial bodies—is guided by inexorable physical forces which the scientists call Laws of Nature. There is no conscious super-mind controlling or directing the physical universe, they confidently declared, and the idea of an Almighty God presiding over the known and the unknown worlds is nothing but rank superstition. To try to please him by prayer, worship and similar other methods is, therefore, to waste time and energy in invoking the grace of a non-existent entity. Religion of which the pivot is this belief in an all-powerful God, is also a set of superstitions. They shouted from the house-top, devised by a class of clever men to dope the common people with a view to keeping them perpetually in a state of mental slavery and thereby meretriciously exploiting them without any fear of resistance. The Marxist denunciation of religion as the opium of the people is only the natural corollary of this “scientific” view of religion propounded by the votaries of physical science in the first flush of their new knowledge and steadily subscribed to by their successors till newer knowledge made them think afresh.

Science has now reached a stage when space travel and colonisation of the planets is no longer considered as figments of frenzied imagination. All the amazing achievements of science—and still more amazing feats are in the offing—have undoubtedly been possible by progressive mastery over the forces of Nature. But deeper and deeper entry into the secrets of Nature by which this mastery has been possible has also revealed facts that have very largely modified the scientist’s

earlier concept of the universe. The Newtonian idea of a perfectly mechanical universe functioning with perfect regularity under the impulse of mechanical forces is unacceptable to modern scientists who find aberrations in the physical universe for which they have not yet been able to give any explanation, in physical terms. It is, of course, absurd—at least rationally speaking—to suggest that such deviations necessarily bear out the existence of a conscious super-mind—call it God or anything you like—behind or immanent in the world of the senses. But it is not so absurd—and that, again, rationally speaking—to say that there is something beyond the ken of human knowledge till now which is responsible for such unusual behaviours of the physical world as cannot be explained by the known Laws of Nature. Apart from this, the fact is now commonplace in science that the tangible world of senses is really an illusion, for what we call matter is actually the concentration, in larger or smaller quantum of non-material forces spread over unlimited space. Finally, science can only say “how” a thing happens but not “why” it happens. And to deny, on the basis of knowledge limited to “how” and unable to find out “why”, everything beyond the perception of the senses and comprehension of the mind—capacities of both, again, are limited—is certainly not rational. The utmost that rationality justifies is neither to deny nor to accept God and other supra-sensuous and supra-mental entities—the position Lord Buddha is said to have taken.

Apart from spirituality, though it is the centripetal force of all religions, social values of religion have a vital importance of their own. The idea of Gods and Goddesses, the rationalists declare, arose in the mind of the primitive people out of a sense of awe and wonder at normal natural phenomena like sunrise and sun-set, beauty of the stars strewn

like pearls in the midnight sky, the cool breeze blowing pleasantly in the spring, the blue ocean rolling magnificently and eternally, the woods smiling in the abundance of fragrant flowers and similar other attractive aspects of Nature. The other aspects, terrible and cruel, made them crawl with fear and pray for safety to gods and goddesses who, they supposed, controlled the forces that caused these events. Whether such an interpretation of the origin of religion is or is not correct need not be discussed here. What however, deserves to be pointed out is that religion, centering round the concept of gods and goddesses (in the case of many religions and the earliest among them is the religion of the Hindus—the idea of many gods and goddesses was soon replaced by that of one Almighty God), was gradually associated, in the course of time, with rituals and systems of ethics regarded essential for purifying the body and the mind as a pre-condition for gaining the grace of God without which mundane miseries—not to speak of attaining bliss in the after-world—could not be got rid of. Religion thus came to embody the highest aesthetic ideas and the noblest ethical concepts of man and these are indisputably the basis of peaceful and co-operative community life sustained by mutual fellow-feeling and a sense of common good.

It may be argued that ethics and aesthetics are different from religion in its theological sense and that they may be inculcated in men without tying up his mind to religion of which spirituality is the driving force and God the central figure. As a concrete example, the communist countries may be cited, religion has been banished from these lands but ethics and aesthetics have not vanished simultaneously. Disentangled from the tentacles of superstitious beliefs called religion, ethics and aesthetics have been placed in these countries

on a firm social pedestal and this change of context has not affected their values in relation to social life. Apparently, the logic is unexceptionable but there is a difference between religion-oriented ethics and society based moral concepts. Despite the amazing revelations of physical science, life and the universe around us will continue to be a mystery and rationality, which refuses to accept anything beyond the range of its comprehension, will not be able to interpret, in physical terms, all that lies within the compass of our sense preception and beyond it. Ethical values linked with utilitarian concepts alone and totally divorced from super-sensuous ideas may, therefore, be converted merely to crude instruments for achieving social objectives which might—and, as a matter of fact, do—change from time to time and country to country. In other words, instead of remaining as solid foundations of human conduct, which collectively constitutes social behaviour—and,

necessarily, social ethics—moral values will run the risk of being adjusted to the needs of changing social patterns. Religion-based moral concepts are much stronger inasmuch as they remain constant in their essentials, irrespective of changing social order. From the pragmatic point of view also religion has thus an inestimable value. Unfortunately, this aspect of religion, too, is generally ignored in this so-called age of rationality which seeks to reject lightly religion as only a set of so many superstitious beliefs. The rituals and ceremonies associated with religious festivals like Durga Puja, again, should not be looked upon as mere wastage of money and energy on something based on false faith. Besides the occasions for joy they provide, these ceremonies have a social and economic value. Even in the modern age, therefore, religion has a definite and distinct role to play in the life of men and women from the highest to the lowest stratum of society.



Current Affairs

Industrial Licensing Policy

A press release by the Forum of Free Enterprise includes an article on Industrial Licensing Policy and the Dutt Committee's Report, by D. R. Pendse. That the Industrial Licensing Policy of the Government of India has failed to achieve its objectives is a well known fact and the reasons for this failure are well known too. The writer of the above article says in the course of his discussion, some of the learned economists around the world are becoming increasingly sceptical about the intrinsic merits of industrial licensing in the development process. The following remarks of Prof. W. Arthur Lewis are already well-known :

"Licensing is one of the obstacles to development in the poorer countries...one can make a perfect theoretical case for substituting licensing as a method of allocating resources. However, good licensing requires a good civil service, which understands the purpose of the system, is free from corruption, and is accustomed to prompt execution of business operations. Instead, in most poor countries licensing means inordinate delays, and inexplicable decisions. If licensing cannot be administered promptly and efficiently, the country is better off without it..."

"...By the middle 1950 all the leading social democratic parties in the world had come to realise that licensing is an inefficient and corrupt way of allocating resources, and had dropped it from their programmes. Today, even in the USSR powerful and authoritative voices are urging greater reliance on the market, and less use of administrative

direction. If licensing is inefficient and corrupt in advanced countries, with first class administration, it is even more harmful in less developed countries."

(W. Arthur Lewis: "Development Planning", pp. 266-67)

Australians Play Cricket In Calcutta

The Cricket Test Match between Australia and India staged at the Eden Gardens Calcutta had become memorable for many reasons. The most tragic incident associated with it was the death of six young cricket enthusiasts who went to stand in a queue to buy daily tickets for the game. At one stage the crowd surrounding the ticket buyers became unruly and the Police, sensing an impending breach of the peace let loose some mounted constables on the waiting multitude. This led to a stampede and numerous people were trampled under foot by the frenzied crowd trying to get away from the Sowars. The number killed and injured ran into three figures. The six youngmen who died in this tragic manner were all members of respectable educated middle class families to whom their death came as a bolt from the blue. All sorts of public announcements are now being made to console and assist the bereaved families; but the Police and the crowd whose joint action caused the deaths have shown no symptoms of repentance or a change of outlook. The Indian police specialise in adopting forceful methods which aggravate mass hysteria rather than control it. The Indian crowds too are very fond of violent action, though they know

it creates situations which prevent them from enjoying games, sports or other performances. There has never been any proper attempts made to bring greater discipline in our crowds. Nor have Government tried to teach the police more effective methods of controlling crowds than firing off tear gas shells or charges made by armed constables. The other thing to be remembered is that Calcutta has no proper stadium. This is a subject which is eternally under consideration. As a matter of fact, there is room in Calcutta for more than one stadium. These places of public entertainment, if built, will always pay for their construction costs and for their maintenance; but nobody ever attempts a proper approach to their actual construction.

The Australians, being unused to the ways of Indian spectators, reacted antagonistically to the latter's invasions of the play ground and attempts to take an active part in the progress of the game. Being members of a virile race of men, the Australians used language that was not over polite. Some said they used force to dissuade the Indian spectators from entering the ground, while the play was on, in order to photograph the players.

The crowd of course entered the ground with no hostile intentions. and such minor missiles as they projected were aimed at persons other than the players.

The Indian team played reasonably well and their defeat at the hands of the Australians did not in any way prove that Indians were not good at playing cricket. Rather they proved they could stand up well against the world's best cricket teams.

Bank Robbery

There was an armed raid on the State Bank of India Park Street Branch at Calcutta, very recently. The raid was carried out

by some armed young men at the time of opening of the Bank. The youngmen entered the Bank and started shooting at the ceiling of the large room in which the Bank is housed. One Nepalese guard who tried to load his gun was shotdown by the raiders. This man later died of his injuries. The robbers had come in a $\frac{3}{4}$ ton truck and they decamped with about $4\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. Later the truck was found abandoned at the corner of Little Russel Street and Shakespeare Sarani and some Maoish literature was found in it; The police did not consider this of any significance. It was reported that a young man had been arrested in connection with the robbery but there had been no confirmation of this news. This is the third Bank Robbery in Calcutta during recent years. It has created a lot of sensation and the people are becoming critical of the police, who have not been able so far, to trace the criminals who carried out the other robberies.

Americans Moving out of Vietnam

President Nixon's announcement that 50000 more American soldiers will move out of South Vietnam by April 1970, has created a belief that, at last the Americans are really and truly coming out of the War in Vietnam. 60000 troops have already moved out and American public opinion desires that the Americans should lose no time in dissociating themselves from this War. Thousands of Americans have died in Vietnam and no one can say how many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have given their lives in the fight that has raged between the North and the South Vietnamese. Admittedly both sides have much to say which makes political sense. But nothing justifies the gruesome death of half a million men, women and children in this war of

opinion. Should there be one or two governments in Vietnam? After all the Vietnamese are one nation, though there are many races in that country. If the majority of this nation wish to be communist why should they not be so? And why should they be so when a large number of them do not believe in communism. So it goes on; but, as we have said, none of these arguments justify the mass slaughter of numerous human beings. A political opinion at its best is no better than a particular way of looking at human relations and social organisation. Whatever modifications one may think of effecting in such relations and organisation, one could never prove that these must be carried out even at the cost of murdering old men and women, boys, girls and children. The Vietnam wars has reduced its participants to something low and bestial and no amount of glorification of communism or democracy can make them clean.

The U. F. Government of West Bengal

The United Front in West Bengal has many political parties in it some of which hold political views that are strongly disliked by other constituent parties of the United Front. That there has been a patch work unity among the various parties in spite of these ideological antagonisms, has been possible only because of the public dislike for the Congress party led by messrs. Prafulla Sen, Atulya Ghosh and others. The people voted for anybody excepting for the Congress candidates and the Congress lost its majority in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The public of West Bengal expected many radical changes in the economic structure of the country through the activities of the United Front. Among these expected

changes were matters relating to unemployment among the children of the soil, the progressive usurpation of control over the resources of the State by non-Bengalis, the prevalence of corruption, delays in governmental action in many fields, development of greater Calcutta, construction and maintenance of roads, controlling rising prices and making provisions for better supply of fish, milk and other food products. Insufficiency of hospital beds, supply of medicines, inadequacy of educational arrangements and other deficiencies were also expected to be improved. But the extremists of the United Front devoted themselves to inter-party squabbles and certain parties worked for intensifying what they called "class struggle" and working class agitation, which caused endless public inconvenience without producing any noticeable gains for the workers. As for the vast mass of unemployed and the landless labour; they were taught to help themselves by direct individual action which led to a grave deterioration of the law and order situation. But no actual gain accrued to the people in general. The U. F. Government therefore soon began to lose its popularity and people began to get impatient with the numerous processions that the extremists of the Front organised in a non-stop manner. At present West Bengal is harassed by a few thousand followers of the leftist leaders many of whom are feared for their strong arm tactics. The general public feel rather helpless for this reason that they have no reliable leadership to organise any resistance to these loud, unruly and potentially ruthless elements, many of whom are non-Bengalis. The public have no desire to reintroduce Congress rule in West Bengal either. In the circumstances one waits and watches for developments that might restore normalcy to the State.

The New Year

1970 sees the end of an eventful decade for India and the World at large. India saw during 1960—1970 two wars, one with China and the other with Pakistan; the death of two Prime Ministers, Pandit Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri; the centenary of the birth of many great Indians, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, Prafulla Chandra Ray, Nilratan Sircar, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, Ramananda Chatterjee—to name some of them; the devaluation of the rupee—was carried out during this decade and several important political parties began to split up during this period such as the Congress and the Communist party. Two Presidents of India Rajendra-prasad and Zakir Hussain, died during these ten years. This decade also saw a partial break through of India's food problem by development of new varieties of wheat and rice as well as by the intensification of propaganda for population control. The Government of India also had its first woman Prime Minister in the sixties and freed Goa from the Portuguese during the same era.

The world saw many epoch making incidents during these ten years; the most remarkable of which was, man's journey to the Moon. China exploded her first nuclear bomb during these years and began her development into a nuclear power. The Vietnam war, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the fall of Soekarno and the occupation of Czechoslovakia, by the Warsaw Pact powers are also worth mentioning as outstanding political events of the sixties. In medical science the first heart transplanting was carried out followed by several others during these years. The assassination of Martin Luther King and

John and Robert Kennedy were politically inspired and took place during these fateful years. Great youth unrest began during this decade all over the world and some remarkable cults came into existence pioneered by the Beatles and the Hippies. Social conventions began to be disregarded more than ever before and human behaviour became a great challenge to civilisation. The old order changed noticeably; but no new order of any merit replaced it. Disorder prevailed to a degree and was more like a civil war in some countries. The methods adopted by certain governments to control civil commotion were savage and war-like too. Social values changed greatly during these years and certain virtues lost their eminence and unquestioned acceptance by the peoples of the world. The young challenged the wisdom of the managers of social institutions and economic establishments and nobody agreed to accept anything just because it was customary and time honoured,

And the Seventies

The seventies have begun; but there are no signs yet of any change in world outlook and public behaviour. In India political parties are breaking up into more pieces and the various factions are becoming more bellicose than they have been before. Ideological differences are intensely felt but are incomprehensible. The petty leaders of the petty factions have petty differences which they magnify in order to justify their self assertive excesses. True leadership is wanting badly and there is a moral vacuum waiting to be filled by the advent of a truly great leader.

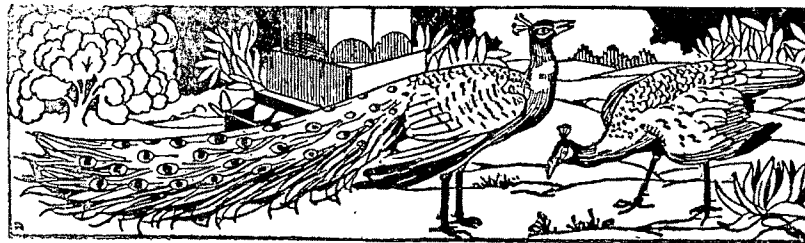
The world is going on along its habitual

path of likes, dislikes, choice and preferences. The Vietnam and the West Asian wars continue. The Czechoslovakian impasse remains mainly unsolved. Mao t'se Tung continues to develop the armed might of the Chinese Republic. The Russo-American race for armaments goes on unabated. The lesser powers wait for something to happen which will set in motion new developments that will help them to occupy stronger positions than they now do. One does not know what China's intentions are; but, otherwise the great powers are not keen on developing any political themes that might lead to active warfare. The seventies may see the strengthening of forces that will make a great war an impossibility. Again, things may happen which will lead to the spread of the war fever from country to country until it reaches all nations.

Paper Government

1970 beings a new decade. The last two decades have been used by our political leaders to express their thoughts which had been occasionally of a very useful sort or of high intellectual or moral quality. There had been many thoughts that were imprac-

ticable, illogical decadent and mere paraphrase of what Gandhiji or Pandit Nehru had said. The Indian constitution too has a remarkable good thought content and the laws of India have in them the wisdom of many races of intelligent men. So that we never lacked good ideas and sound guiding principles in the field of nation building or in the maintenance and improvement of our civilisation and social system. In fact if our Government could give fuller effect to what they have before them on paper, Indians should have a reasonably good political-economic-social system. The fact that our politics is full of selfish partisanship and rotten practices; our economy burdened with anti-social evils, laziness, non-productive impositions and general inaction; and, our social system supercharged with pretention, mock show and dead and dying institutions; are not caused by any lack of past and present thinking, or even sincere reformatory intentions which appear wonderful on paper. But a government which runs on non-implemented schemes and laws that are not enforced; cannot be called an ideal government. In 1970 and the years that follow we must learn to give material effect to our thoughts, carry out our projects properly and enforce the laws that adorn our statute books.



INDIA'S ECONOMIC PLANNING NEEDS RE-ORIENTATION

B. K. KUMAVAT

'Economic Planning' is said to be the panacea of all economic-ills. After political independence, India committed herself to the policy of planned economic development to eradicate the curse of poverty and enable the masses to lead a good life. Two main aims have guided our planned development. firstly to build up by democratic means a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy and secondly to establish a social order based on justice and equality of opportunity to every citizen. The task which the planners took upon themselves was not merely to get better results within the frame work of economic and social institutions but to mould and refashion them so that they may contribute effectively to the realisation of wider and deeper social values. The attainment of positive goals, the raising of living standards of the masses, the promotion of enterprise among the backward classes, the enlargement of opportunity for all and the creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community, have been among the primary objectives of economic planning in India.

A CLIMATE OF FRUSTRATION

India has so far implemented three Five Year Plans and three Annual plans. The Fourth Five Year Plan is also in the process of implementation. It is the biggest one both in respect of the outlay and objectives. But

it is alleged that inspite of implementing the various projects of economic development during the past eighteen years the economic planning has not been able to deliver the goods to the public and poverty still remains to be the fate of the common man. There has been a widespread atmosphere of frustration among the people. The rate of growth of the economy has been far from satisfactory and wide gaps between promises and performances are still prevailing. The fourth Five Year Plan envisages the rate of growth at 5 to 6 % per annum. But, as is evident from our past experience, it will hardly be achieved. It has been noticed that with the consecutive increase in the investment and size of the plans the gap between the estimated and actual rate of growth went on increasing. The broad social and economic objectives laid down in the Five Year Plans have been lagging behind. This has, naturally, given cause for frustration with the entire frame-work and policy of economic planning in India.

SELF-RELIANCE IN AGRICULTURE A DILEMMA

It is a paradox that India being predominantly an agricultural country, has to depend upon other nations for food grains. A few years back, our position went just like "ship to mouth" when we faced food shortage very acutely.

Although the production of food grains and other agricultural products has been increased, we still have to import food from abroad in a sizeable quantity. No concerted efforts were made towards achieving self sufficiency in agriculture in the past plans. Of course, the First Five Year Plan accorded highest priority to agriculture and consequently the production went up. But the planners became complacent and the Second Five Year Plan shifted the balance towards industrialisation, specially to the development of heavy industries. Agricultural development was not given a square deal. This, in turn, had aggravated the food problem and we had to import food grains in large quantity. During the Third Five Year Plan too, agriculture did not receive proper attention. The actual investment in agricultural projects was less than that in industrialisation. Again, heavy imports of food stuff from foreign countries had to be made. During the period of First Five Year Plan, the total imports of food grains were 122 lakh tonnes which went to 173 lakh tons during the Second Plan period and during the Third Plan period the import touched the figure of 300 lakh tonnes. In 1951, the share of food grains in the total imports of India was 15.3% which went to the extent of 26.2% in 1967-68. It caused a serious set back to the economy as a whole. The solution of one problem of food shortage gave rise to another problem of foreign exchange crisis. The production achieved last year is certainly encouraging, which is the highest of the preceding ten years. But, much credit goes to the Monsoon for this increase. Admitted that the vagaries of the Monsoon and a rapid increase in population have retarded the agricultural advancement

but the defects of our planning cannot be obliterated on this ground alone. These pre-suppositions (vagaries of Monsoon and increasing population) were already in our minds. It would have been far better if we had formulated one or two Five Year Plans exclusively for agricultural advancement.

Whatever has been done in the name of agricultural development till now, its benefits have accrued to the big cultivators. The small cultivators have been almost neglected in the so-called 'Green Revolution'. As a matter of fact, small farmers with comparatively meagre resources must get more of the credit facilities and other help. In the present set-up, the cultivators with large land holdings are getting all the benefits. The cooperative movement and the Government machinery have failed to improve the economic lot of the small farmers and the poorer classes. Indian cultivators are no longer traditional and orthodox. They are apt to adapt themselves to modern methods of cultivation. Big farmers can easily afford to purchase modern equipments, agricultural implements, tractors, fertilisers, insecticides and the like. On the other hand, the small farmers are unable to avail themselves of these things in the absence of adequate resources and credit facilities. We cannot and must not neglect the large number of small cultivators in our agricultural development otherwise it will give rise to in-equality and class conflicts in the country side and our efforts towards self sufficiency in agriculture will remain half-realised.

India's economic development depends entirely on the prior development of agri-

culture and her capacity to provide requisite assistance for meeting the needs of the other sectors of the economy. "Self sufficiency in agriculture" will remain a tall tale if concerted efforts are not made in the right direction at the right time. "An army moves on its stomach" said Napoleon and it is also true to say that India in her war on poverty will have to move on her stomach i. e. she has to solve the food problem satisfactorily as a pre-condition of success in achieving economic freedom. This, of course, calls for war-like efforts.

MONOPOLISTIC TRENDS

During the past two decades, an alarming feature has been observed in India's industrial sector. It is no denying the fact that after independence, India has advanced in the industrial field and we have started exporting many articles of which we were formerly importers. But it is also true at the same time that most of the benefits of industrialisation have accrued to a few hands only. The rich have become richer and the poor poorer in the race of industrial development. It is not in conformity with our objective of equality of income and wealth. The Monopoly Enquiry Commission has brought to the notice of the Government that the monopolistic trend is rapidly increasing in India. Two or three big industrialists are enjoying the fruits of industrial development. The small entrepreneurs have been neglected. A tiny minority has run away with the cake of 18 years' planned development.

Managerial integration has been the most significant phenomenon of our industrial

organisation. It has pervaded the entire organised industrial sector of the country through open or back door techniques. It has resulted in the establishment of a limited number of big industrial combines over a large portion of the industrial economy, leading to 'industrial empires' despite the provisions made in the Companies Act and other statutory regulations to restrict such trends. These big industrial combines further put the Government to loss by way of huge tax evasions through illicit tactics. Giant combinations by monopolising industry closed the door to new blood. This in itself is unfair. It is interesting to note that some of the big industrialists have increased their total assets as much as by 73% during the past three or four years. Effective measures must be taken in time, including of course the amendment in the licensing policy, to discourage the monopolistic trends and big combinations. At the same time, small entrepreneurs must be encouraged to come forward to play a more significant role in India's industrial development. Any delay in timely and appropriate action can be very dangerous.

EXCESSIVE BURDEN OF FOREIGN DEBTS

It is said and is also true that the developing countries have to depend to a considerable extent, on foreign assistance in the initial stages specially because of the paucity of internal resources, low rate of saving and capital formation. But, India's planning is quite 'grown up' having attained the age of 18 years. Perennial

dependence on foreign assistance is, therefore not a sound policy. It slackens our efforts for raising internal resources and attaining self-sufficiency. The foreign debts of India are increasing day by day and we have been over-burdened. The statistics published by the Government of India bear testimony to this fact. Upto the end of Sept. 1968, India's foreign debts had gone to the extent of Rs. 6697 crores. Out of this, Rs. 926 crores has so far been repaid leaving an unpaid balance of Rs. 5771 crores. According to an official estimate, India has received foreign aid worth Rs. 8500 crores by the end of March, 1969. The Fourth Five Year Plan requires a gross amount of foreign aid of Rs. 3730 crores in the public sector. Out of this Rs. 1216 crores represents the repayment of external loans. The additional foreign aid for the Fourth Plan is estimated at a net figure of Rs. 2514 crore. In fact, we have been accustomed to foreign aid and it has become an indispensable part of our planning. Earlier in 1966-67 we had to suspend the Fourth Five Year Plan simply because the foreign assistance was not forthcoming to a desirable extent. If we are to achieve self sufficiency, we must stand on our own legs. The foreign aid has necessarily to be selective

and limited. Why should we not carefully prune our plans and mobilise the internal resources to a greater extent. No matter, if this process takes time. This way, the nation would be able to march towards a self sustained economy and the public will not ultimately suffer from a heavy burden of external debts. It is interesting to note that we have not formulated the plans according to the resources but tried to find out the resources according to the predetermined size of our Plans. It had its own repercussions on the economy. Though the Fourth Five Year Plan aims at reducing the dependence on foreign aid to the extent of 50 percent, it seems hardly feasible in view of the present state of affairs.

UNFAVOURABLE BALANCE OF TRADE

During the last few years and particularly after the Second Five Year Plan, India's balance of trade has been increasingly unfavourable inspite of several steps taken for export promotion. The devaluation of the Indian rupee has failed to bring about a marked improvement in the situation. The following table gives an account of the unfavourable balance of trade prior to and after devaluation :

Year.	Export.	Import.	Bal. of Trade
	(In Crores Rs.)		
1963-64	793.24	1221.19	—427.99
1964-65	815.39	1261.31	—445.92
1965-66	802.85	1250.45	—447.60
1966-67	1159.00	2078.00	—922.00
1967-68	1199.00	1974.00	—775.00
1968-69	1315.30	1866.60	—551.30

Thus, the devaluation of Indian currency has not proved an effective remedy. It is a sheer fallacy to say that the devaluation of Indian rupee was indispensable for the revival of the Indian economy.

The balance of trade became increasingly unfavourable with the increase in the size of the Plans. During the First Plan period the unfavourable balance was Rs. 588 crores, during the Second Five Year Plan period it amounted to Rs. 1836 crores and during the Third Five Year Plan period it reached the level of Rs. 2331 crore. It has aggravated the foreign exchange crisis and caused a set back in the economic development. "India's payment difficulties" as the London Economist observes, "have been heightened by a loss of export income" we have not been much successful to increase the exports of non-traditional goods to an appreciable extent. Also the exports of traditional goods are not so encouraging as to bring the balance of trade in our favour. On the other hand, we could not lessen the quantum of our imports to the minimum possible extent. While taking various measures for export promotion, we must see that the imports of luxuries and consumer goods are either totally banned or restricted to the lowest possible extent. Export-oriented policy and "Swadeshi Campaign" can help reduce the present unfavourable balance of trade.

INFLATIONARY FORCES

It is said that in a developing economy which is in the process of achieving a rapid rate of economic growth, a moderate rise in the general price level is inevitable. But

the history of Developmental planning in India indicates that the rise in the general as well as sectoral prices has actually been much higher than the permissible "moderate". The magnitude of abnormally rising prices during the last few years has put the lower-income-groups to a great loss whereas the big businessmen and manufacturers were greatly benefited. The tendency of hoarding and profiteering added fuel to the fire. The policy of heavy investments in big sized and long term projects and increasing deficit financing is equally responsible for the present crisis of rising prices. It is important to note that the tendency of the State and every Minister in inflating their respective plan proposals in order to get more grants and credit has also given cause for increased deficit financing and consequent rise in the price-level. During the First Plan period, the deficit financing was of the order Rs. 419 crore. But the price level remained within control because of high priority given to agriculture and to increased production. During the Second Plan, which was almost an industrial plan, the amount of deficit finance was increased to Rs. 982 crore. Substantial investments were made in long-term and heavy industrial projects rather than in quick yielding and short term projects. All this resulted in abnormal rise in prices. The index number of wholesale price (1952-53 = 100) of all commodities at the end of the Second Plan went to 127.5 and that of industrial raw materials to 159. During the Third Plan it was decided to restrict the deficit financing to Rs. 550 crores. But somehow or other, the actual amount of deficit financ-

ing touched the height of Rs. 1150 crore. This in turn again encouraged the rise in price level. The Index No. of wholesale prices at the end of the Third Plan went to the extent of 191.3 This rising tendency continued in the three Annual Plans also. Today the index number of wholesale prices has gone over 220. If we study the seasonal fluctuations of prices, it gives still a worse picture. In the harvest season, the prices fall and thereafter go higher putting the consumers to very great trouble. Despite rationing, price regulation, and other statutory measures, the mal-practices of hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering prevail in the markets. The saying goes appropriately "where there is rice, there is no fair price and where there is fair price there is no rice".

The policy of deficit financing is good if it is used as a medicine. When it is used as a food, it pollutes the economy as a whole. Moreover, the additional money must be spent on productive and quick yielding projects only. It is estimated that during the Fourth Five Year Plan, the deficit financing will not go beyond Rs.850 crore. But it will be possible only when certain drastic changes take place in the investment pattern. Otherwise the old history of rising prices will repeat itself and the development will be neutralised by the rising cost of living.

ALARMING UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment and under employment has been a recurrent phenomenon in the economic history of India. But in recent times it has acquired so vast a dimension that it has created a stir in the

academic, political and business circles of the country. Educated or white-collar unemployment and particularly that of technical hands has assumed a unique and unprecedented significance. With the enhancement of educational facilities, we have failed to make proper provisions in our developmental plans to combat this alarming situation. The back log of unemployment in the First Five Year Plan was 30 lakhs, in the Second Plan it went to 80 lakhs and in the Third Plan it was estimated to be 140 Lakhs. Upto the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan the number of unemployed persons is expected to be of the order of 300 lakhs. Provide them with jobs India must. In other words, the problem requires special attention. Till now, we have attached much importance to capital-intensive schemes instead of labour-intensive projects. If we want to make our economic planning more successful and practicable, we must give high priority to such schemes as may generate substantial employment opportunities in the future. While increasing the tempo of agricultural development, we will have to develop and diversify the Small Scale Industries in rural areas. Besides, the entire education system requires a change today. It has to be employment-oriented. The facilities for vocational guidance and technical training must be expanded to a great extent.

INEFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

Ours is a mixed economy. Private and public sectors in our industrial set up are just like a two wheeled cart. The role of public sector is increasing day by day while

several restrictions and controls are put on the private sector in the public interest. According to an official estimate a capital of Rs. 3400 crore is invested in various public undertakings today. But the working of these state enterprises is far from satisfactory. In comparison with private undertakings, the public undertakings are neither run efficiently nor at a profit. Except a few projects, all of them are run at a loss which comes to an average of Rs. 30 crore a year. Acharya Kripalani once addressing the Parliament has rightly put, "The public undertakings are called 'public' because the public ultimately has to bear their losses in the form of taxation etc." In the garb of so called 'public interest' and 'no profit no loss' principle, the growing inefficiency of these public enterprises is highly undesirable. How long should we tolerate it?

One of the main reasons for opposing the Nationalisation of Banks by the experts is that the banking industry may also suffer from the same defect of inefficiency as the other state enterprises do. The management and administration of public undertakings are certainly defective. Unwarranted political interference in day to day matters, more often than not, impair the efficiency. As an expert has aptly put, "The top officers do not possess the necessary business tact, foresight, skill and judgement which are hand-maids of private enterprises. And efficiency is sacrificed at the altar of red tapism. This has definitely happened with our public undertakings and that is why they are run at a loss. It is imperative, therefore, to introduce a suitable policy of management and administration. They must employ

highly experienced and trained personnel. Restrictions at the same time must be put on frequent political interference.

To conclude, the present pattern of economic planning which we have mostly borrowed from foreign countries is not suited to Indian conditions. It, therefore, requires an over-all change. Some people are of the view that Indian economy is on the road to recovery and stability. But it is a lop-sided judgement. The increase in agricultural production during the last two years, which is due mainly to the favourable Monsoon and not the efforts of planning machinery, should not lead us to the conclusion that the system of planning is alright. Indeed, it requires re-orientation to reach the stage of a self sustained economy. The re-oriented approach must inter alia pay proper attention to the following suggestions:—

1. To boost production of basic necessities of life to such an extent as to enable the masses to enjoy a happy and better standard of life.
2. The process of planning should be divided into two main spheres, 'agricultural planning' and 'non-agricultural planning.' For a few years to come, agrarian-biased economy must be our aim.
3. Rapid expansion of minor irrigation facilities and electrification of rural areas must receive preference.
4. Sufficient credit and other facilities should be provided to the small farmers and the less privileged class in the villages.
5. The community development projects

- should be re-organised in such a way as to render quick and sufficient benefits to the cultivators and labourers. Agricultural service cooperatives should be built in the villages.
6. Labour-intensive and quick yielding projects should receive proper weight in our industrial schemes. No project of heavy investment should be undertaken afresh for atleast two decades in future. Projects already started should be completed gradually. A major portion of new investments must go to Small Scale Industries. Certain fields should be reserved for the small entrepreneurs and the entry of big businessmen should be banned therein.
 7. Expeditious and progressive checks must be put on the concentration of income and wealth through various enactments, revision of industrial policy and appointment of monopolies commissions manned by persons of ability and integrity. At the same time, ceilings must be imposed, and implemented, on urban property.
 8. Special efforts must be made to give more autonomy to public undertakings. Competent and trained persons must be employed in these enterprises.
 9. The dependence of foreign assistance should be reduced by way of mobilising internal resources and curtailment of the size of plans, if necessary.
 10. The price mechanism should be such that while inflationary forces are checked, the economy may get desired stimulus. Deficit financing should, as far as possible, be minimised.
 11. Special attention should be paid to develop the backward regions and improve the economic lot of the weaker sections of the society.
 12. Heavy penalties should be imposed on those who are liable for tax evasion and who indulge in illicit trade practices.
 13. A complete restriction should be put on the import of luxury goods and such other articles which are produced in the country itself. Besides, new markets for exports should be explored.
- It is hoped that in the light of past experiences and the above discussion, the planners of India will leave no stone unturned in their efforts to reconstruct and strengthen the Indian economy.



HISTORY OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

S. RAMANUJAM

EARLY PERIOD OF INDUSTRIALISATION

The growth of industry and trade union movement in India are closely linked with the British enterprise in the beginning of 19th century. It is due to the historical fact that India was under British rule and growth of trade union movement was influenced by trends in the Imperial Country.

The first industry in India, a textile mill, came up in Howrah, near Calcutta, in 1817 due to British enterprise. The second textile mill in the country was set up in Bombay in 1854, this too again by British enterprise. Country's first jute mill sprang up in Calcutta in 1854 which was also due to British interest. The other industries set up by them include GIP Railway in 1853, coal mining in 1775.

Even plantation industry was started by the British in the Country, Assam Tea Co. in 1839, coffee plantation in 1840 in the South was followed by indigo in Bihar State.

EARLY LABOUR LEGISLATION :

These large scale industries necessitated a medium for collective bargaining i.e. trade unions, but a beginning on sound lines could be made only after 73 years of establishing the first textile mill in the country.

The first landmark in labour legislation was the enactment of the Factories Act, 1881, by the Central Legislature. This enact-

ment has an interesting episode behind it. This was a result of agitation in Britain but not by Indian workers whom it would benefit. Lancashire Mill owners agitated for self interest as India was their competitor with cheap labour and longer working hours. Social workers in Britain too agitated for betterment of Indian workers on humanitarian considerations, in bringing about this enactment. This Act was applied to an industry employing more than 100 workers, working for more than 4 months in an year and using mechanical power.

FIRST TRADE UNION :

It is quite interesting to note that the first trade union in the country was organised and presided by a worker. Thus, Bombay Mill-hands Association was established in 1890 under the Presidentship of N. M. Lokhande, a millhand himself. Even women emerged as leaders of the Association and addressed the formation meeting. The Association began to publish its own paper "Deena Bandu" from Calcutta. As a result of this Association's agitation for betterment of workers lot, a Commission was appointed in September 1890 and the Factories Act, 1881 was amended which came into effect from March 1891. This amendment brought factories employing 50 workers, into the purview of the Factories Act, prohibited employment of children below 11 years of

age and imposed weekly holiday for the first time. The provincial governments were empowered to extend the provision of the Act to factories employing even 20 workers.

FIRST OFFICIAL STRIKE :

The first official strike was resorted to in 1895 in Ahmedabad by the weavers, which ended in failure. In spite of this the year 1895 was also quite encouraging as a beginning was made to form a general union known as "Indian Labour Union" in Calcutta.

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS :

The early years of this century have witnessed a new trend in trade union movement where the workers started protesting for the Nation's cause. This is the beginning of political influence creeping into the labour field, which in later decades proved to be a curle on trade union movement and curtailed its healthy growth.

For the first time the workers went on strike, outside their economic demands, in 1903, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak was arrested for championing the Nation's cause. For the first time in 1911 the working hours were reduced to 11 on recommendation of a Commission. Thereafter further reductions were made gradually.

GANDHIJI'S INTEREST :

It is worthwhile commemorating here in Mahatma Gandhi's Centenary year, that in 1915 Gandhiji first took up indigo growers' cause in Champaran district of Bihar State and brought about a settlement between British entrepreneurs and Indian tenants.

CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN :

The women of high distinction also started guiding trade union movement in

some parts of the country. Dr. Annie Besant guided the affairs of Madras Labour Union and Anasuyaben Sarabhai organised textile workers in Ahmedabad.

ILO FORMED :

The formation of International Labour Organisation, labour wing of the League of Nations, in 1919 created an urgency in India for the formation of a national level body. Thus All India Trade Union Congress came into being in 1920 and Lala Lajpat Rai, President INC was elected its first President. Congress leaders like C. R. Das, Netaji S. C. Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru and others were its Presidents at various times. Thus Congress influence had come in for bearing on the trade unions till 1927, when AITUC was captured by the Communists. Non-Communist unions broke away from AITUC in 1929 and formed National Trade Union Federation in 1933 at Calcutta. After long hectic moves of unity NTUF merged with AITUC in 1940, to be broken up after a few years.

SOME LAND-MARKS :

On the labour legislation side, remarkable strides were made with the enactment of the Trade Unions Act, 1926 which was based on the British Labour Code. Industrial disputes were no longer treated as law and order problem on enforcing the Trade Disputes Act, 1929.

The Royal Commission on labour was appointed in 1929, under the Chairmanship of John Henry Whitly, who was originator of Whitly Committees in U.K. The terms of reference were to enquire into existing conditions and to make recommendations.

Since the ILO session in Philadelphia adopted

ted a declaration of "Human Rights" in 1944, it started playing a much useful role in the uplift of labour in all spheres.

The office of the Chief Labour Commissioner (Central) was created in the year 1945.

BIRTH OF INTUC

There was a long felt need for a national minded trade union and this was rightly met by the creation of Indian National Trade Union Congress which was inaugurated by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President of the Congress. This body was to dominate the labour front of the country though it was strong enough at birth itself due to basic membership. Most respected names like V. V. Giri, G. L. Nanda, Khandubhai K. Desai, S. C. Banerjee, S. R. Vasavada, V. V. Dravid, Michael John, Deven Sen, S. K. Patil, Shantilal Shah, Abid Ali Jafferbhoy and others were associated with it.

FIRST PAY COMMISSION

For the first time, the Government appointed a Pay Commission in 1946 with Justice S. Varada Chariar, a Judge of the Federal Court of India presiding. This was a welcome feature of enquiring into the pay scales of Central Govt. employees in various positions and arriving nearer to fair wages for white collar workers was necessary

The period from 1947 to 1952 has witnessed a number of Acts covering wide sphere of labour relations viz. the Industrial Dispute Act, 1947, the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the Plantation Labour Act, 1951, the Employees Provident Fund Act, 1952 and the Mines Act, 1952.

CONSTITUTION RECOGNISES LABOUR RIGHTS

Right from her attainment of freedom, India wanted to become a stable democracy

as a result of which a Constitution was adopted according to which India was a sovereign democratic republic from 26th January 1950 onwards. The freedom of the workers to form unions was guaranteed under Art. 19 (c) and child labour prohibited under Art. 24, which are new dimensions or mile stones in the growth of trade unions. The Govt. of India has withdrawn recognition of some Central Employees unions in September 1968 but the Courts have set aside Union Govt. orders under Art. 19(c) of the Constitution of India.

WORKERS' EDUCATION SCHEME :

For the first time in the country an emphasis was laid on the importance of Workers Education Scheme and to prepare them to realise their pivotal position in the "Welfare State" and "Socialistic Pattern of Society". The scheme was aimed to impart training to trade union workers in the intricacies of labour economics and labour legislation. Mr. Khandubhai K. Desai, the then Union labour minister, initiated steps in 1957. A tripartite agency consisting of union, employer and Government representatives was constituted to take up the task and since then it came to be known as Central Board for Workers' Education which has regional centres all over the country. This board is a necessity in the country as unions are politically-oriented and financially weak.

WORKERS' SHARE IN PROFITS

In order to provide greater share to the working class in the profits of industry Bonus Commission was constituted in 1961 and passing on its recommendations the payment of Bonus Act, 1965, was enacted. Though the Act has some drawbacks, it has

recognised the right of workers to profit sharing bonus.

REPRESENTATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES

Progressive trade union organisations in India-INTUC and HMS are affiliated to ICFTU ever since it was formed in London in November 1949. INTUC is sole workers' representative to ILO conferences. The Indian workers welcomed the election of Mr. Jean Moori, workers representative, to the Chairmanship of ILO, which invariably used to go to Govt. representatives, and the continuance of Mr. David Morse as Director General.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR:

In recent times, Govt. of India and Provincial Govts. have emerged as employers with their public sector undertakings. The workers rightly feel that Govt. should be an ideal employer. Even specialists agree

that in case of dispute between workmen and employer in public sector, an impartial judicial body should adjudicate. This is necessary since employer and conciliators are Govt. officers working under different department on ministries. The National Commission on Labour was constituted on 24th December 1966 under the Chairmanship of P. B. Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of India, on the lines of the Royal Commission on Labour. Its terms are comprehensive, and its report already submitted, is under consideration of provincial governments for remarks.

REMEDIES TO EVILS:

The trade union movement has shaken off foreign influences by playing a key role in the independence struggle in its own interest and for the country. The remedy for all its presents evils is to shed political-orientation and to develop internal leadership to manage its own affairs. Political association should be reduced down to a minimum.



BADSHAH KHAN—HIS CHALLENGE & INSPIRATION

SURESH RAM

What holds our earth in space? Science answers—the force of gravitation. What keeps the people together on earth? Sociologists say—*santo bhumīn tapasa dharyanti*, the good people sustain the world by their austere life. It is neither possible nor becoming to compare great men, but it cannot be gainsaid that among those who have suffered most for mankind in the twentieth century, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan occupies a unique place all his own. For the last half a century he has been mostly behind prison-bars and heroically struggling for the amelioration of the condition of his people with single-minded devotion, utter sincerity and sublimededication. We salute him as a crusader for right and justice, as a champion of liberty and fraternity, and as an exponent of the truthful and non-violent way.

After his arrival in India on October 1, on the eve of the Gandhi Centenary, he undertook a fast for three days. The intelligentsia of the country was struck aghast at this unusual step of a foreign visitor, but the masses beamed with joy and hailed his penance as a refreshing and convincing proof of his identification with the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. The people were thrilled as if the Mahatma had returned in their midst. The Badshah is being treated as a State guest and is taken to palatial buildings for his stay on grounds of security, but his heart remains with the destitute masses who are dwelling in slums and huts, who are groaning from pangs of poverty and un-

employment and disparities, and who are heaving cold sighs at our painful performance of the post-freedom era. The Badshah goes to them and listens to their tale of woe, misery and introduces a ray of hope in the dark cell of their despondency, and infuses new life in their veins. And when he heard of the communal killings in Ahmedabad—the renowned town where was started the first Satyagraha centre of India, where Gandhi took the pledge of independence and moved on in his historic march to Dandi, and where the Badshah had himself spent many weeks and months as a prisoner in the Sabarmati Jail—he rushed to the place and carried on his mission of mercy with such grace and charm as none else has been able to do all these twenty-two years—illuminating the darkness of the soul, healing the wounds of the heart and cleaning the doubts and suspicions of the mind.

Badshah's Four Questions

What the Badshah has seen and heard in India has very much pained and deeply moved him. But he is like an ocean of suffering in which quietly merge all types of rivers, be they of hatred, or anger, distrust, malice, bitterness, or what not. And when he speaks he tears open his delicate breast. Every word of his reaches the heart straight, penetrates its artificial covering of culture or ritual and strikes right at the core. The Badshah seems, as it were, to ask four questions from each and all of us :

1. Are you in your senses? Why this lust for fulfilling self-interest and sticking to power?
2. How long shall you continue to beg for food and money from abroad?
3. If you are a Muslim, tell me truly whether you are loyal to the nation on whose soil you were born?
4. If you are a Hindu, tell me frankly whether there is really something wrong with your Muslim neighbour whom you deliberately avoid and distrust?

Call To Politicians

Without entering politics, the Badshah is admonishing our politicians to be true to themselves. If they place the self above the country they should say so honestly and get out of public life to earn and make money. It is highly unfair to profess public interest and to practise self-interest. To quote the Badshah:

"Love of power and authority, fondness for wealth and lure of office have captured our heart and imagination. And history bears out that nations or peoples suffering from this malady could never prosper or come into their own."

The struggle for power rampant in Delhi is a sad commentary on our values and standards. Those in the highest places do not hesitate to come down to meanest levels. One wonders whether it is necessary to hold on to office to serve the people. When we ourselves manoeuvre night and day to depose others and establish our own selves, how can we ask the youth to unite and work for the nation with a dedicated spirit? What is going on in Delhi today is bound to be repeated tomorrow in our assemblies, district

boards, municipalities, panchayats, educational institutions, social service organisations, religious endowments and trusts, etc. We hail the Badshah as a universal man, we pledge ourselves to unity before him, we claim to feel the touch of the Mahatma in his presence—and yet we deny each and all of these things in actual conduct. Whom are we deceiving—the people, the Badshah or ourselves? How long will this self-deception continue?

Change The Pattern Of Planning

The second important thing which the Badshah is stressing is with regard to our economic planning. He is never tired of repeating that there is no use of such a planning as cannot enable us to feed ourselves and makes us beg for food from without. The agonised heart of the Badshah says:

"It is twenty-two years since independence, yet we are not producing the food we need. What a shame that while nations like Germany and Japan which were vanquished in the last war have risen up we have not been able to do so. Verily, some disease has gripped us that whereas the nations of the world are reaching the skies we cannot even subsist on earth."

Time has now come when our entire planning pattern, administrative structure and educational system must change in the interest of the impoverished millions. The whole frame-work should be re-cast in such a fashion as may remove disparities, wipe out unemployment and end our misery.

Warning To Muslims

To the Muslims of India, the Badshah has come as a Messiah. Speaking with almost a prophetic tone, he is calling upon them to treat India as their own land and be loyal to her. His is a clear call:

"One who is honest must be true to his native land. If you could grasp this truth the national spirit will be rooted in you and your religion too will be safe."

The Badshah is very unhappy at the fact that the Muslims have no true leader or guide. Their so-called leaders or religious heads quarrel over little things, do not assemble together on one platform and have no taste for real service of the masses. In a stirring speech at Ahmedabad, he poured forth his heart :

"The Muslims had no political consciousness. They were deceived. They could not see that their Muslim leaders who were raising slogans of Islam had neither served Islam nor the Musalmans. Nor had they any sympathy for the poor in their heart. The Muslims could not discriminate between these things."

And with very great anguish he added :

"Where is the Muslim League ? Where are its leaders and its Islam ? Today when you are struck with grief and misery, who has come to your rescue ? Not they of the League but my humble self whom they dubbed as "stooge of Hindus". Why have they who raised slogans of the League, of Islam and of Muslims not turned up to help you."

While urging upon the Muslims to embrace the ideal of nationalism, the Badshah is recalling to the Hindus the message of the Mahatma. The Hindus are known for doing selfless service, for their readiness for sacrifice, for attaining spiritual heights and yet communal riots have become the bane of modern India. The Badshah says :

"I have not known masses more lovable than those of India. But selfish people have thrown them on the wrong path.

Religion is not destruction, but construction. You must appreciate this thoroughly and make others do so as well. Please remember that if your heart does not change this communal problem will never be solved. First change yourself and then change others. Who has lost by discarding the teaching of Gandhi ? Has Gandhi lost ? No ! You have lost, your country has lost."

Many Hindu brethren are under the false impression that once when Pakistan has been formed, all Muslims must go there. In their ignorance they blame the Muslims as exclusively responsible for Pakistan. The Badshah tells the real truth:

"They say that Pakistan came into being at the bidding of Muslims. No ! The poor Muslims and Hindus cannot be accused for it. Those really responsible for Pakistan are Muslim leaders and Hindu leaders. Mahatmaji and myself were consistently against it. But none cared to listen to us."

Then what is to be done ? His answer is: "The communal riots follow from the hatred and violence within. To get rid of these evils, you must devote some attention to Bapuji's lesson of truth and non-violence. And if you do so, I assure you that this mission of service will succeed and its light spread all over even as it did during the days of the freedom struggle."

The Challenge of The Badshah

Who can give us so frank, so truthful and so far-sighted an advice ? None except the Badshah. His every word is an invitation to us to turn the searchlight inwards. His is a fourfold message:

1. Give up the temptations of office and take to public service;
2. Adopt the creed of Swadeshi and

stop-begging;

- 3 Every Muslim should become a true Muslim—and this will be possible only when he is loyal to India; and
4. Every Hindu should become a true Hindu—and this will be possible only when he serves both the Hindus and the Muslims equally and sheds off his distrust against the latter.

If we ignore this lesson of the Badshah we will be nowhere. Fortunately for us, he is going round the country and will be amidst us for two months more. He does not ask anything for himself. Nor does he require any help for his Pakhtoonistan. Surely, he has not come here to receive a purse. I am sure that the fund which is being raised in his name will raise complications, become a headache and create bitterness,

suspicious and jealousy. All this is bound to pain the Badshah much more than anything else. I am, therefore, of definite opinion that no money should be collected in his name. Instead of giving him, we should take as much as possible from him. We should take with a view to purge our politics, to change our economics, to recast our social connections, and to make our public life clean and bright. The fragrance of the Badshah is spreading all round and we must inhale as much of it as we can in order that we may purify our heart, make India prosperous and gay, improve the relations between India and Pakistan so that people in both the countries may live and grow with peace and amity and present a shining example of ideal neighbours and brothers before the world. Herein lies the challenge of Badshah Khan as well as his inspiration.



WHY SUBHAS OPPOSED GANDHI?

RAVI S. VARMA

Introduction:

Subhas was a revolutionary by birth and nursed insurgent feelings in his bosom but when he embarked upon his political career in 1920 the Congress was the only organization struggling for national independence. He joined it and came under the influence of Gandhi but was soon disillusioned of the Congress leadership and disapproved of its programme and plan. He drifted apart from it to form his Forward Bloc to expound his political ideas and later on organized the Indian National Army to fight for the freedom of India from abroad.

Though Subhas vehemently opposed Gandhi, he had great respect for the character and personality of the Mahatma. He was the first person to call him the Father of our Nation and admired his adherence to truth. He bowed before his single-hearted devotion, his relentless will and his indefatigable labour. He appreciated his humanitarian outlook and his freedom from hatred. Gandhi made a real great contribution to our national politics in the 1920s. He consolidated and strengthened the Congress and made it a powerful mass organization. He brought about an unprecedented awakening among the masses, made them conscious of their rights and welded them into a fearless nation. Subhas liked all this but he could never become a Gandhian. For him Gandhism was merely a technique of action, but lacked any social philosophy or programme of social reconstruction.

Political Ideas of Subhas:

Before attempting an analysis of why Subhas opposed Gandhi it will be fruitful if we make a resume of Subhas's political ideas. Subhas was an ardent student of Indian philosophy and drew inspiration from the writings of Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo. He had a firm belief in the existence of God but for him the world was not 'maya' (illusion) but a field of Gods play. He accepted the reality of the world and its obligations and claims. In addition to these great seers of modern India, Subhas was influenced by the Hegelian concept of dialectical progression. He said that Hegel's theory was the nearest approximation to truth and that it explained the facts more satisfactorily than any other theory. But he accepted Hegel's theory with some reservations. He did not agree with Hegel's rational character of reality. For him the essential nature of reality is love, and by accepting love as the essential principle of human life he comes nearer to the Vaishnava philosophy. He had a zealous desire to reconstruct life and called himself a pragmatist to that extent.

Subhas underwent a gradual transformation and from a spiritual idealist he became a social and political realist. He did not appreciate the mingling of political and ethical issues, and it was one of the reasons why he criticised the political philosophy of Gandhism where politics was never discussed on its own plane. He accepted the maxim that one has to be equal to the requirements of the

political situation. But it does not mean that he was against moral uprightness. He earnestly felt that great moral preparations were required for winning India's independence. For the reconstruction of the nation, he stressed the need for an uncompromising idealism like that of Hampden and Cromwell.

Subhas would not be satisfied with mere political freedom. He visualised an over all emancipation of the whole society and believed that internal social struggle between the landlord and the peasant, capitalism and labour and the rich and the poor could no longer be postponed. The political struggle and the social struggle should be conducted simultaneously, he said.

He stood for socialist ideology and championed the interests and aspirations of working classes. In his presidential speech at the Haripur Congress he maintained that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. He was a prominent leader of the left wing of the Congress and for him Leftism had two phases: in the first phase it meant anti-imperialism, as the primary task at that time was to end imperialism and win national independence. In the second phase Leftism was to be synonymous with socialism. Subhas never became an orthodox Marxist and he could not, being so deeply grounded in Indian philosophy and religion. He was certain that Communism could not succeed in India, for the Indian masses could never get rid of their age-old religious bent of mind and turn atheistic and anti-religious. Secondly class conflict was not so acute and pointed in India as it had been in Russia. He did not approve of the heterogeneous character of the Congress and felt that only a leftist party which could

crystallise the more militant and radical forces and stand for the interests of the peasants and the workers would be competent to achieve India's independence. This new party would not hesitate to use violence and dictatorial powers for some years following independence. He stood for democracy but wanted to bind the party in government by a military discipline.

Why Subhas opposed Gandhi ?

Having scanned the political ideas of Subhas it is not difficult to infer why he opposed Gandhi. Subhas was a political-realist and did not appreciate the extreme idealism of Gandhi. He felt that Gandhi had confused political issues by engaging in subtle ethical investigations into the purity of motivations.¹ Subhas was a worshipper of Shakti and held India's adherence to Ahimsa and her indifference to modern scientific development responsible for her downfall in the material and political spheres. He believed that political action required bargaining tactics and keeping up of a show and that Gandhi had failed to recognise the tactics and conspiracies engineered by the British politicians.

To Subhas the Gandhian approach appeared to be irrational and as a realist he wanted to outline a rational chart of the political objectives of the nation and of the necessary means for their actualisation. Gandhi sought guidance from the voice of his conscience and believed in "one step is enough for me" whereas Subhas believed in diplomatic calculations and political strength. The rise of the Swaraj Party symbolised, according to him, a rational revolt against Gandhism and felt that the death of the political stalwarts like C. R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai and Moti Lal Nehru had

left the stage free for the dominance of Gandhian irrationalism.

In his *The Indian Struggle* Subhas has given the following reasons for opposing Gandhi and his ideas:

(a) Gandhi understood the character of his own countrymen but failed to understand the character of his opponents.

(b) Gandhi followed the policy of putting all his cards on the table and lacked the art of diplomacy which is so essential in a political fight.

(c) Gandhi had failed to make use of the international weapon for the struggle of India's liberation. Gandhi must have made an extensive tour of Europe and America, so felt Subhas, after the failure of the Second Round Table Conference to expose its hollowness and rouse world opinion in favour of India's cause. But Gandhi remained satisfied with solid constructive work at home and considered it the best propaganda.

(d) Gandhi stood for social harmony and reconciliation and wanted to lessen the antagonism of various sectors. He tried to bring together people of inherently opposed interests on to a single platform. (This has been amply proved once again by the recent schism in the Congress). This, according to Subhas, proved to be a source of weakness in political warfare. Subhas wanted to intensify classwar for he feared that the well-to-do sections in the society would certainly gravitate to the side of the foreign imperialist.

(e) Gandhi desired to play the dual roll—the role of the leader of an enslaved people and that of a world teacher who has a new doctrine to teach, and this was responsible for his failure many a time. This duality made him at once the irreconcilable foe of the Englishman, according to Churchill and

the best policeman of the Englishman according to Miss Wilkinson.

Gandhi was an autocrat and was allergic to independence of thought and action and did not hesitate to strike with all the subtlety at his command and if required with complete ruthlessness anybody who dared to oppose him and his ideas. Subhas together with many others was made to leave the Congress for his independence of mind and his courage in calling Gandhi's ideas and action in question. Gandhi consciously and unconsciously exploited, so felt Subhas, weak elements in the mass psychology of the Indian people who revered a saint more than a millionaire or a governor and feared to incur his wrath by standing in his way. Some significant elements of the intelligentsia had been originally opposed to him but they either compromised with him like Jawahar Lal. Nehru and others or their opposition was worn out because of hysterical mass feelings of reverence for the prophet. And by his demeanour Gandhi was a saint and prophet but he was a prophet that failed and did more harm to his people than good.

Conclusion:

Both Subhas and Gandhi were staunch nationalists and patriots. Their sole aim was to infuse a new life in their fellow countrymen and prepare them for the overthrow of foreign domination. But the paths they followed differed widely. Subhas symbolised the youthful spirit and vigour free from any scruples about using force and violence to gain his end. Gandhi on the other hand was a saint and a moralist committed to truth and non-violence who abhorred the use of the slightest violence to achieve the national independence. On the ideological plane also the two were poles apart from each other and differed irrevocably, but both had honesty and sincerity of purpose and pursued their ideals with unflinching devotion without creating any obstruction in each other's paths.

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Indian Periodicals

Industrial Cooperatives

Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, writing in *Indian Cooperative Review*, gives one a good idea of the progress that cooperative productive societies have made in India during the plan period 1951-1966.

With the attention and nourishment it received during the successive Plan periods, industrial cooperation seems to have come of age. In 1951 at the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan, there were only 7,000 industrial cooperatives with a membership of nearly seven lakhs and a working capital of Rs. 7 crores. By the beginning of the Second Plan in 1956, the number of industrial societies had increased to 13,000 with a membership of nearly 13 lakhs and working capital of about Rs. 14 crores. In this period weavers and coir cooperatives made a big spurt. The Second Plan period saw a rapid growth in khadi and village industries sector when the total number of industrial cooperatives increased to more than 33,000 registering a 150 per cent expansion while the membership almost doubled, to 26 lakhs and the working capital increased to Rs. 50 crores. This healthy trend was maintained during the Third Plan and at its close in 1966, the number of industrial cooperatives was nearly 50,000 with a 30-lakh membership and Rs. 123-crore working capital. This does not take into account 2000 odd sugar and other agricultural processing and cotton ginning factories which had come up in the cooperative sector by the end of the Third Plan and which together claimed a membership of six lakhs and working capital

totalling Rs. 136.85 crores. During the 1951-1966 period, the percentage of industrial cooperatives to the total of number cooperative societies also registered a significant increase from 3.93 to 13.5.

Industrial cooperation has social as well as economic objectives. Amongst the social objectives the most important are the safeguarding of the interests of the poorer sections against exploitative trends and the diffusion and dispersal of wealth. How the movement has proved a protective armour for the weaker sections of society—weavers, craftsmen, skilled and unskilled workers, potters, tanners, shoemakers, etc.—and saved them from utter ruination is quite well known.

Its economic objectives—creation of employment opportunities, increase in the production and productivity and competitive capability, acceleration in the rate of capital formation, etc.—are no less laudable and are being progressively realised though with varying degrees of success. In the five years from 1961 to 1966, the value of annual production of industrial cooperatives increased from Rs. 50 crores to over Rs. 91 crores while their total paid-up capital went up from Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 34 crores. Besides, they provided employment to 10.25 lakh persons in 1966.

To illustrate the point of technical and technological improvements, we may consider the case of handloom weavers who constitute the largest single group (13 lakh member organised into more than 13,000 societies) accounting for more than 50 per cent of the annual production. The weavers

cooperatives have been constantly endeavouring to introduce gradual improvements in their looms and production techniques to increase their productivity on the one hand and to save them from technological unemployment on the other. They have set up an elaborate sales organisation through depots and emporia, established modernised common facilities for dyeing, preparatory plants and finishing plants, and have also ventured into putting up their own spinning mills. Conversion of handlooms into powerlooms, though slow at present, is the next logical step towards modernisation. This transition of the traditional craftsman by adoption of improved tools and techniques is taking place in many other crafts and industries and is a significant development.

In recent years industrial cooperation has blossomed forth in many new directions and fields. It has now in its fold not only traditional artisans and craftsmen but also growers of agricultural produce and consumers, to mention only a few groups. Their cooperatives range from those engaged in simple manual operations to those undertaking production of sophisticated precision items such as electronic equipment, wireless sets, etc. In the light engineering category, industrial cooperatives—and there are more than 2,000 of them—are manufacturing a wide variety of consumer goods such as sewing machines, small agricultural implements, spare parts of various machines, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, construction material etc. etc. In the medium and large-scale sector, cooperative factories have been established for industries like textiles, sugar, alcohol, abrasives, cement, paints and varnishes, fertilizers, etc.

Establishment of more than 500 common facility workshops which include metal rolling mills, wire drawing plants, assembling and finishing workshops, and setting up of nearly

one hundred cooperative industrial estates have further expanded the horizon of cooperative industrial activity. The cooperative industrial estates with 358 societies and 6,299 individuals as members, are essentially cooperative societies of entrepreneurs which provide developed industrial plots/ factory sheds and basic facilities like power, water, drainage, roads, banking and communications. With an investment of over Rs. 76 lakhs and a working capital of nearly Rs. 4.68 crores, these estates had completed over a thousand workshops for their members by June, 1966. The workshops which had started producing a variety of durable and non-durable consumer goods, provided employment to nearly 7,000 persons.

Rhodesia and Suppression of Africans

India's representative in the U. N. made certain remarks on Rhodesian defiance of the administering power, Britain, in the matter of fair treatment of the Africans by the white Rhodesians, which will be found interesting by our readers. It is reproduced from *Foreign Affairs Record* Published by the Government of India,

The British Government's policy of "divide and rule" in its colonies, both erst-while and present, is only too well known to my delegation, for my country itself has been one of its victims. It is this very policy that the administering Power would appear to invoke in the "Fearless" suggestions regarding voting on tribal lines with regional representation for Mashonaland and Matebeleland. The adoption of any such scheme on a permanent basis could only foster and perpetuate dissensions among the African population, and leave the field clear for people like Mr. Smith.

In the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in January this year, my Prime Minister called for the withdrawal of the

British proposal as they were clearly incompatible with the NIBMAR pledge. My Prime Minister also emphasised that, unless the Rhodesian issue was solved on the basis of racial equality, the very foundation of the Commonwealth, which was based on this principle, would be shattered.

It is clear that reluctance on the part of the administering Power to face the situation of rebellion squarely continues to encourage the rebels to accelerate the suppression of the people of Zimbabwe, and to lead the Territory towards a political system modelled on apartheid, with the imposition of a so-called new constitution. Even according to the London Times of 17th February, 1969, one of the key features of the so-called new constitution is that ... "race is made the determination of a man's political rights...not what he had himself as a citizen, but how nature has favoured him at birth".

The General Assembly's Resolution 2379 (XXIII) of October 25, 1968 pronounced itself in unequivocal terms in calling upon the administering Power not to grant independence to Rhodesia unless this were preceded by the establishment of a Government based on universal adult suffrage and on majority rule. The most effective means to achieve this would be the use of force by the administering Power. My Government on the other hand is not against a negotiated settlement provided that such a settlement is arrived at after consultations with the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, 3½ years have elapsed without the administering Power taking any effective action. In the meantime, the administering Power has prevaricated. We do not hear any more of NIBMAR and despite the deteriorating situation and the contempt with which the rebels have treated Her Majesty's Orders-in-Council, the British Prime Minister has

defined his Government's attitude in a recent statement as follows:

"It is and always has been, the view of Her Majesty's Government that whatever the legal or territorial position, the use of force to impose a constitutional settlement would be wrong".

When one recalls the speed with which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has used force to reassert its authority when challenged by nationalists in their erstwhile world-wide empire, one wonders whether the application of this principle is not a selective one. Only a few weeks ago we witnessed the promptness with which Her Majesty's land, air and sea forces acted in a small Caribbean island with a defenceless population of 5000. And yet the point made by the petitioner from ZAPU is well taken, that there is a danger that Britain may one day use force—when the nationalists are about to succeed in their struggle—on the pretext of breakdown of law and order.

While the world looks on with horror, the racist regime in Rhodesia continues to perpetuate its stranglehold over the African population. New legislation to ensure white domination and enslavement of the people is being enacted. For the people of Zimbabwe, their own homeland has become a vast concentration camp, and those who raise their voice for freedom and justice are put behind bars or murdered. A large number of Africans are today under the sentence of death for no other wrong than striving for their freedom.

Jewish Women Workers

News from Israel published the following figures relating to the women workers of Israel.

277,300 women, constituting 29% of the total civilian labour force in Israel, were em-

played in 1968. 256,000 women, (92%.) were actually working in the year under review. 152,400, (55%.) were in full employment; 88 400, (32%.) were in partial employment. Compared with figures for 1967, the Israel economy employed an additional 23,200 women. Insofar as women in full employment are concerned the accretion in 1968 was 25,100. This data is supplied by the Statistical Abstract of Israel for 1969, which has just been published.

The total number of Jewish women in the labour force in 1968 was 268,500. 247,600 Jewish women, (92%.) were actually working. Of these, 147,100 women (55%.) worked full time, and 86,000, (32%.) worked part time.

Other data in the new Statistical Abstract shows that 46% of all Jewish unmarried women of 14 years and upwards, belonged to the civilian labour force, as against only about 25% of the married women in the country.

Of the Jewish married women with children of less than two years of age, only 20% worked. Where the youngest child in the family was aged between 10 and 13, over one-third of the women went to work.

A perusal of the Abstract shows that the larger the number of children in the family the smaller the percentage of women at work. 36% of the women employed had one child. Only 16% were mothers of 3 children and over.

Inventions in Poland

Polish Facts on File-Supplement publishes the following facts relating to Polish technical inventions:

The editors of the journal "Wynalazosc i Racjonalizacja" (Invention and Rationalization) recently organized a survey to select 25 most original solutions of the greatest value for Polish national economy out of the several

thousand inventions made during the past 25 years of People's Poland.

Very severe criteria were applied in the evaluation of inventions. It was taken into account whether the invention was an absolute novelty on a world scale, whether the invention offered a basis upon which a new industrial branch, a new line of production or a new kind of machines could be established, whether it had been applied in practice and brought economic benefits and whether it was protected by a patent both at home and abroad. Invited to express their judgment on the subject were: Chairman of the Polish Patent Office, of the Polish Academy of Sciences, ministers etc.

As a result of the survey the first Place was awarded to the method of production of high-grade portland cement during which alumina is obtained as a by-product. The method was elaborated by a scientific team headed by Professor Dr. J. Grzymek from the Institute of Setting Building Materials.

Thanks to this method which is a novelty on a world scale some 43,000 tons of extremely valuable aluminium oxide and aluminium hydroxide have been produced so far.

The second place was awarded to the method of producing coke from power coal elaborated as the first method of this kind in the world by a team of workers from the Ministry of the Heavy Industry.

The third place was awarded to Dr. Eng. Tadeusz Rut from the Central Laboratory of Plastic Treatment in Poznan for a complex elaboration of a method of Crankshaft Forging. This is a revolutionary discovery on a world scale in which many foreign firms are interested. So far some 1.4 million foreign exchange zlotys have been obtained from the sale of licence.

The fourth place was accorded to Dr. Eng.

an Wegrzyn from the Institute of Welding Technology in Gliwice who invented an electrode for arc-welding of copper and its alloys. This method also has been acknowledged as revolutionary on a world scale.

The survey list comprises of 25 important inventions. Along with scientists, also workers of ministerial research institutes and factory designers are the authors of these inventions.

TB Eradication

Dr. Ivan Stoyanov tells us in *News from Bulgaria*.

The outstanding achievements scored in combating tuberculosis in Bulgaria can best be illustrated by a comparison with the pre-war situation and figures. What socialist Bulgaria inherited from bourgeois Bulgaria on September 9, 1944, were only 22 small dispensaries, 2,900 staffed beds and 86 phthisiotherapists against a total of 200,000 TB cases and 15,000 deaths a year. The dispensaries mainly conducted out-patient treatment, usually with a single physician in attendance. The TB sanatoria were few in number and the sick had to wait for many months or even for years before they could be admitted to them.

The period from 1944 to 1951 may be described as one of organizing the struggle against tuberculosis, and that following 1951—as a period of stepping up the quality and effectiveness of anti-tubercular measures and of purposeful, intensive work for the restriction and then, for the stamping out of tuberculosis as a widespread illness.

Already by the end of 1944 the number of dispensaries increased to 42, and that of beds—to 3,580 and in 1950 they rose respectively to 95 and 5,379. Along with the construction of new dispensaries, the existing ones were extended

and supplied with modern medical equipment. They gradually assumed the role of leading centres for combating tuberculosis in their respective districts. Children's and rural departments as well as departments for treatment of tuberculosis of the bones and joints were organized at the district dispensaries. Later on, regular hospitals were open in place of the dispensaries. The Research Institute of Tuberculosis was established in 1949. Side by side with it research work, it succeeded in placing the treatment of tuberculosis on a sound scientific basis and in providing proper guidance to all anti-tubercular establishments in the country. Last year, the number of these establishments reached 154, including three chairs of phthisics at the Higher Institutes of Medicine, 12 TB hospitals and 16 sanatoria staffed with a total of 755 physicians and 1,963 medical personnel with a secondary education. While the number of cases fell considerably, the number of beds increased to 9,303.

BCG vaccination had been introduced in Bulgaria since 1926, but only 7,000 children in all had been vaccinated until 1944. This low figure testifies to its extremely limited application. Since 1950 it became obligatory for all newborn children. Since 1953 it became obligatory for all people showing a negative reaction to TB tests and threatened by contagion.

Early diagnosing of the illness is today ensured by the close contacts maintained between the general medical establishments and the TB dispensaries as well as by the fluorographic examinations of the population and the medical personnel at the TB establishments. Of a total of 1,320,000 fluorographic examinations made in 1967, 802,152 were made among the rural population in the villages.

The prophylactic measures which are being

implemented also include the prompt retaining of persons who have had TB, convalescence aid at sanatoria and at suitable resorts, prophylactic measures at the endemic TB centres, anti-TB preventive health care, lectures and many other measures.

Positive, detailed measures along the lines of diagnosing, organization, prophylactics and

treatment of TB have been mapped out in the Ministry of Public Health Programme for the elimination of TB as a wide-spread disease. The execution of these measures is already in full swing and it will doubtlessly mark fresh success in combating the disease which was once a veritable scourge for the population of this country.

Foreign Periodicals

Italians Resemble Indians

Bruce Renton writing in *New Statesman* says "Italians are convinced that in Italy we go so far but no further. As soon as there are crops, everybody calls it off. But Italians seem to have short memories. After every death by politics there is an enormous funeral. Ten times as many people turn out for the funeral as for the demonstration. The police by now have a funeral technique as efficient as the riot technique.....the flourishing Italian flower business churns out wreaths from everybody, from the Chief of State to the trade union leaders and the fire brigade..... Everybody insists on being represented, especially, one presumes the assassins." All political deaths in Italy are duly celebrated. No one is allowed to die without being properly lamented. Everyone died for a great cause and ideal, the full realisation of which would make the world a better place.

There are no dearth of just and great

causes in Italy as in India. No dearth of volunteers to parade the Streets and crowd the squares to make the world a better place. The world perhaps becomes a better place; but do Italy and India? In our opinion shouting people seldom do any constructive work. And the reason why mass agitation rarely leads to any social improvements is that the people who take a leading part in such agitation utterly lack the ability to get anything done.

Torturing Prisoners in Europe

The Guardian Weekly Presents its readers with various facts relating to torture of prisoners in Spain and police atrocities in France. "The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has released signed statements from 14 Spanish workers and students describing how they were tortured by police officials and, in some cases, giving the names of their torturers".

Other prisoners at other places have made statement, relating to violence and torture. In one case "The statement, describe how arrests were made, usually in the middle of the night, without warrants, and generally accompanied by extreme violence, including the shooting of accused who had offered no resistance to justify the used of firearms".

In France the police beat up people, arrest them and release them from custody at ungodly hours of the night, far away from their homes; for no offence other than being found near the place of a demonstration disliked by the police. In many cases women and girls are also put in the police Vans and taken away to be kept under arrest for hours and to be released in far off place in the middle of the night.

What is English

A reporter in the *Guardian Weekly* says English will almost certainly the world's most widely used language.....It is the prime language of salesmen in Japan and Germany and of debate at the United Nations. But

English is taught and spoken in a wide variety of ways in different parts of the world. "Indian teachers and their Nigerian students in Northern Nigeria cannot understand each other's English. West Bengal, Kerala and other Indian regions have produced mutually incomprehensible dialects. And dialects have grown into languages with the Creoles in the Caribbean and the Pidgins in West Africa and Far East.

"Unremitting efforts will be needed to keep local variants of second-language English within the bounds of comprehensibility."

Admitted by all language are spoken differently by different groups of persons. English is spoken quite differently in London, Wales or the Scottish High Lands. The Americans speak it in a manner which other people find hard to understand. The reporter of the *Guardian Weekly* had overlooked the existence of these Western variants of the English language. His report gives more credit to Africans and Asiatics for creating incomprehensible variants of English than is due to them. He should not have ignored the makers of dialects of English that he could have found nearer home.



BOOK REVIEW

The Lonesome Pilgrim by Atulananda Chakrabarti Allied Publishers Pv. Ld. 278 pages : : price Rs. 20/.

Out on his Dandi march, Gandhi was pictured as the pilgrim by Nehru. When Gandhi set out for Noakhali, Sarojini Naidu paid a touching send off to the 'beloved pilgrim'. In choosing the title *The Lonesome Pilgrim*, Atulananda Chakrabarti based this qualification on Gandhi's own view of his lonesome and powerless state in the later years of his life.

Whether it was an irony of Indian independence or of relations of the master with his political heir is hard to say. To Gandhi this freedom, as it came about, was "a spiritual tragedy"; to Nehru it was "an achievement we celebrate", and he paid an efflorescent tribute to Gandhi as "the architect of this freedom". How Nehru & Co. continually acted contrary to Gandhi's objectives and managed to keep the common people in darkness about their motives by display of homage and loyalty is an art in publicity.

The Lonesome Pilgrim exposes these artificialities by reproducing their own dialogues. And this simple style of exposure lends to the writing a dramatic quality and secures a lively movement of the topics.

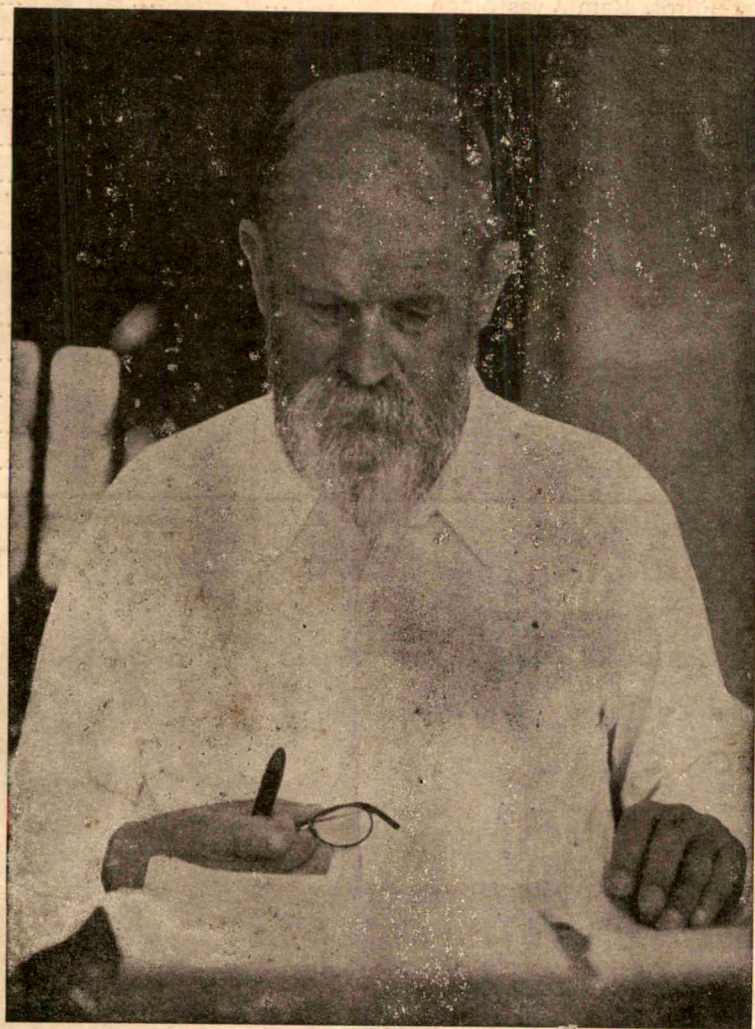
Equally, Gandhi's own policies and programmes are subjected to a searching analysis, so that with all his profound reverence for the Mahatma the author does not, as Prof. Hugh Tinker makes out in his Foreword, "turn his subject into an idol". Tinker, an eminent authority, correctly affirms: "In this thoughtful and thought provoking book there are a great many original themes, and it seems to me that they have been put over fearlessly and forcibly. The book is very

different from the steamlined, professionally efficient, Ph. D. thesis, which provides the staple of the literature of Indian politics and political science today. Mr. Chakrabarti pursues the trail of his ideas in his own way".

Here, then, is a unique book—in historical treatment as well as literary execution. *The Lonesome Pilgrim* can be correctly commended as the most revealing and surprising publication, outshining the vast Gandhi literature produced round the centenary year. The two portraits of Gandhi in self introspection by Deviprosad Roy Chaudhuri are additional charms.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI: Vols 30 and 31 published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi. Royal Qto pp 618 and 594. Price paper cover Rs. 9'00 per volume. Volume thirty covers the period February-June 1926 and volume thirty one June-November 1926. Mahatma Gandhi personally knew and corresponded with numerous people. His letters and even telegrams have a documentary significance. Historians in later years will find very valuable material in these volumes which will possibly run to many more. Political parties have a habit of manufacturing history. These autobiographical books are a check on such activities. Mahatma Gandhi's collected works should be kept in all collage libraries for the use of students of social, economic and political history.

The Modern Review



FEBRUARY-1970

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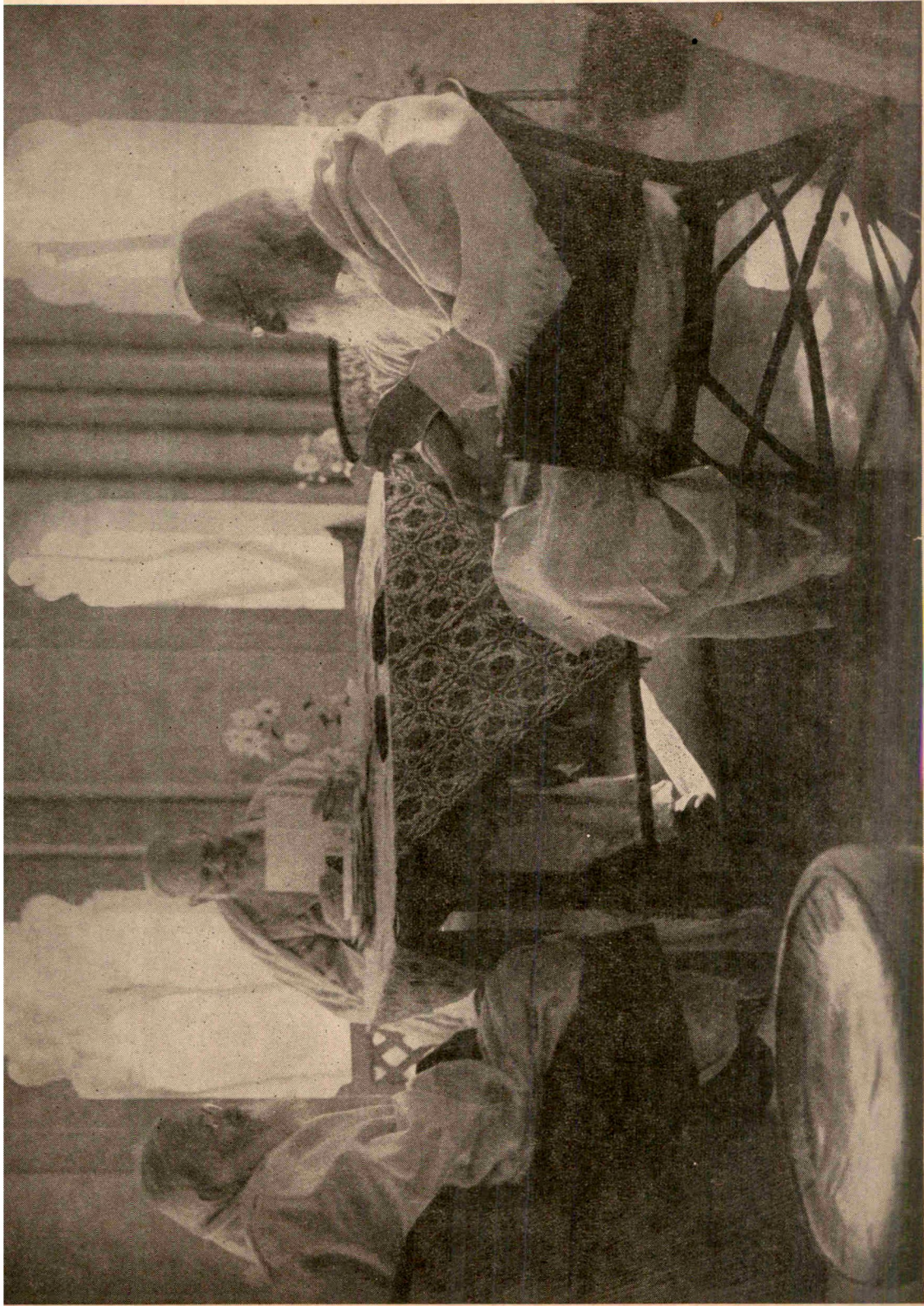
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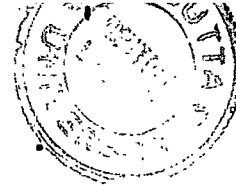


BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA . BOMBAY . KANPUR . DELHI



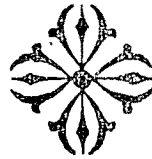
C. F. ANDREWS, RABINDRA NATH TAGORE AND RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AT SANTINIKETAN



Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

The Princes of India

The Princes of India had not been sovereign kings of their territories since the British established overlordship in India. They were nevertheless entitled to certain powers and rights which yielded money gains and a superior position to them. When independence came and the Indian Government abolished the rulership of the Indian Rajahs they were granted certain privy purses which were worth a great deal of money. But for some time now the Indian Government have been attempting to abolish the privy purses. What their arguments are for abolishing the civil rights to incomes of the princes are not clearly known to us. We believe the basic argument is the Government of India's Republican and Socialistic creed. A Republic cannot pay money to persons who are or were feudal lords, or some such reasoning. But one would say that the Government of India were keeping up other feudal rights, or even worse, keeping up imperialistic rights too. For were they not paying capital compensation to land lords of various types? Were they not paying pensions to British officials of the pre-independence

regime too? They were showing special respect to British industrial and commercial rights and were not abolishing the property rights of the temples in spite of the secular nature of the Indian nation. In other words, the creed and belief of the state cannot do away with the civil rights of the people of the state. The abolition of the Rajaship should mean only the removal of all power from the hands of the Rajahs and not the taking away of money incomes which had already been reduced down at the time of fixing the size of the privy purses. The basic structure of Indian society depends on certain steady and fixed permanent social habits and observances. There are, let us say, two dozen different ideologies flaunted by the political parties of India. Indian society cannot undertake to share the turmoil that boils and bubbles in the party cauldrons. Just as the ancient Rajahs fought each other without interfering with the life of the people, so must the political parties carry on now their various wars of ideals away from the hearth and home of the peoples of India. If there are too many abolitions or additions from and to the life of the nation, then the nation may have to abolish the political parties in

order to save its life and the fundamental basis of its existence. These bases are religious, cultural and economic, involving numerous ritualistic, linguistic, institutional and other considerations. No political parties or coalitions of parties should play with these basic sociological factors of Indian life. No matter how illogical they may appear to the eyes of science and modernity. Only such things may be removed as make the nation's life more hazardous, insecure and unworthy. Government of India spend much money annually in many ways which are contrary to this or that sort of ideology. No one criticises all that excepting the political parties; but their criticism need not necessarily mean attacks on the social, economic or cultural habits of the various communities and individuals constituting the Indian nation. The question of rights to various kinds of incomes if taken up and analysed in the light of science, logic or social ethics might lead to devastating conclusions. Can one prove anything? The value of democracy, secularism or republican institutions; for instance. Or the worthlessness of the economic institutions on which depend hundreds of millions of people all over the world. The basic difference between liberation and enslavement. Nothing can be proved totally in point of logic, science and metaphysical realities. Human societies rest on facts that are willingly accepted as facts by people. Political majorities are not the people; for what to-days majorities pass in their legislatures, may become minority points of view to-morrow. Political fads and fancies, when these are of any great social significance, should not therefore be forced on society by political majorities. The most important minorities whose point of view should be respected are those who are affected by the proposed changes. The Rajahs, therefore should be convinced first about the undesirability of having privy purses in the present

political-social set up. Then they should be induced to take up other gainful occupations which will enable them to live reasonably well. The Indian Government somehow managed to maintain the offices, the personnel and the connections that the British had set up in India. In fact they have not shown, upto now any great originality of approach to administrative or institutional problems; but have depended on the "business as usual" and "carry on" principles. They have failed or antagonised the people whenever and wherever they have done something in order to establish a new social political or economic ideal. One has only to look at their public sector industries, their flood control projects, their educational reforms, their abolitions of Zemindari, free foreign travel, private banking and life insurance, and, at their use of rowdy crowds to convince the people of their ideological superiority; to know what a great failure they have been in creative work. Conservatism is the essence of wisdom for the mediocre rulers of nations with deep rooted traditions.

Class Struggle or Class Comradeship

Human relations do not of necessity mean association of equals or of persons similar in race, language, wealth, learning, religion or way of life. A common humanity draws all kinds of men and women together and it becomes easy for entirely different classes and types of persons to live, work, suffer or enjoy together inspite of the sharp differences that may exist between them. From time immemorial the wealthy have gone out to help the poor, the scholars have taught the ignorant, the ethically inspired have carried their message of morality and virtue to the ungodly and the able bodied have taken it upon themselves to assist the lame, the blind and the sick. Human progress has depended throughout history more on class sympathy and fellowship than on the so called class

struggle. Generations of good men have sacrificed their wealth, leisure and comforts to carry on the work of upliftment of those who have been not so fortunate.

When one takes account of the sum total of human ills and sufferings one finds much that arises out of chance and natural causes. Those acts of man that bring death, destruction and injury to millions of innocent persons are mainly the evil expression of man's love of power and his uncompromising arrogance. Even if one could entirely rule out the question of economic inequality and exploitation from all communities of men, the criminal arrogance of man will continue to affect human relations and wars will occur even between the most similar types of communities leading to terrifying clashes and struggles of utterly bestial proportions. Similarity of ideals therefore will not save mankind from suffering and destitution, and the idea that class struggle with the ultimate victory of the working classes over the monied people will assure the inhabitants of the earth of freedom from persecution and oppression of various kinds, will not actually prove fruitful. Sympathy and compassion will therefore remain the main instruments of removing human suffering and sorrow. It will not serve any human purpose to provoke, instigate and encourage class struggles if any sharply divided classes are found to exist in any country in the future. For the history of social reform shows that sympathy and compassion have removed more injustice and unfair practices than fights and struggles have. In the field of labour-employer relations justice and fair play have come to be established mainly through peaceful propaganda, and, fights and struggles have played a relatively minor part in improving the condition of workers. Men like Gokhale, C. F. Andrews, Ramsay McDonald, Mahatma Gandhi and others

have never preached class war but have proved the just demands of workers convincingly and well, leading to substantial improvements in the terms and conditions of service of workers. In this centenary year of C. F. Andrews who was one of the greatest friends of the poor and the oppressed, one remembers what a lover of universal humanity he was. To him there were no classes and he preached truth and justice to all. A strong sense of right and wrong removes all hatred and greed from the human heart, and Andrews pointed out the way of virtue and goodness to all, rich and poor, and called upon them to act virtuously as employers, as employees, rulers or subjects. That is why he was so dear to Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore who were the greatest apostles of peace and goodness of modern times.

Charles Freer Andrews.

Visva-Bharati News published certain talks on C. F. Andrews given by different well known persons on the A. I. R. on the occasion of his 95th birthday anniversary. Lord Fenner Brockway said, "C. F. Andrews reflected in his own personality the spirit of Gandhi, I think, to a greater degree than any Englishman I have known..."

"I met him in England and I was deeply attracted to him by the beauty of his character, by his writings, by his speech and by his complete devotion to the cause of India and to the leadership of Gandhiji in that struggle. I think C. F. Andrews by his identification with Gandhiji did a great deal to bridge the differences not only between England and India, but even between the philosophies of the two countries....."

"C. F. Andrews will always live in Indian history and I hope a place for him will be found in English history as well, because he

is one of those who have contributed to the goodwill between the English people and the Indian people."

The right Reverend Christopher Robinson said, "I have never seen anybody like him before, I don't think I've seen anybody quite like him since. That memory lives with me to-day...It was a wonderful privilege to live with him during those days and to listen to him talking...Just a look at C.F. Andrews—it was a wonderful sense of peace and love and I should never forget the look on his face. It extended goodness and truth and beauty."

Miss Marjorie Sykes said, "...His whole life rebelled against the exclusive attitude of some of his Christian colleagues and against phrases in the prayer books which seemed to imply that only those who wore the outward label of Christ could be recognised as His. The circle of christianity seemed too narrow for him while he was spending himself untiringly for India in closer and closer friendship both with the Poet and with the Mahatma...some Indian Christian students would often ask: 'sir are you still a Christian?'" What is the use of, telling these boys, I am a Christian, he once said sadly. "If they can't see it in my face, they must have been blind indeed—"

Shri E. W. Aryanayakam said, "Charles Freer Andrews was affectionately known by the masses of India as 'Dinabandhu' or a friend of the poor, the name given to him by Mahatma Gandhi...As a true servant of God he called nothing his own, and lived a life of utter simplicity and his life was characterised by the generous humility of spiritual greatness. In the foreword to the autobiography of Andrews Gandhi wrote with affection:

"Charlie Andrews, was as simple as a child; upright as a die and shy to a degree. The life of Andrews needs no introduction. It is its own introduction."

A true Christian, a genuine humanitarian and a sincere friend to all who suffered from poverty, sickness, ignorance social injustice, political persecution and unfair treatment by others on any account. Charles Freer Andrews tried to correct and cure the evils he found in human society in a bold but friendly manner. His weapon was love and he won his battles by appealing to the heart of his antagonists. He was an uncompromising reformer! but he never antagonised anybody by using pressure to gain an objective.

Have and Have-nots

Man does not live by bread alone. That is a wise saying of ancient origin and not a product of modern new outlook. Those who took a comprehensive view of human life progress and happiness, found that man's needs were not entirely of a material kind, and the Have Nots required to have not only more food, clothing, housing and furniture but they needed more education, more social and moral sense, more eagerness to know the fundamental truths of existence, more spirit of sacrifice and more of those cultural urges which made men better and worthier instruments of progress and civilisation. Equal material possessions did not make men equals; for many have been the great pathfinders of progress whose material possessions were totally lacking. The most outstanding scholars, philosophers, social reformers, musicians, poets, inventors, soldiers and leaders of men, have quite often been utterly poor from the money point of view. Many suffered from privations of the worst kind. But their souls rose above their physical wants in a natural and inspired manner. So, those who hanker after material possessions should devote some attention to the things of the mind and the spirit too, And these things cannot be

natched away from those who have them; but have to be acquired individually through devotion to matters of the mind and spirit. All human beings must be taught that greater material possessions did not make greater men; and that too much attention to money and wealth usually made men poor in mental outlook and totally destitute in human inspiration.

Rebels on Principle

The long processions that one sees in the streets of Calcutta these days and the crowds that assemble in front of offices and factories habitually indulge in cries of *inquilab jindabad* (long live revolution). Trade unionism has developed all over the world and also in India for collective bargaining and not for bringing about social revolutions. Many people therefore do not understand why trade unionists pressing their demands for more money, bonus or for redress of grievances related to earnings should proclaim incessantly their desire to bring off a revolution. Even assuming that the trade unionists are communists or socialists of the extreme left variety, one cannot reconcile a demand for more money with an urgent call for a revolution. For a revolution would terminate all terms and conditions of service and render all demands for more money totally futile during the pendency of the desired upheaval and until such time as new terms and conditions could be framed. In any case a call for revolution does not rhyme with a demand for increased wages or other money gains.

Industrial, Commercial and Government employees in India are much better paid compared to the people who work in various capacities in the villages and other places in India. These poor people not only work for much lower wages; but they have no steady employment. Many are almost totally unem-

ployed. Roughly speaking the majority of the workers of India earn about $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of what organised industry, commerce and the services pay to their workers on an average. If the idea behind the call for a revolution is establishment of a new economic system in which there would be more equality of earnings; The workers of Indian industries or commercial houses would gain nothing monetarily through any such change. One would doubtless say that workers in Russia do not get equal wages, and that the difference in earning is based on the workers' skill, experience and so forth; so that the workers of India who now move about shouting long live revolution would not suffer any loss of earning. They should take into account the fact that Indian offices and factories employ too many persons of whom many have no productive work. If the Russian system is introduced in India more than half the employees will be thrown out of their present occupation and most of the other half will face cuts in their salaries. A few only may get small increases in wages. Our petit bourgeois revolutionaries will have a rude awakening if communism is introduced in India. Their easy going ways will have to change to a hard working and fully productive system of earning a living. The wages will not rise; rather, may go down. It may also so happen that the workers will have to accept employment in far away places and do work involving great hazard and discomfort. The existing system may mean exploitation by private employers but the communistic system will lead to greater absorption of surplus values by the state. Further the current system allows slow speed methods of putting in eight hours "work". Communism will be very much more of a slave drive with no commensurate gain in earnings. The national character may improve by this change; but will the persons concerned

be happy with the process that will bring about the change?

A revolution when it gets going puts all members of the community in a condition of anarchy in which there can be no safety of person or property. The strong will exploit and dominate the weak without any difficulty and the common man will find it difficult to keep his family life intact. Sons will disappear to join up with gangs and daughters may be abducted or induced to join organisations which may need the services of girls and young women. Food, clothing and housing will be scarce excepting for the strong arm men and their followers. And these followers will be chosen by reference to their fighting ability only. Hangers on will not be encouraged and there being great shortage of consumer goods in India, the poor, the weak and the over cautious will find it difficult to obtain the basic necessities of life. A revolution therefore will mean full larders and wardrobes for a small minority and great suffering and want for the rest of the population.

What will be the nature of the ruling minority in a revolution? Will that strong arm minority have many students, office clerks and factory workers in it? We doubt it very much that the strong bodies of men will be made up of those types of persons. We would rather think that as soon as a revolution gets well on its way, those who have power and resources at their command will commence to hire and organise bands of mercenary fighters all over India. And there will be many who will join these private armies. As far as one can judge, educated men and women will not predominate in these organisations and the students, clerks and other semi-intellectual elements will be forced to work for the gang leaders rather than occupy any positions of leadership in their organisations. For the gang leaders will try to obtain goods which they will

possibly utilise for exchange and purchase of other goods from other gangs. India will be split up into many gang ridden zones. The gangs would eventually consolidate into wider organisations; but such culmination might take years during which many gang leaders and their gangs would be liquidated by others who would, naturally try to reorganise hierarchical systems leading to suffering for numerous strong men and their entourages. In short a revolutionary set up could at no time be of much comfort to any body, particularly to those who could only be meek and mild followers. Shouters of slogans and carriers of flags in peaceful processions may not be so efficient when there is any fighting. Many of such people cannot even prove their ability in productive work. Such persons, who are the most numerous in India and form the majority of the Inquilab Jindabad rank and file in processions, gheraos and other demonstrations for obtaining higher wages and starting a revolution; will find life very hard indeed if a revolution really came to develop.

One may ask what will happen to the armed forces of India and would they not follow some command of some political group which should bring some order in the country by use of the armed might of the forces. No doubt the armed forces would be in occupation of strategic points and in control of some roads, railways, ports and cities, but a revolution would be too big a disorder to be controlled by the armed forces and brought back to normal peace time condition. More than 550000 villages and towns scattered over 1200,000 sq. miles of territory with inadequate facilities for communications and travel would require 10 million soldiers to be held down completely. With about ten percent of that number available for enforcement of the will of the supreme commander, the work would have to be cut down to the size of the force; and the eventual subjugation of the lawless

elements would have to be spread over a few years. All the destruction, suffering and turmoil will thoroughly overwhelm the community before anything could be done to restore orderliness and quiet.

Those races and communities in India which are the least turbulent and fiercely capable of murder, loot and arson will be the most to suffer when lawlessness overtakes the country. When Bargis, Pindaris and Thugis roamed the length and breadth of India in the days of the decline of the Moghul and Mahratta empires, it took years of slow consolidation of the forces of law and order to restore peace in India. During these years the most peace loving communities suffered the worst persecution at the hands of the marauders. The proposed revolution, if it comes, will also bring most suffering to the cultured peoples of Bengal, Orissa, Andhrapradesh, Gujrat and other areas. That is why those peoples of India who cannot live like brigands, nor face the rapacious bestiality of marauders without losing their peace of mind and joy of existence; should take timely precaution to negate the propaganda for revolution that is being carried on by thoughtless persons everywhere. All social and economic reforms can be carried out peacefully. Revolutions always cost much more than what they bring in as gain.

Air, Water and Soil Pollution

All progressive and advanced nations of the world are trying to make the decade 1970—1980 a period to make the Earth cleaner and free from avoidable poisonous waste. The U. S. A., Britain, Sweden and other countries are going all out to prevent air, water and soil pollution and to reduce the other killers of human peace and happiness, such as, the roaring of engines of various kinds, avoidable explosions and the blinding flashes

from welding and other apparatus. Efforts are being made to reduce the smoke (and carbon monoxide) of petrol and diesel engines and to make motor vehicles and aeroplanes less smoky and noisy. The indiscriminate use of insecticides which slowly work their way into human food and also destroy valuable animal and bird life; is now being controlled very thoroughly in many countries. It has been found that these poisonous chemicals are washed down to the rivers by rain water and eventually affect marine life in the oceans. River fish suffer from these chemicals as well as from the effects of chemicals in the effluvia released by factories without any treatment for rendering the same harmless.

In India our greatest smoke producers are the coal burning *Chulas* used by millions of persons for cooking. Then there are bigger furnaces, stoves, boilers, railway engines etc. etc. which are quite numerous and produce much smoke. The motor vehicles using petrol or diesel oil for fuel are numerous and they blacken the city roads and skies with smoke and injure human beings by their noxious fumes. Prevention of air pollution will require greater and more general use of electricity for cooking and for traction of railway trains. Cheaper current for electric *Chulas* and use of trolley buses in place of those with petrol or diesel engines will greatly relieve the cities from their smoke nuisance. Private motor vehicles, taxis and trucks should be controlled and checked for emission of smoke and unburnt gas. Factories must be induced to render their waste and effluvia fully harmless before being diverted into drains which fall into rivers. It should be noted that the same rivers also supply the drinking water for the citizens. India is becoming industrialised at a fast pace. It is time now

to introduce rules and regulations for the prevention of air, water and soil pollution.

Another thing is prevention of undue noise. Defective silencers, noisy engines, yelling mobs, pneumatic instruments, beggars, hawkers and workers plying hammers, drills and rivetting machines; combine to cause nervous break down to city dwellers. Noise prevention should be taken up immediately. The people, particularly children should be taught the virtue of speaking softly. Loud exchanges of opinion or confidences, brawling in the streets and other kinds of loud and rowdy behaviour should be discouraged actively by the police and other social authorities. In West Bengal, of course, collective howling is the accepted form of expression of public opinion, and that makes it rather difficult for the state authorities to discourage noisy outbursts. But they can make a beginning by getting their state transport vehicles properly fixed to prevent them from belching smoke heavily and unnecessarily. The other motor vehicles can also be subjected to control and compulsory checking. The state can also make a beginning in supplying poor people with cheap electricity and liquid fuel with cheap stoves for cooking. That should

put out of operation the half a million *Chulds* which produce a smoke screen for greater Calcutta every day during cooking hours which appear to go unfailingly round the clock.

River pollution should engage the attention of the West Bengal Government very seriously. For the great shoals of Hilsa fish no longer appear in the Hooghly River (The Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges) due to the poisonous filth that the chemical, textile, paper, paint and other factories release into the river without neutralising the dangerous contents. The Government also know that the residents of Calcutta drink this river water. The salinity of the river water is another factor that should attract the attention of the Government. Farakka alone will not solve this problem. The Government of West Bengal therefore should consider these matters soon and make proper arrangement for controlling air, water and soil pollution. They may also try to control noise, if it suits their policy. For shouting and the blaring loud speakers have now become an integral part of our political life. If Calcutta takes up these problems, other industrial areas will follow the arrangements made by the Metropolis.

CHARLIE ANDREWS

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The lifeless body of our beloved friend Charles Andrews is at this hour being laid to rest in the all-devouring earth. We try to steel ourselves to endurance in this day of sorrow by the thought that death is not the final destiny of life, but we find as yet no consolation. Day after day, in the countless familiarities of sight and speech, love, the nectar of the gods, has filled our cup of life to the brim. Our minds, imprisoned in the material, have grown accustomed to depend on the bodily senses as their channels of communication with each other. When these channels are suddenly blocked by death, the separation is felt as an intolerable grief. We have known Andrews for long years, and in a rich variety of ways. Now we must accept our fate—never again will that dear human comradeship be possible. Yet our hearts grope yearningly for some assurance of hope and comfort in our loss.

When we are separated from a man with whom our relationship touched only the necessary business of life, nothing remains behind. We accept the ending of that relationship as final. The gains and losses of material and secular chance are subject to the power of death. But the relationship of love infinite, mysterious, is not subject to the limitations of such material intercourse, nor cabined and confined in the life of the body. Such a rare companionship of soul existed between Andrews and me. Coming unsought it was a gift of God beyond all price. No lesser explanation on the human plane will suffice to account for it. One day, as if from nowhere, from one

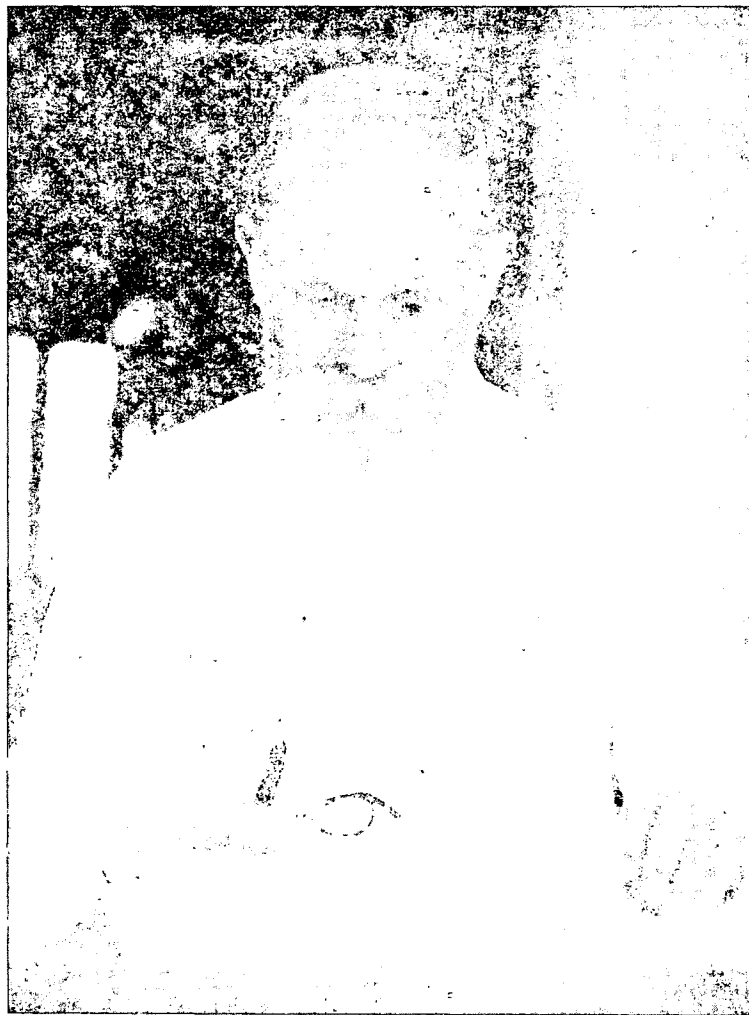
who was till then a complete stranger to me there was poured out upon me this generous gift of friendship. It rose like a river from the clear spring of this Christian Sadhu's devotion to God. In it there was no taint of selfishness, no stain of ambition, only a single-minded offering of the spirit to its Lord. The question in the Kena Upanishad came into my mind unbidden.

By whose grace was this soul sent to me in what secret is rooted its life?

Rooted it was, I know, in a deeply sincere and all-embracing love of God. I should therefore like to tell you of the beginning of this friendship. At that time I was in London, and was invited to a meeting of English men of letters at the house of the artist Rothenstein. The poet Yeats was giving a recitation of some poems from the English translation of my *Gitanjali*, and Andrews was present in the audience. After the reading was over I was returning to the house where I was staying which was close at hand. I crossed at a leisurely pace the open stretch of Hampstead Heath. The night was bathed in the loveliness of the moon. Andrews came and accompanied me. In the silence of the night his mind was filled with the thoughts of *Gitanjali*. He was led on, through his love of God, into a stirring of love towards me. Little did I dream that day of the friendship in which the streams of his life and mine were destined to be mingled to the end, in such deep intimacy, in such a fellowship of service.

He began to share in the work of Santini-

ketan. At that time this poor place of study was very ordinary indeed in outward appearance, and its reputation was very small. Yet, its external poverty notwithstanding, he had faith in the spiritual purpose to which it was dedicated, he made it a part of the spiritual endeavour of his own life. What was not visible to the eye he saw by the insight of love. With his love for me he mingled a whole hearted affection for Santiniketan. This indeed is characteristic of true strength of character, that it does not rest content with a mere



C. F. Andrews

outburst of emotion, but finds its own fulfilment in superhuman sacrifice for its ends. Andrews never amassed any wealth; his was a spirit freed from the lust of possession. Yet many were the times, (how many, we can never know) when, coming to know of something the ashram lacked, he found, from some source, sufficient for our need. Over and over again he begged from others. Sometimes he begged in vain, yet in that begging he did not

hesitate to humiliate that "self-respect" which is the world's ideal. And this, I think, was what attracted him with special force that even through a weary time of poverty Santiniketan strove faithfully for the realisation of its inner vision.

So far I have spoken of the affection of Andrews towards myself, but the most unusual thing about him was his devoted love of India. The people of our country have accepted this love ; but have they realised fully the cost of it to him ? He was an Englishman, a graduate of Cambridge University. By language, customs, culture, by countless links, the ties of birth and blood bound him to England. Family associations were centred there. The India which became the object of his lifelong devotion was far removed in manners and customs from his own physical and intellectual traditions. In the realisation and acceptance of this complete exile he showed the moral strength and purity of his love. He did not pay his respects to India from a distance, with detached and calculating prudence : he threw in his lot without reserve, in gracious courtesy, with the ordinary folk of this land. The poor, the despised, those whose lives were spent in dirt and ugliness it was these whose familiar life he shared, time and time again, naturally and without effort. We know that this manner of life made him very unpopular with many of the ruling class of this country, who believed that by it he was bringing the Government into contempt, and they became his bitter opponents ; yet the scorn of men of his own race did not trouble his mind. Knowing that the God of his adoration was the friend of those whom society despises ; he drew support and confidence from Him in prayer. He rejoiced in the victory of his Christian faith over all obstacles whenever by his agency any man, Indian or foreign, was freed from the bonds of scorn. In this connec-

tion it must also be said that he many times experienced unfriendliness and suspicions even from the people of our own land, and he bore this unmerited suffering undismayed as part of his religious service.

At the time when Andrews chose India as the field of his life work, political excitement and activity were at their height here. In such circumstances it can easily be understood how exceedingly difficult it would be for an Englishman still to maintain quiet relationships of intimate friendship with the people of this country. But he remained at his post quite naturally, with no doubt or misgiving in his heart. That in this stern test he should have held unswervingly to his life purpose is in itself a proof of his strength of soul.

I have thus had the privilege of knowing two aspects of the nature of my friend Andrews. One aspect was in his nearness to me, the very deep love with which he loved me, This genuine, unbounded love I believe to have been the highest blessing of my life. I was also a daily witness of the many expressions of his extraordinary love for India, I saw his endless kindness to the outcasts of this land. In sorrow or need they would call him and he would hasten to their assistance, throwing all other work aside, regardless of his own convenience, ignoring his own ill-health. Because of this it was not possible to tie him down to any of our regularly organised work.

It would be a mistake to think that this generous love of his was confined within the narrow limits of India. His love for Indians was a part of that love of all humanity which he accepted as the Law of Christ. I remember seeing one illustration of this in his tenderness for the Kaffir aborigines of South Africa, when the Indians there were endeavouring to keep the Kaffirs at a distance and treat them with contempt, and imitated the Europeans in demanding special privileges for themselves.

Andrews could not tolerate this unjust spirit of aloofness, and therefore the Indians of South Africa once imagined him to be their enemy.

At the present time when a suicidal madness of destruction seizes our race, and in uncontrolled arrogance a torrent of blood sweeps away the landmarks of civilised human society, the one hope of the world is in an all-embracing universal charity. Through the very might of hostility arrayed against it there comes the inspiration of the God of the age. Andrews was the embodiment of that inspiration. Relationships between us and the English are rendered difficult and complex by their attitude to the privileges of race and empire. An Englishman who in the magnanimity of his heart endeavours to approach us through this network of artificiality, finds his way obstructed at every step. To keep an arrogant distance between themselves and us has become a chief element of their pride of race. The whole country has had to bear the intolerable weight of this indignity. Out of this English tradition Andrews brought to us his English manhood. He came to live with us in our joys and sorrows, our triumphs and misfortunes, identifying himself with a defeated and humiliated people. His attitude was absolutely free from any suspicion of that self-satisfied patronage which condescends from its own eminence to help the poor. In this I realised his rare gift of spontaneous universal friendship. A poet of our country once said:

"Man is truly lord of all,
Higher than man is naught."

We quote this saying when it suits our convenience, but it is doubtful whether any other race equals us in our practice of confusing the dubious accretions of communal tradition with the teachings of pure religion and thereby dishonouring its essential truth. That is why, I must claim even in the face of ridicule, I have established in Santiniketan a little place of welcome for all men. Here from a foreign land, I gained a true man. In this ashram he was able to give his whole heart to the work of reconciling men. This was my highest gain, a gain which is imperishable. Time after time and in place after place his conscience drew him into the field of political struggle, and sometimes too the peaceful atmosphere of our ashram was disturbed by his activities. But he soon realised his mistake and to the very end he guarded the ashram from intoxication with the heady wine of politics.

This finally, is what I would say to you who live in the ashram in solemn confidence, at the very moment when his lifeless body is being committed to the dust, his noblest gift to us and not only to us but to all men is a life which is transcendent over death itself, and dwells with us imperishably.

Memorial service at Santiniketan, April 5 1940. Translated from the original Bengali by Marjorie Sykes. Reproduced from the Visva Bharati Quarterly.

C. F. ANDREWS

A. CHATTERJEE

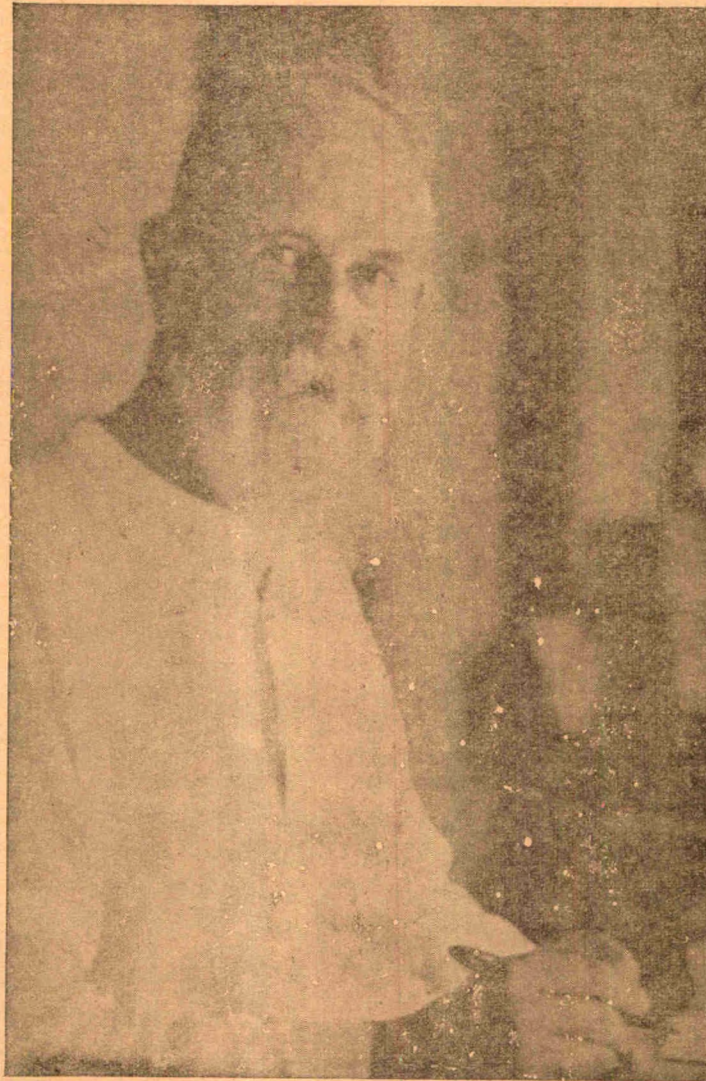
Some men make a foreign land their home for economic reasons. They engage in trade and commerce and amass fortunes. Their possessions tie them down to the soil of their adopted country and they form social and cultural connections there as a natural outcome of their prolonged stay in their new home. There have been many Europeans of this class who passed their lives in India. Some exploited India and carried their gains to Europe and others allowed their wealth to be ploughed back into the economic soil of India which helped the development of this country. There had been other Europeans whose aim in life was not money making but who desired power or intellectual satisfaction from their connection with India. They are usually referred to as the Empire Builders or as students of Indian Culture and Civilisation. Many were the Empire Builders who came to India and played with the destiny of the peoples of this ancient land in a manner in which sympathy and humanity did not always predominate. The scholars who devoted themselves to the study of language, literature, art and archeology rendered great service to India in so far as they opened up the great and half-forgotten past of Indian civilisation and thus made the cultural position of this land secure in the world. Their invaluable contributions also made it possible for Indian reformers to tell their countrymen about their glorious past and to boost their morale at a period of national history in which they were oppressed and dominated by foreign imperialists. The researches carried on by European scholars were of great assistance to those who set in

motion the cultural renaissance and increased its tempo in India during the last two centuries.

There was yet another group of Europeans who came to India at the call of religion and humanity ; to serve the suffering masses of this poverty stricken land, where the darkness of ignorance and qualor was deep and widespread, where people suffered and died with no one to help them, and where life was constantly in the shadow of doom. Most of these servants of humanity came out to India as missionaries whose work was to preach Christianity ; but many of whom devoted themselves to the service of the Indian masses by organising schools, training centres, hospitals and asylums. Social reform and teaching the people to live a better life went hand in hand with their work of education and economic uplift. They thus became the preceptors and gurus of their followers. Many are the schools, colleges, training centres, hospitals, orphanages and asylums that have been organised and run by the selfless workers of the Christian Missions and the work they have done has been of great value to the people of India.

The persons who came out to India quite often began their work in the Missions according to routine ; but later went into special spheres of service and were drawn into particular types of work by their own choice or through successful achievement or favourable association with Indian social workers of outstanding merit. Rev. C. F. Andrews came out to India towards the beginning of this

century (1904) as an educationist mission worker, but his remarkable talents soon brought him into contact with several great men of India whose services to the Nation were varied and invaluable. C. F. Andrews was a very capable writer and a thorough and painstaking student of human affairs. His assessments of social injustices and degrading mal-practices of government or of merchants and industrialists were so remarkably correct and free from decorative exaggerations; that when he expressed an opinion on some matter



C. F. Andrews

of great social significance; it immediately took on a documentary character and was accepted as utterly factual and correct. And he never formed or expressed any opinion without making arduous personal enquiries. His visits to slums, workers bustees and his long and intimate conversations with the common folk and with students, intellectuals,

politicians and travellers in third class railway compartments had gone on endlessly throughout the long years that he devoted to the service of the lowly, the suffering, the persecuted, the exploited and the suppressed. C. F. Andrews came to India in 1904 and began his work as professor in St. Stephens College, Delhi. He soon noticed that the reason for the ill feeling between the British and the Indians was mainly British arrogance and assumption of racial superiority over the Indians. He took up the Indian cause right from the beginning and his activities soon attracted the attention of men like Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu, Rajendra Prasad and others. The Russo-Japanese War was then on in full force and the Japanese were inflicting spectacular reverses on the mighty Czarist armies and fleets of war-ships. Andrews was a profound scholar in history and the humanities. He saw that a great change was sweeping over Asia and that the racial and cultural superiority of the Western 'whites', which was announced mainly through gun-barrels, was utterly false and doomed to be destroyed within a few years. He felt it was a great human crime that had to be challenged intellectually and morally and that the untruth on which it rested had to be washed out of the human mind to make it healthy and clean. Andrews wrote in his book *The Renaissance in India* (quoted by K. K. Datta in *Renaissance, Nationalism and Social Changes in Modern India*) "At the close of the year 1904 it was clear to those who were watching the political horizon that great changes were impending in the East. Storm clouds had been gathering thick and fast. The air was full of electricity. The war between Russia and Japan had kept the surrounding people on the tiptoe of expectation. A stir of excitement passed over the North of India. Even the remote villagers talked over the victories of

Japan as they sat in their circles and passed round the *huqqa* (pipe) at night. One of the older men said to me, 'There has been nothing like it since the Mutiny'. A Turkish consul of long experience in Western Asia told me that in the interior you could see everywhere the most ignorant peasants 'tingling' with the news. Asia was moved from one end to the other, and the sleep of centuries was finally broken. It was time when it was good to be alive, for a new chapter was being written in the book of the world's history. My own work at Delhi was at singular point of advantage. It was a meeting point of Hindus and Mussalmans, where their opinions could be noted and recorded. The Aligarh movement among Muhammadans was close at hand and I was in touch with it. I was also in sympathy with Hindu leaders of the modern school of Indian thought and shared many of their views. Each party spoke freely to me of their hopes and aims. The Mussalmans, as one expected regarded the reverses of Russia chiefly from the territorial stand point. These reverses seemed to mark the limit of the expansion of the Christian nations over the world's surface. The Hindus regarded more the inner significance of the event. The old-time glory and greatness of Asia seemed destined to return. The material aggrandisement of the European races at the expense of the East seemed at least to be checked. The whole of Buddhaland from Ceylon to Japan might again become one in thought and life. Hinduism might once more bring forth its old treasures of spiritual culture for the benefit of mankind. Behind these dreams and visions was the one exulting hope that the days of servitude to the West were over and the days of independence had dawned. Much had gone before to prepare the way for such a dawn of hope: the Japanese victories made it, for the first time, shining and radiant."

After this war, in which a little known Asiatic kingdom defeated a mighty imperial power of Europe in a decisive manner; leaving no doubts as to the vulnerability of Europeans when faced by properly armed and disciplined forces of non-European countries; came the Swadeshi movement of Bengal. Lord Curzon had ordered a partition of Bengal and this started a tremendous agitation. This led to a determined boycott of British goods and intensive anti-British propaganda. Starting in Bengal as a peaceful movement, the Swadeshi agitation spread to other parts of India in a short period. It also lost its peaceful nature and youngmen in Maharashtra, Punjab, Bihar and Bengal began to take part in terroristic activities directed against British and Indian officials of the Government of India. We find C. F. Andrews associating with persons like Hasan Imam, Sachchidananda Sinha, Rajendra Prasad, Jadunath Sarkar, Sarala Devi and others in connection with nationalistic propaganda in various places of North India. The British tried to subdue the people who spoke and wrote against their overlordship in India; but that merely made the people more anti-British than ever before. What started only as an organised refusal to buy British goods, soon developed into a general rejection of British political relations with India. Some people fought for wider constitutional rights and others wanted a total break with the British.

C. F. Andrews combined in him great spiritual yearnings and a totally realistic approach to the practical problems of life. He looked at the different aspects of British economic exploitation of India as undesirable facts which had to be removed. The colour bar in Africa, the underpayment of workers in India and the indentured labour system of recruitment of workers for the British planta-

tions in Fiji; drew C. F. Andrews as a fighter for the establishment of human rights, and he personally carried on the fight in a bold and tenacious manner. Gokhale started the fight against the indentured labour system, and, Andrews finished it victoriously after Gokhale's death. About this time Andrews was in England and, there, he met Rabindranath Tagore. He had read some nationalistic writings of the poet but had not yet come to know much about his poetic genius. Andrews soon became profoundly attached to Rabindranath and accepted him as a spiritual and cultural preceptor. Later on he made Santiniketan his home and place of work. About this time too he went to Africa and developed his friendship with Gandhi.

We find C. F. Andrews after this in many places in India and in other parts of the world where Indian workers or settlers faced oppression, insult and denial of human rights. He was occasionally in great personal danger and was misunderstood by those whom he helped at times. But he stuck to his own ideals and tried his best to help the poor and the destitute. He also fought for those who were the victims of imperialism and race prejudice. He came to be known as Dinabandhu or friend of the poor and he fully deserved the name.

Rabindranath Tagore was a man of rare and varied talents. C. F. Andrews was attracted by his essays on nationalism and his reported speeches at political meetings held during the swadeshi agitation. Tagore composed many soul stirring songs to awaken the spirit of patriotism and national unity in the heart of the people of India. They were apparently divided by differences of a linguistic and sectarian nature; but they were the products of one basic civilisation and the

same fundamental spiritual and cultural urges. Rabindranath composed many great poems about the heroes of India and personalities whose achievements were a matter of pride for the entire nation. His patriotic songs composed during the Swadeshi movement were on the lips of all who were fighting for the unity of the people and for freedom from foreign oppression and exploitation. He was also a great teacher, a humanitarian who gave a clearer shape to the ideal of universal brotherhood of man, and, he was the greatest interpreter of Upanishadic philosophy of modern times. His prayers and sermons were a source of inspiration to many people of many nations among whom were a number of great thinkers, scholars, social workers and leading men of action, Rabindranath Tagore was an ardent patriot and his universalism did not attempt a merging of all civilisations into one artificially created complex. He believed in unity in diversity and said that the best bouquet of flowers fully retained the individual beauty and charm of the different blossoms in it, and had a composite glory and magnificence arising out of the union of many beautiful components.

During the days when the British were making frantic, frenzied and, at times, unscrupulous, barbarous and inhuman attempts to suppress the national revival of India, C. F. Andrews was closest to the Poet, but moved about a great deal to render assistance to those who were leading the nation in different fields of national life. He was most prominent in India's labour movement, but was also found in students gatherings and conferences where policy was discussed and determined. He was a prolific writer and his articles appeared in important Indian journals throughout his life in India. He used to go occasionally on lecture tours outside India and always

took great trouble to find out his Indian friends abroad. In 1922 he had gone to Oxford to deliver some lectures and made it a point to get into touch with students whom he knew in India. In 1930 he was in England and was found one day with some Negro spiritual singers for whom he was arranging some songs of Tagore to be sung. C.F. Andrews loved the Indian people with all his heart and he detested the British imperial domination of India with a deep feeling of sorrow that overflowed his gentle soul. He went to Simla after the Jaliwanwallabagh atrocity of the British rulers of the Punjab and wrote a letter to Rabindranath, a few lines from which may be reproduced (from *Visva-bharati News*) to give a clear picture of his anguish.

"My Dearest Gurudev, this time in Simla has been a very trying time indeed..... I had very long interviews with various leading Government officials who were responsible most of all for the conduct of administration in India.....and they listened carefully to all I said. But as you so truly said in your letter they are parts of a machine and not allowed to use their human feelings. To give one instance—I found that the appeals to the Viceroy about the public whipping had had their effect and that it had been stopped but the public were not to be told this, because it was important not to weaken the prestige of martial law. The truth simply is that they rely on brute force, because it is so amply to their hand and not on moral force at all. I said to one of them that never in this country had the moral prestige of the Indian Government been lower. He answered me on the next day 'I thought over what you said, and I would wager a considerable sum that it has never been *higher*' He simply did not know what moral prestige meant. I answered him, 'If you mean tha.

the people had never been so cowed into submission there might be something in it but even there I think you are wrong. But moral prestige in India means goodness, not brute force.'

".....But what has happened can never be forgotten or forgiven and now I can see quite clearly what you wrote so prophetically to Mr. Gandhi and what you have said many times that we must not accept the Reforms as a mendicant boon and a patronising gift. We must have quite clearly fought out this controversy first. The controversy which is now nearly 100 years old namely whether or not the age long hypocrisy of British promises of racial equality are to be exposed and repented of at last. They were given in 1833 and in a still more solemn form in 1858 and a hundred times since, but it has been one continual lie, one perpetual deceit. And today in 1919 the last shred of pretence at equality is thrown away and race insolence stands out stark naked for everyone to see in acts of flogging of Indians in their own public streets, in martial law proclamations that are frankly, brutally for Indians only, in aeroplanes bombing helpless villagers and machine guns firing on crowds armed with sticks.....I feel at times as if all had gone and nothing more was left. But I do feel still that this is not the truth and that there may yet be from the very heart of my nation some repentance for its promises and its wrongs done to the gentlest, kindest people in the world".

C. F. Andrews was loved, respected and trusted by many nation builders of India and was, therefore, disliked by the government officials and looked upon with eyes of jealousy by the camp followers of the great men to whom Andrews was like a brother. Had he

been an Indian he would have been arrested many times under India's lawless laws; but his British nationality saved him from such persecution. He was quite often in grave physical danger from the 'white' oppressor of Afro-Asian humanity. He used to go about in Indian clothes and travel with the poorest Indians in their third class railway compartments. He was a true Christian and his love of universal humanity had nothing of pretention in it. The boys in the Santiniketan Ashram loved him dearly and this was fully reciprocated by him. The Prasad Memorial School for villagers near Santiniketan was started by a boy, Prasad Chatterjee (son of Ramananda Chatterjee) who was a student of the Santiniketan Ashram. This school was put on firm foundation by C. F. Andrews after the sad and untimely death of Prasad. His contact with workers and peasants was intimate, and sincere. He taught them to fight for their rights but he also insisted that they developed a strong sense of their obligations too. A struggle for rights as dissociated from obligations soon saw all moral sense evaporating in the heat of the battle. C. F. Andrews never allowed the moral aspect of things to be ignored and his followers developed a strong sense of right and wrong as affecting all parties concerned in a dispute. He would always try to induce people to correct their own faults and the common vices of drunkenness, gambling, infidelity, stealing, cheating, lying and acting dishonourably. Today when India is involved in multi-party squabbles and unscrupulous tussles to win in the race for leadership the question of recognising and upholding moral values has become vital. Employer—employee, student-teacher, state-centre and inter state relations are creating very dangerous possibilities of internecine conflicts. In these terrible disagreements men are descending to murder

and arson, and ignoring the principles of ethical behaviour in a barbarous and criminal manner. One remembers the great men who held the reins of mass conduct in the past. They never allowed unscrupulousness to have precedence over justice and truth.

C. F. Andrews, was one such man who was born a hundred years ago, was not an Indian by birth, but he was the friend of the poverty stricken millions of this subcontinent and was called Dinabandhu for that reason.

C. F. ANDREWS Some Random Notes Reproduced

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Most men profess some religion or other, but the number of those who practise what they profess is comparatively small. C. F. Andrews was a man and a brother who lived the faith which was in him. Now that he has left us, we and all the world are the poorer for his loss. But it is wrong to say he has left us. His memory and his example are undying and will continue to inspire all who knew him intimately and all others who may be able to realize what he was by reading what he wrote and knowing what others may write and speak about him.

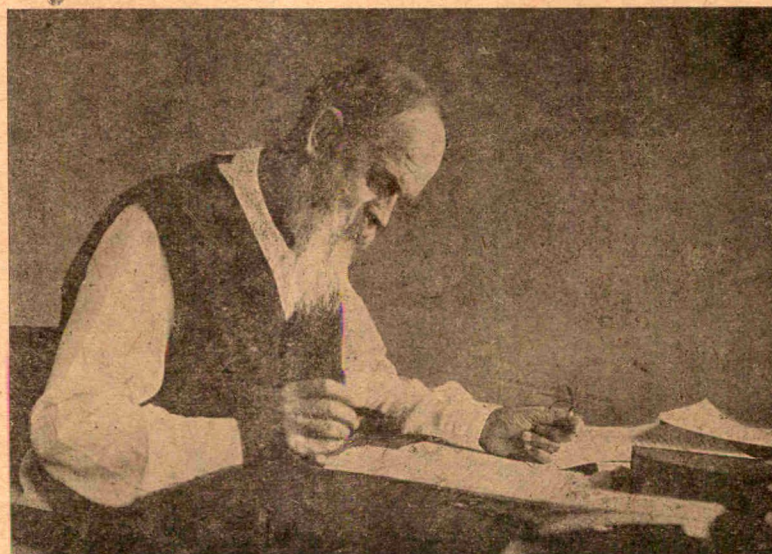
He came out to India in mature manhood—in his 34th year. With what ideas of British rule in India he came to this country he has himself said in an article which is reproduced in this issue elsewhere. The first personal influence which brought about a change in his

attitude towards India and helped in the evolution of Andrews the Lover and Servant of India, Andrews the Dinabandhu, was that of the late Principal Sushil Kumar Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, as Mr. Andrews has himself said in the above mentioned article. Sushil Kumar Rudra was a whole-souled deshabhakta. I shall mention only one little fact about him here. He used to subscribe for two copies of the Bengali magazine Prabasi, one for his college and one for his personal use. He asked the manager of Prabasi that the college copy should be addressed to the Principal, St. Stephen's College, and the personal copy to Babu Sushil Kumar Rudra. It was an auspicious circumstance that Mr. Andrews came under the influence of such a true Indian. Though the two friends belonged to different races and continents, they were

bound together by the deepest and tenderest spiritual affection. They were true brothers. Long after Sushil Kumar Rudra's death when his first grand-daughter was born, Mr. Andrews wrote to me triumphantly and challengingly, "I, too, am a grandfather now!"-for he perhaps thought I was proud of my superiority to him in being the grandfather of many grand-daughters. I still remember, too, Principal Rudra's pained look at finding what scanty creature comforts Mr. Andrews was contented with at Santiniketan, making a remark to the effect that "Andrews could have, if he chose, filled any gubernatorial office with ease and distinction."

"Sushil Rudra has lost his wife, who had been all in all to him, soon after his youngest child had been born. He had never married again. His three children were still very young. Since I was a bachelor and had no thought of marriage, his children became very dear to me indeed, as if they were my own children, and we shared all joys and sorrows together. The abiding friendship that I had from the very first with Sushil Rudra made all the difference".

Principal Rudra's was not the only influence which made Mr. Andrews an Indian by his own choice. He once wrote to me that he had to a great extent come to agree with



C. F. Andrews

Before Mr. Andrews joined St. Stephen's College it used always to have an Englishman as Principal. It was mainly through Mr. Andrews' influence that the College authorities in England decided to appoint Sushil Kumar Rudra as Principal. At present also an Indian holds that post.

Mr. Andrews writes in his book *The Inner Life*:

Major B. D. Basu's views of British rule in India as expressed in his books thereon.

It may be stated here incidentally that the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland desired that Major B. D. Basu's historical works on British rule in India should be published in America and Britain and that Mr. Andrews should be asked to arrange with some British publishers for their publication in Britain; for, observed

Dr. Sunderland, "Andrews has influence." Dr. Sunderland's opinion that "Andrews has influence" was correct; for Mr. Andrews had arranged with a noted British Publishing firm for the publication of Sunderland's *India In Bondage*, but the publication was stopped by executive order of the British Government. Mr. Andrews enjoyed the affection of Dr. Sunderland during his visit to America and considered the Indian edition of the latter's *Origin and Character of the Bible* a "valuable work."

Mr. Andrews did not serve India and Indians from a height condescendingly. His constant endeavour was to become one with the people of India—particularly with the poor, the despised, the downtrodden. He would wear the people's clothes and eat their food. This desire and its following out, coupled with his ceaseless labours and constant travels wherever the cry of distress drew him, for which the Norwegian Indologist and Epigraphist Dr. Sten Konow used to call him the Wandering Christian, shattered his constitution never robust. The Indian name *Dinabandhu* (Friend of the poor), given to him, was quite apposite. It is not intended in this article to tell the story of what he did for the disinherited and the humiliated either exhaustively or chronologically. But many occasions and episodes readily come to mind.

Mr. C. F. Andrews went in 1921 to Chandpur in Assam, where oppressed refugees from the tea-gardens, who were denied transport facilities, were dying in hundreds through a raging epidemic of cholera. He tried his best to rouse the sympathy of the Railways and steamship companies on their behalf, but failed. Later, he wrote a book entitled *The Oppression of the Poor*, in which he told the story of the great Assam tea-gardens strike. The following passage in it gives a true insight into Andrews' attitude to the poor :—

"How wonderful is this spring of freshness that ever wells up from the hearts of the poor ! People have often called them the "lower classes"—as though the un-educated were, also the unrefined ; as though the illiterate were also the unlearned. But it is not so in truth. There is a wisdom and a refinement that come from the very suffering itself which the poor have constantly to bear. Who are we to despise them ?

.....There is always a fertile soil in the hearts of the poor which is ready to receive the good seed and to make it fruitful.....I do not believe that the religious and social revolution in India, which is now so close upon us, will be violent in its character. There is an innate love of peace in India that is not present in any other country. It is not in vain that the teaching of Buddha permitted India for more than a thousand years. But while there may be no ultimate appeal to force and force alone, yet the misery of the conflict will be terrible indeed; if the present almost complete aloofness of the officials from the common people continues and if the same officials set themselves in final opposition to those leaders whose lives are lived among the people and who suffer with the people."

His and his friend W. W. Pearson's visits to Fiji and the agitation set on foot in consequence led ultimately to the abolition of the indenture system and to much improvement in the condition of the emigrant Indian labouring population there—particularly of the women, who had been obliged to lead a life of shame. What part he took in the Indian struggle in South Africa has been narrated by Mahatma Gandhi and himself. He visited East Africa and West Africa on his errand of service and humanitarian mission. One episode connected with his South African work cannot be forgotten. Some leading Indians on one occasion wanted to separate their movement from that of

the aboriginal Africans, considering the latter inferior to themselves. Mr. Andrews condemned such an attitude and in consequence came to be looked upon for some time as an enemy of the South African Indians!

He visited British Guiana also. What troublesome negotiations he undertook with the Government of India and what pains he took for the relief of the returned labourers stranded at Matiaboorz near Calcutta! How few of us have even heard of his work for them.

When the woes of Champaran peasants living under Planter Raj was at their height, he was at their side. When Bihar groaned under the unforgettable earthquake, he did his best to help the people. Orissa is a particularly poverty-stricken province liable to suffer time and again from devastating floods. He laboured hard to find a permanent remedy after making painstaking investigations on the spot and wrote much on the subject. He worked also for famine relief in Orissa. Before the Assam Bengal Railway strike he tried to dissuade the employees from striking. But when the strike actually began and numerous workers found themselves in a helpless condition he along with other noble souls came to their rescue.

In consequence of the serious and widespread inundations in North Bengal two decades ago, he co-operated with the relief-workers. The particular step with which his name is specially associated is the purchase and use of a tractor for tilling extensive tracts in the inundated region, as the agriculturists there had lost their plough-cattle. S. Satish Chandra Das Gupta writes in the Bengali "Rashtravani" how one morning at 7 A.M. Mr. Andrews came from Patisar to the Atrai relief centre walking the distance of 7 miles and, after getting his suggestion of a tractor accepted, talking all the while standing, trudged

back again to Patisar another seven miles without taking any refreshments.

The number of persons whom he had helped individually and the reasons and ways of helping them are too many and various to be described at length, nor has anybody sufficient knowledge of these matters. For it was really true in his case that his left hand did not know what his right hand did.

During his visits to the colonies mentioned above he laboured chiefly to do away with discriminatory measures against Indians resident there. But occasionally he rendered other service also. During his visit to Australia he secured favourable conditions for the entry of Indian students into Australian Universities.

Generally he concerned himself with only the humanitarian aspects of Indian and Indo-British problems, avoiding taking direct part in political movements, perhaps the only exception being the active part he took with other professors of Santiniketan in the stormy days of the Non-co-operation movement in severing the connection of the school there with the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination. There is a reference to this fact in Rabindranath Tagore's article on him, as also in a letter written by him (Mr. Andrews), printed on other pages in this issue. But though he thus generally avoided Indian politics, he made it quite clear that he wanted India to be independent at the earliest possible opportunity. He added the following postscript to his article on "The World Outlook Today—India" in the last February number of this Review, page 156.

In order to avoid any wrong impression let me add that I entirely agree with prof. Seeley, when he says that prolonged submission to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration. I quote from memory. The emphasis there is on the word 'prolonged'. Every year that now passes in

India, without the removal of the foreign yoke, is undoubtedly an evil. It is likely to undo any benefit that may have been derived before. This was my main thesis in a series of articles which I wrote, in 1921, called 'The Immediate Need of Independence, where I emphasized the word immediate, and I hold fast to every word which I then wrote. Nearly twenty years have passed since that date and hope deferred has made the heart sick. Things in India have deteriorated as Prof. Seeley prophesied, and the evil is rapidly increasing. This agony of subjection is eating like iron into the soul, and the strain must be relieved at once.

Mr. Andrews wanted friendship between India and Britain as between equals. This he desired in the interest of Britain as well as of India because he was a great patriot, greater than any British Imperialist; He was one of the heralds of a new age, which is still a dream,—an age of International Amity, human brotherhood, including Indo-British friendship.

Some sentences from his article on Dadabhai Naoroji in the March number of this Review may be appropriately quoted here:—

"The issues which were faced by Dadabhai still affect East and West alike, and they are bound up with the future of the whole human race. If Asia and Europe can truly find common meeting place in India; then the organic unity of mankind in the near future may not after all be an empty dream. But if, on the other hand, in spite of a hundred years or more of close contact, these ties become hopelessly broken, then a blow would be dealt to human brotherhood from which our civilization could not lightly recover."

In the course of the last message which he dictated to Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty

after his second operation, which proved fatal, he said :—

"God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts, namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am laying my life in His hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknowledged in my books—this supreme gift of friendship, both in India and in other parts of the world."

That he had so many loving friends was a blessing indeed both to him and his friends. But that he had so many of them was due mainly to his own wonderful capacity for friendship and his inexhaustible heart affluence. He could and would continue to be a friend in spite of indifference, slights, or even unfeeling unfriendly action on the part of the other party.

Two of his most eminent friends are known to all, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Poet—sage Rabindranath Tagore. They have both written of him feelingly after his death.

He addressed Rabindranath Tagore as his "Gurudev." That implies more than friendship. His sentiment toward the Poet was more than that toward a friend and a spiritual preceptor. It partook of the sacred character of Woman's love of her beloved in its single-mindedness, its constancy and its devotion and ardour. To be near the Poet was one of the supreme joys of his life.

Mr. Andrews loved his pupils and they loved and trusted him. He encouraged them to think independently and fearlessly and to serve their fellow-countrymen in all possible ways.

He had the genuine spirit of renunciation and detachment of true sannyasis, though he did not smear his body with ashes or wear ochre-coloured robes. He had not attachment to earthly belongings. The riches of the spirit were his most precious possessions. The Poet once told me playfully in his presence,

"Rāmañānda Babu, if you have anything which you wish to lose, you may lend it to Andrews!" Mr. Andrews protested against this suggestion in the same spirit.

He wielded a facile pen and wrote many books but did not enjoy the profits derived from them. The money went to some deserving cause or institution or other, his friends supplying his needs.

There are some fundamental differences in the outlook on life and in the opinions of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, though they are great friends. That Mr. Andrews could love and respect both and earn the love and esteem of both shows the breadth of his intellectual outlook, his liberalism and his largeheartedness. These qualities his 'tolerance' (a word which I use in the absence of a better one) enabled him to have sincere friends among men of all religious communities. A great Musalman friend of his was Munshi Zakaullah of Delhi, whose memoir he contributed to this journal.

His reverential affection for 'Baro Dada' Dwijendranath Tagore, the poet's eldest brother, was most engaging feature of his character. I could tell much of how this affection found expression; but space forbids. I will mention only one small incident. One day going to have his usual tea with the old sage, Mr. Andrews bowed down to him touching his feet, and asked as usual: "How do you do, Baro Dada?" That day the old sage was in an excitable mood, having read something in the papers which went against the British Government or people. So his response was to the effect that unless all Britishers were driven from India there would be no peace in the country! Mr. Andrews was not at all upset, but took it quietly. The sage regained his composure in a minute and went on chatting with Mr. Andrews as on other days. Relating this incident afterwards

to Baro Dada's grandson, the famous musician Dinendranath Tagore, Mr. Andrews said; "I say, Dinoo, your grandfather is terrible!"

Mr. Andrews came out to India as a missionary professor of a college and was for years known as the Rev. C. F. Andrews. But after some years he gave up the use of the word Reverend before his name. That showed that he was no longer creed-bound and orthodox. Moreover, he did not like a certain kind of Christian Missionary mentality and some missionary methods, against which he wrote openly. But he preached the Christ Ideal by his life far better than numerous orthodox clergymen, and, hence, when a Hindu first suggested that his initials stood for "christ's faithful Apostle", it was at once generally accepted as a right interpretation and has continued to be so. Mr. Andrews once wrote to me that he had come to appreciate some of the late Pandit Mahesh Chandra Ghosh's criticisms of some Christian theological views.

Some of the ways in which he served India have been enumerated above. The credit for these services he would often give to the Poet's or the Mahatma's suggestion or direction, not to his own initiative.

While in India he had spent most of his time in its northern parts, particularly in Bengal. But latterly he had been spending much of his time in the south and getting acquainted with all that is good in the character and culture of the country.

It was not possible for British imperialists and Anglo-Indians (old style) to like and appreciate a man like Charles Freer Andrews. Hence naturally very few Britishers, except the requisite small number of clergymen, attended his funeral service in the Cathedral performed by that true and pious Christian, the Lord Bishop and Metropolitan. At the cemetery also the large crowd consisted almost

entirely of Indians of all communities. The Lord Bishop, a few clergymen and a very few lay Englishmen were present there and listened reverentially to the burial service. There the bier was borne to the graveside by seven gentlemen, all of whom were Indians, six being non-Christians.

It is to be hoped a day will come when even British imperialists and Anglo-Indians will understand what a great good fortune and proud privilege it was for them to be represented by a man like Charles Freer Andrews.

In writing the two foregoing paragraphs we must not be understood to claim that we have really appreciated Mr. Andrew's ideals, sacrifice, and services better than his countrymen. There has been no such adequate appreciation on our part.

It is a great privilege of men of independent countries that their minds are not always preoccupied with their own wants and grievances—we are speaking of ordinary times of peace, not of these terrible days of war in Europe—but that they can have some real

active sympathy with other people less fortunate than themselves and they have also the freedom of movement all over the world including the British dominions and colonies which we Indians have not. Mr. Andrews made the fullest use of this privilege in a spirit of fraternal service. In serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here. But whatever the spirit in which he acted, we should always gratefully remember our debt to him for what he was and what he did.

It was characteristic of him that, while dictating his last message in excruciating pain after his second operation, he did not forget the people of the war-torn countries. Said he;

"While I had been lying in the hospital, I trust that my prayers and hopes have not been merely concerning my own sufferings, which are of the smallest importance today in the light of the supreme suffering of the whole human race. I have prayed every moment that God's Kingdom may come and His will may be done on earth as it is always being done in Heaven."



DINABANDHU CHARLES FREER ANDREWS

MISS MARJORIE SYKES

The Year 1906.

A restless India, where great changes were taking place.

Nearly fifty years had passed since the "Mutiny" or "The War of Independence" of 1857—years of development in communications, in education, in industry. Among the educated, with the active encouragement of sympathetic Britishers, some of whom played a leading part in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

Then, from about 1906, a growing division between the races. In England the spirit of "jingoism", an arrogant and selfish imperialism. In India, "government by file", where officials no longer met and understood the people they ruled. Racial prejudices which were previously unknown came between them. Both in India and South Africa it was possible for cultured Indians to be turned out of first-class railway compartments, humiliated in public offices and refused entry into "white" houses. A Viceroy — Lord Curzon — of great ability but with no imaginative understanding, who outraged Bengali sentiment by his partition of Bengal. The demonstration, by Japan's victory over Russia at the battle of Tsushima, that an eastern nation might triumph over the west.

Yet, in 1906 India was restless. There was bitter resentment, there was terrorism; there was also much lofty national aspiration and selfless social idealism. But too many officials saw only terrorism, and fear bred violence.

In September of that year one of these "sahebs" wrote to an English-owned newspaper in Lahore condemning the whole Indian national movement as the work of a few malcontents who were no better than ill-disciplined school boys. India took no notice; these insults were only too common. But a few days later the newspaper printed a reply, from another "saheb". This letter defended the Indian nationalist leaders, strongly but soberly, against the cruel injustice of the accusations which had been made. The writer gave his name and designation, "C. F. Andrews, Military Chaplain, Sanawar, Simla Hills." This time India *did* take notice. Who was this champion, who lives in such an unlikely place?

Well, who was he?

Charles Freer Andrews had come to India in 1904, to teach at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He was already mature and experienced; after a brilliant student career he had worked among the very poor in the industrial north and in the slums of London; he had been a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge and had specialised in history. At the age of 33, he was not yet a rebel — his political and social outlook was in fact rather conservative — but he was already a devotee. His religious devotion expressed itself in a warmth of human affection which he poured out upon all, especially upon the lonely, sad and needy, with no distinction of class or race or creed.

In his very first weeks in India he found a friend, a few years older than himself. This

was Sushil Kumar Rudra, one of the greatest of the Indian Christian nationalists, who was at that time Vice-Principal of St. Stephen's College. In Rudra's companionship Andrews entered from the first into the inner spirit and meaning of the national awakening. Rudra opened his eyes to the truth of which he had been quite unaware, such as the British administration's share in the impoverishment of the people. The joy of Rudra's friendship made him proof against the racial poison of Simla society. His first *rebellion* was to defy Simla conventions by taking long walks with his Urdu teacher, the only Indian with whom he was able to have any contact during his first visit there.

In the summer of 1906 Andrews was compelled by ill health to leave Delhi, and was appointed temporarily as Chaplain at Sanawar; Sushil Rudra spent a few days there as his guest. Shortly afterwards Andrews discovered that the hostility this had aroused in one of his British colleagues was so great that it would not be possible for Rudra to stay there again. It was when Andrews was on fire with shame and indignation at this insult to his friend that he read the contemptuous letter in the Lahore newspaper. In the anguish of his heart he sat down and answered it.

That letter was a landmark in Andrews' life. Within three months it had brought him into touch with leading Indian nationalists; he had the respect and the confidence of men like Lala Lajpat Rai, Ramananda Chatterji, Tej Bahadur Sapru and above all Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He began to write freely in a large number of Indian journals. He was present at the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in December 1906, when Dadabhai Naoroji, the President, publicly claimed for India "Swaraj like that of the United Kingdom". Andrews, who in his youth had opposed any proposal of "Home Rule within the Empire", now publicly welcomed the claim.

So, by 1907, Andrews the *devotee* had become also Andrews the *rebel*. It was not first and foremost a political rebellion though it often found political expression. It was first and foremost a moral rebellion. He rebelled against all forms of racial pride, all forms of caste arrogance, because they denied the brotherhood of man. He rebelled against the denial of political equality and freedom, because of the moral degradation of both of the rulers and the ruled which follows. He rebelled against the shallow modernism which wishes India to become a mere copy of the west, because that is to fail to respect the variety of its living cultural tradition. He rebelled against his own middle-class security, as something to which he had no moral right in a world of desperate human need.

In 1907 and the years which followed, the impact of Andrews' rebellion upon St. Stephen's College was tremendous. When the English Principal retired, he refused to allow himself to be appointed and insisted that Rudra should become the Principal. There was a battle with conservative members of the College governing body, but Andrews won. Rudra became the first Principal of a Christian college, and he appointed an Indian Vice-Principal to assist him. It was a victory for equal partnership between the races, and its influence spread far beyond St. Stephen's. Andrews and Rudra inspired large numbers of young college teachers, both English and Indian, to practice this racial equality.

In the same year the College stood up for self-respect and academic freedom. The so called "Risley Circular" was an official document, dictated by fear of student unrest, which prohibited discussion of political questions in 'aided' colleges. St. Stephen's ignored the circular, and Andrews did everything possible to encourage the students in their enthusiasm for a fuller national life, and

to teach them to build upon their own history, "a new India not unworthy of the old". Many of Andrews students, during the last 60 years, have given fine service on the road to freedom.

This did not please the government, and the college was watched by C.I.D. spies. Andrews himself was spied upon; students were tempted to spy on one another, Andrews felt this to be a terrible moral degradation. How could real friendship, either between Indian and Englishmen, or between Indians themselves, grow up where people could not trust one another? Over and over again, as Andrews later travelled about India on his work of friendship and mercy, he was accused of being a "government spy". He bore it patiently; he remembered how in 1906 a wise and experienced Indian had said bitterly, "We cannot be frank and open; we are a subject people".....

Andrews' rebellion against a national subjection which poisoned the springs of truthful human relationships led him to Rabindranath Tagore. He knew nothing then about Tagore's poetry, but he read his essays on political, social and historical subjects, and found that they voiced the same moral and spiritual demand for freedom which he felt so keenly himself. In 1912, he met Tagore in England, and from that time on the poet was for him a *guru* and the *ashram*-school at Santiniketan was his spiritual home. The poet, on his part, loved and understood both the rebel and the devotee in Andrews. Although Andrews feet were already set on the path of a homeless wanderer, his enthusiastic devotion to Tagore's ideals made him, with part of his nature, long to stay at Santiniketan and help his friend. Over and over again he would come back from some errand of mercy and said: "Now I am really going to settle down!" Tagore knew better. "Sir

Charles", he would reply with pretended solemnity, "I shall see that an up-to-date railway guide is always on hand!"

From his earliest days in India Andrews had a great admiration for G. K. Gokhale. From 1907 onwards he followed with deep interest Gokhale's campaigns on behalf of the indentured Indian labour in Natal; working with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa Gokhale got all further recruiting stopped, and in 1912-13 he was working hard to get the system abolished altogether. In November 1913, Gandhi started his "March on the Transvaal" in protest against a number of injustices, and Gokhale toured India to make Gandhi's case known and to collect funds for the *satyagrahis*. Andrews offered the whole of his savings for the fund, and volunteered his services in South Africa in person. His inward rebellion against his own "security" had found outward expression at last. Rudra and his colleagues at St. Stephen's recognised that he was called to a wider service and affectionately let him go. For the 25 years of life that remained to him he travelled India and the world, in his worn and shabby clothes, often with scarcely the price of a meal in his pocket, but driven by his compassion for the outcast, the exploited and the down-trodden.

The visit to South Africa in 1914 made Gandhi and Andrews friends for life. They were almost of the same age, and treated one another as comrades and equals. Their common passion for truth and the service of the poor was deeper than all their differences of opinion about methods and programmes. "I never did mind disagreeing with Mr. Gandhi," wrote Andrews once, "It only makes us love each other better!" During those weeks Andrews saw very little of indentured labour, but his understanding of moral issues of the Indian struggle, and the personal

warmth of his support, meant much to Gandhi both then and later.

But when Gokhale died, worn out by his labours, less than a year later, it was Andrews who took up his unfinished work for the indentured labourers, and fought to end the nearslavery in which they were bound. "The abolition of the indentured labour system", said a distinguished British official, "was Andrews greatest single service to the Indian people."

The work was done not in South Africa but in far away Fiji during two visits to the island in 1915 and 1917. It was done by day after day of tramping the plantations, sleeping anywhere, patiently collecting and sifting the evidence. It was done by keen study of the official reports and statistics, and above all by the clear grasp of moral issues which enabled him so surely to put the first things first. It was done against bitter opposition, not only from the wealthy sugar company that abused him as an agitator, but even from a Hindu fanatic who suspected his motives and called him a double-dealer. But the wretched, half-starved people understood him; it was in Fiji in 1917 that he was first called "Deenbandhu"—the friend and brother of the humble.

For the next 20 years the *Brother of the Humble* was everywhere. He was in the Punjab, after the terrible events of Jalianwalla Bagh, asking forgiveness in person for wrongs and injustices committed by his own nation. He was, many times in South Africa and Kenya, upholding Indian honour and self-respect against the insults of racial discrimination. Sometimes he carried his life in his hands; on one journey angry "whites" dragged him from the train by his beard in the middle of the night and almost murdered him—though other fair-minded white citizens were his firm friends. He pleaded among the Indians

also for fairmindedness; he quietly rebuked rich merchants who exploited the needs of the poor; he told the political leaders plainly that he would not support any plans that benefit Indians at the expense of Africans.

Then he was in London, telling a meeting of Indian students who were filled with anger at the reports from Kenya: "We in India have for centuries permitted sixty million so called untouchables to live in utter degradation. Can we complain if others now treat us in the same way? What man sows, that shall he also reap." The students listened in silence, their anger gone.

He was in India, among the poor; among railwaymen who had gone on strike, sometimes foolishly, but always because of unbearable conditions; among villagers in Orissa left homeless by flood; in a cholera camp in East Bengal; among the mill workers of Madras and the "untouchables" of Kerala. Always faithfully reporting what he saw—and nearly always saddened because the men who had it in their power to change the intolerable conditions would not take the trouble to come and see for themselves the suffering of the poor.

Then, many times, he was with Gandhi, and always in Gandhi's times of special need—in sickness, during the great fasts of self-purification, as at the Round Table Conference in London. And some times for a few days he went "home" to Santiniketan; but even then he got little rest, for there also were human beings who were lonely, troubled and in need. And there was one other campaign which he carried through with the same combination of thorough study, shrewd strategy and moral passion which he had shown in his work in Fiji—the campaign against opium traffic in 1924-25. And more, much more, of which there is no space to tell here.

In 1940, in his 70th year, Andrews died in Calcutta. He had worn himself out in the

service of "the poorest, the lowliest and the lost". We shall never begin to understand Andrews' inward spirit unless we remember the whole poem of Tagore which Andrews loved so much:

*"Here is Thy footstool and there rest Thy feet,
Among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost."*

Andrews became a rebel just because he was first a devotee. At the age of nineteen he had had an overwhelming religious experience which had made him, from then on, a *bhakta* of the Lord Jesus Christ. And from then on he had found the Lord's footstool among the poor, and seen His face in their faces. He found Christ by his side in every rebellion against the greed, pride and oppression by which men deny the brotherhood of man, "Christ", he said, "is the great moral revolutionary."

When Andrews wrote his own life-story he called it "What I Owe to Christ". Soon after it was published in 1932, he wrote these words in a letter to a newspaper:

"I have longed to make known what Christ Himself had made known to me. But this is rather through sharing with one another the joy of a religious experience than by imposing on any one a religious dogma. Is not the ultimate thing to keep the inner light in one's own soul so pure that the truth shines through with its own radiance? No truth worth knowing can ever be taught: it can only be lived."

And so, very early each morning, before the beginning of each strenuous day, Andrews would go apart to seek the presence of his Divine Friend. Men remembered seeing him in Fiji, sitting on some little rocky hill as the sun rose, deep in meditation; or in a crowded African "location", seeking quiet under the stars before dawn.

The radiance of the truth did shine through, more and more as years went on. All kinds of men felt it; even young schoolboys felt a "change of atmosphere" when Andrews came into a room, and said that "he looked like Jesus". A Colonial Governor, after meeting him over a meal in London, said as he watched Andrews leave: "I had been honoured to give lunch to my Lord"

It was not only Christians who recognised in Andrews the spirit of Christ. A Hindu friend wrote to him: I want you to write in simple English the story of the life of Christ, that is the most important thing you can do. You are the only man who can write this book, for you have lived like Him all these thirty years in India."

But the book was never written. Too many demands came in the way—the calls of Christ-like compassion upon Andrews' time and strength. Other books were written, books of Christian devotion which show clearly where Andrews' own inspiration lay. He lived, as another Hindu friend saw, as "C. F. A. — Christ's Faithful Apostle".

C. F. ANDREWS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN REVIEW

1. Taru Dutt : A Memoir, February 1911.
2. Munshi Zaka Ullah : A great educationist, April 1911.
3. A Visit to Dharampur, June 1911.
4. A Letter Concerning Fiji and Australia, March 1918.
5. Indian Settlers in Africa, July 1920.
6. Indian Settlers in Uganda, August 1920.
7. The East African Atmosphere, Sep. 1920.
8. How the Marquess Wellesley Ensnared the Peishwa, Oct. 1920.
9. The Indian Women in Fiji, Oct. 1920.
10. Indian Labour Recruiting for Fiji—An imminent danger, Nov. 1920.
11. The East African Atmosphere, Nov. 1920.
12. The Opium Monopoly in India, Dec. 1920.
13. Forced Labour in the Simla Hills, Dec. 1920.
14. The Evidence of Mrs. Terence MacSwiney, March 1921.
15. The Position of Shantiniketan in Relation to Calcutta University, March 1921.
16. East Africa, January 1922.
17. The Cancer of the Modern World, Feb. 1922.
18. The Aftermath in East Bengal, March 1922.
19. Racial Segregation and Untouchability, March 1922.
20. Status of Indians Abroad, May 1922.
21. Hakim Ajmal Khan, June 1922.
22. A Memoir of Old Delhi, Jan. 1925.
23. A Memoir of Old Delhi, February 1925.
24. What Happened at Geneva, Feb. 1925.
25. A Memoir of Old Delhi, March 1925.
26. A Memoir of Old Delhi, April, 1925.
27. Caste Prejudice, April 1925.
28. A Memoir of Old Delhi, May 1925.
29. A Memoir of Old Delhi, June 1925.
30. M. Romain Rolland's Reply to a Swiss Missionary, June 1925.
31. The Geneva Opium Conference : Its Practical Results. June 1925.
32. South Africa and India, June 1928.
33. Lala Lajpat Rai, February 1929.
34. Pundit Gopalbandhu Das, of Orissa, February 1929.
35. Race Prejudice, August 1929.
36. Zanzibar and East Africa, Jan. 1935.
37. The Modern School New Delhi, Feb. 1935.
38. The Aborigines in the Province of Bihar, March 1939.
39. The Stranded Emigrants at Matlabruz, June 1939.
40. Some Notes on Modern English Poetry, June 1939.
41. My Mother, April 1945.
42. The World Outlook Today, Jan. 1940.
43. The World Outlook Today Feb. 1940.
44. Dada Bhai Naoroji, March 1940.
45. Sir Venkata Ratnam Naidu, April 1940.
46. Lala Har Dayal, April 1940.
47. Rabindranath Tagore, May 1940.
48. Some Letters from Mr. C. F. Andrews, May 1940.

THE STRING-HOLDER

Prof. RAM VYAS SINGH

O flying kite !

I know who made

And raised you up

With a hard string overhead.

Close at hand you were at first,

Making the string then tight and loose,

Loose and tight, he gave you might

For higher ascent ;

Higher and higher arose your flight.

In the blue you surge aloft,

The bright sun shine and clear breeze

You do enjoy a lot ;

Honour you deserve in fact

For your diligence, daring act.

But why do you now forget

The benign, resolute holder of the string ?

Yourself so high you soared,

Thus you hold ;

In vain you boast,

O soaring kite !

Downfall ever self-conceit shall cause,

If faith in him you loose

And brag in excess,

He will anon shun the thread

And on earth you baseless

Shall then fall and never ascend.

If a plant be chopp'd below,

How can buds bloom above ?

If you have his mercy ever,

You still shall mount higher.

Where you are, he knows,

Where he is, you may forget

Only awhile in boasting bare ;

Him you can't ignore for long,

The origin of the string is there

In his hand, skilful and strong.

He is the fair, gracious source

Of your feeling, willing, knowing

And of wisdom, power, love of course,

O straying kite !

RAMON MENENDEZ PIDAL—A SPANISH GENIUS

SUSNIGDHA DEY

Though some have called him the greatest, the discreet, always chary of superlatives, would place him among the great Spaniards of this century. A hundred years ago on March 13, RAMON MENENDEZ PIDAL was born in a distinguished middle-class family in a rain-soaked northern part of Spain. After three-quarters of a century's continuous research and investigation, he died barely four months away from his first birth centenary which was celebrated in 1969. Romanists in general and Hispanists in particular in the two continents of Europe and America have had a busy session mourning his death and celebrating the hundred years of his birth. To chant in the same breath, "The King is dead" and "Long live the King", is an exercise in *molto vivace*.

Menendez Pidal was initiated into the discipline of literary criticism by the eminent Spaniard, Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, twelve years his senior.

"My first publication," said the maestro once, "was a commentary on a tale which was narrated to me by an old woman of Pajares del Puerto." This tale as told in 'payariego' dialect showed strong traces of oriental remnants in the theme and the language and confirmed the lesson he had from reading Max Mueller's ideas about the westward voyage of the oriental legends and fables. Pidal was then twenty-two and two years later, that is, in 1893, he completed his doctoral thesis on the sources of *Conde Lucanor*, a collec-

tion of tales, which have remote ancestors in our *Panchatantra*, by way of an Arab version of Abdullah ben al Mocaffa. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* have had the impact of the Spanish version, which was the first ever to appear in a modern European language.

A critical study of the *Poems of Cid* followed soon after. The epic written around the legendary twelfth century hero was the subject of much of his later deliberations. Curiously enough, his marriage to Maria Goiri, one of the first women to have entered the portals of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, led to a honeymoon along the route used by Cid, on foot and on horseback, collecting on the way much of the oral tradition of the primitive Spanish epic. In the character of Cid, Pidal looked for the basic elements of the Hispanic archetype. From now on, he was impatient to discover the true meaning of the Hispanic race.

Pidal turned to the medieval poem of *The Legends of the Infants of Lara*, a romance on an event that took place around the year 980 with the murder of the seven princes and the subsequent revenge. In this work, he employed a meticulous analysis of the written text. The youthful scholar thus brought in a new scientific method through textual analysis, to distinguish the original primitive text from later interpolations.

The *Romanceros* as the ballads of Spain are known in that country's language is a

great literary heritage that has been passed on to successive generations ever since the close of the Middle Ages. Pidal collected meticulously the genuine and worth-while *romanceros* from various sources, including the oral tradition that continued in the Spain of his day. He had also to look beyond Spain for this epicolyrical genre. Not only did he consult the major European libraries but he went to South America, following the path of the Spanish conquerors, to listen to the rustics at the foot of the Andean mountains and the vast plains of the Argentinian pampas. For example, the octosyllabic romantic and tragic ballad of Bernal Frances, in which he unscrupulously kills his beloved, is sung by the Spaniards of the South and the North, the Chileans, the Mexicans and the Oriental Jews. A slightly changed version is found in Portugal and France, as we know from the notes of the author.

In the "Proemio" of his anthology of old romances, he says, "The stranger who goes to the peninsula should carry home in his suitcase...a copy of the *Romanceros* and another of *Don Quixote*, if he wants to understand well the country he has visited."

Pidal's "*New Blossoms of Old Romances*", as the title suggest, is not the first collection of the ballads. Grimm, Duran, Wolf and Menendez Pelayo have compiled earlier versions. But Pidal's mission to broaden and deepen the search has been a rewarding effort. He said once that he was the Spaniard who had heard and read the most number of ballads. This he remains still to-day.

In 1904, the king of Spain sent him as his special emissary to Quito and Lima for studying relevant manuscripts for settling a boundary dispute raging between Ecuador and Peru. In the twenties he was the recipient of Doctorate degrees "Honoris Causa" of Oxford, Paris, Hamburg, Brussels and many other universities.

Don Ramon, as he was affectionately called excelled in writing analytical works on textual linguistic, literary, historical and ideological aspects of literature. The three principal directions his genius took were in history, language and literature, through such works as *Spain in the age of Cid* (1929), *Origin of Spanish* (1926) and the *Castilian epic in Spanish literature* (1910). His *Historical Grammar* published more than six decades ago is still considered to be a major work in Spanish philology.

He was the Director of the Spanish Academy of Language and he founded in 1914 the significant *Journal of Spanish Philology* citations from which under the Spanish abbreviation RFE, appear regularly in PMLA, MLN, *Romanische Forschungen* and other periodicals of Europe and America. He served the University of Madrid as professor and he also founded the Centre of Historical Studies in Madrid. As a Romanist he leaves behind a well known school of scholars and critics. Among his disciples, Americo Castro has made a great stir in the world of learning. In Latin America Pedro Henriquez-Urena and the great humanist, Alfonso Reyes, have profited much from the bearded bespectacled master.

Speaking about Menendez Pidal, the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset said, "Science is not erudition but theory. The efforts of a scholar become science when he can make his knowledge and learning build up a theory."

Don Ramon revived the interest in traditional poetry and folklore, which is the prop of much of Lorca's power. He was always busy in works of investigation with the help of a rigid austere methodology and only a couple of years ago the Judeo-Spanish speech of the Sephardis, set him thinking. He gave

little value to studies of individual authors in themselves. He looked for a continual process through different epochs. This concept of tradition explains much of his attitude in the interpretation of literature. A complete historical perception makes you consider the life of a people as an unbroken continuity of successive generations. For him, again, the study of the source of a work is of great impor-

tance, even in the case of authors who have struggled free and transcended this matter-of-fact limitation. He found in the medieval epic that "the literary taste is profoundly collective" where "the author of each work is essentially anonymous because he, the individual, is submerged in the collective whole."

TRAINING FOR EXPORT PROMOTION

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

Highly Qualified Manpower and Export Promotion In India :

One of the key factors in our export drive is our skill in selling our goods in overseas markets. A sufficient number of salesmen, with adequate qualifications for overseas selling is, therefore, of the first importance for the success of our export drive. A sound general education coupled with a natural aptitude for commerce and some practical experience of overseas markets can and does produce successful salesmen. Nevertheless there is a basic specialised knowledge which all export salesmen and export sales managers must have if they are to be successful and that knowledge can only be obtained, as a general rule, through planned courses of instruction. Due recognition of the importance of the specialised qualifications also enhances

the prestige of a calling and thereby fosters the right kind of recruitment.

For success in international trade, various ingredients are needed: high quality products at low prices, speedy delivery and extensive financing, massive promotions and many other factors. But it seems that success depends mostly on the two overriding components, namely :—

'The will to Export' & 'Highly Qualified Manpower for International Trade'

It can be estimated that at least one Doz. different kinds of Highly Qualified Manpower for international trade will be involved in each case and in every transaction. Starting with the product design, export market research, and initial correspondence in the foreign languages to the actual selling and

processing of export orders, including export billing, transport, financial transactions and follow up services in the export markets, a whole chain of varied tasks will have to be tackled by persons skilled in international trade.

Most European countries have been fairly successful in international trade. The export shares of Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, The Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland exceed 10% of their respective gross national products. In contrast, the economy of the United States of America is depending just by about 3% on international business.

Looking at these export intensive nations of western Europe one will be surprised not to find any extensive planning and development of highly qualified manpower in international trade. Switzerland, for example, as one of the world's leading export countries does not have a single school or training centre for export officials or managers. But it would be wrong to assume that the Swiss do not need highly qualified manpower in international trade. The same is true with most of the European countries.

Most of the European nations have been engaged actively in international trade for nearly a century. Planning and development of highly qualified manpower was started by these nations in an orderly fashion at the beginning of this century. Already before 1900, an 'Export Academy' had been established in Vienna. This Export Academy has not only been the first higher school of export education in Austria but also the first college of business administration at the university level in the whole of Europe. Training in international trade has thus preceded general business education in Europe. Today, the former Export Academy of Vienna is the *College of World Trade*.

It is clear from the foregoing discussions that the developing countries must virtually start right from the scratch when wanting to plan and to develop highly qualified manpower for international trade. International organisations or agencies must receive a stronger mandate to assist the development of highly qualified manpower for international trade. Under the United Nations Development Programme and within the frame work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as well as the UNCTAD/GATT International Trade Centre at Geneva, some initial efforts have been made in regard to the development of highly qualified manpower for international trade. Since most of the developing nations have not as yet a clear perception of planning and developing highly qualified manpower for international trade, it is difficult for the international organisations and agencies to provide the assistance needed.

The basic principles of manpower planning and development should be thus applied in the area of the international trade. Since manpower planning and development is being undertaken by various government departments, an attempt should be made to ensure that all these offices are being made aware of the need for highly qualified manpower for international trade.

The development of highly qualified manpower for international trade must be made an integrated and important part of a country's foreign trade policy. Adequate training facilities for export sales managers do not exist in India and most of the export managers have to learn the trick of the trade only through costly errors in their day to day work. Much of the waste in men and material resources can be avoided if immediate steps are taken to start training courses in

export salesmanship. In some of the institutions giving training in salesmanship, there is a shortage of teachers and lecturers with a practical and upto-date knowledge of export marketing problems. Industry should be prepared to release more of their sales staff including export sales managers, for this purpose, as a matter of long term self-interest. Successful marketing requires a thorough knowledge of the product to be sold. Firms can give this kind of training to potential salesmen by attaching them to production and design units for periods varying according to the technical complexity of the product to be sold.

A national plan for development of highly qualified manpower for international trade need to be formed :—

1. The development of the HQM/IT should be given top priority in the country's foreign trade policy.
2. A Central authority in the developing country should be assigned the task of forecasting the HQM/IT requirements quantitywise and qualitywise.
3. The formation of a National Export Development Association could be indeed advantageous. This associa-

tion should not only consist of people and institutions directly interested or active in international business but also of other constituents of the general economy and society. Educators in primary and secondary schools, for example, should be attracted to such an organisation, because with their teaching of international affairs and foreign languages they will be contributing to the success of the export effort.

4. Development of HQM/IT should be an integral part of national planning.
5. All educational and training programmes, aiming at civil servants, and business managers, should include a basic knowledge of international affairs and business in their curricula.

Adequate training facilities for export sales managers do not exist in India and most of the export managers have to learn the trick of the trade only through costly errors in their day-to-day work. Much of the waste in men and material resources can be avoided if immediate steps are taken to start training courses in export salesmanship.

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

N. RAJAMANI

In the firmament of journalistic history Nagendranath Gupta's name will always shine like a pole star. With a clean insight and a clear vision, he wielded a powerful and facile pen, which brought him unique glory. In a lucid, informative and charming literary style he brought forth his critical views both on political and social problems. He observed, analysed and enumerated any humanistic problem with consummate skill and vigour. This capacity in Gupta brought the papers, which he edited to the pinnacle of glory.

Journalistic Career

Born in 1862, Gupta had the rare opportunity of coming into contact with a galaxy of political stars, whom he closely watched for putting down his vivid reminiscences in an absorbing language. He had the extreme privilege of having the great philosopher-politician Swami Vivekananda as his class-mate at the Scottish Churches Institution of Calcutta. So intimate was their attachment that when the Swamiji visited Lahore during 1898-99 he made it a point to stay with Gupta, who was then a neighbour of the great Indian politician Lala Lajpat Rai. His association with persons of eminence helped him in enriching his knowledge on various aspects of life, political, philosophical and sociological.

Gupta was a self-made and freedom loving journalist. His energetic journalistic endeavours served him as a spring board for attaining the supreme summit of the ever glorious journalistic peak.

He first made his debut as the editor of the Phoenix, which was published from Karachi. Later on he became the editor of the well reputed Tribune of Lahore in 1892. During his tenure as the editor of the Tribune, he wrote in such an expressive style that the veteran Congress founder A. O. Hume could not restrain himself from paying glowing compliments that the editorials of the Tribune were the best written editorials of the day. Moreover, the Tribune, which was only a bi-weekly in 1892 when Gupta took over its reins, attained a unique popularity which made the management to convert it into a tri-weekly in 1899.

Gupta was a journalist to the core and observed the journalistic ethics with the utmost care and caution. In 1889 certain reports about the mal-treatment of prisoners of Shikarpur jail appeared in the columns of a paper from Karachi, Sind Times. The superintendent of the jails immediately took it as an insult to his reputation and sued the paper for defamation. As the editor of the paper, Gupta was asked to furnish the name of the correspondent who toiled hard to send such a report. But Gupta was not to be dislodged from the principles which he cherished. He tried his best to shield the correspondent from any serious injury to his security. With the result Gupta was to bear the brunt of the attack. More than seven times he was prosecuted. Finally he avoided successfully the sentence of simple imprisonment but had to pay a fine as a penalty for guarding the correspondent. Such was the noble conduct of this man.

Purposeful Writings

Nagendranath Gupta had always written with a purpose—a purpose to promote the latent values of Indian culture and past heritage. He always stood for the unity and integrity of the nation and shunned the idea of social barriers and evil customs, which had gone deep into the Indian way of life. He was a scholar par excellence. He wrote on art, literature, history and culture. He wrote even a humorous scientific fiction entitled 'Romance in the Thirtieth Century', which dealt with man's romance in an outer planet, Mars!

The following extracts from his speeches and writings can throw sufficient light to enumerate his lofty ideals. In an interview to the Sind Observer, on December 7, 1935, Gupta observed: 'So far as the girls among the Hindus are concerned it is not that they are unwilling to marry; but the caste system and social practices and usages came in the way of wider choice. And the result has been that hundreds of them are languishing for want of partners and the money to buy the husband with from the same caste.'

'The elders of the community ought really to take some steps to discourage dowry and encourage matrimonial alliances with atleast allied castes....'

'To certain communities to get a daughter has become a calamity instead of being a joy only because they are the victims of a monstrous dowry system. Nature cannot be suppressed for ever, How prophetic are these words. The present mode of Go—Do and Hippo trends in our youths can be rated as clear preliminaries for a major outbreak against age-old social customs.'

Again, in an article entitled 'Early and Late Impressions of Bihar' in the Indian Nation, Gupta condemned the vociferous logans which struck at the very root of our

national unity. He says 'It is natural, ofcourse, that in every province the claims of the residents should be first considered, but that should not mean the exclusion of other Indians. An Indian is at home in any part of India; he cannot be looked upon as an alien anywhere.' He concludes 'To nationalise the country is to Indianise it and the spirit of exclusiveness must not be encouraged on any account.....'

As a mature journalist and editor he had his own piece of advice to offer. He lays down the following dictums which the editors should strictly follow. He says 'No man should treat a paper as his private property, whether he was proprietor or mere editor. The paper was not his but the public's.'

'Again no criticism should be undertaken with personal feelings against those criticised, that is to say if the person criticised was one with whom the editor had fallen out, he should be outside criticism.' That is to say Gupta wanted that the maxim of returning good for evil should be strictly adhered to as perfect journalistic ethics. Editors should always be guided by their conscience and not by vindictive feelings.

Journalism is not an easy road of roses. Hence Gupta concludes 'Keep always in mind the high calling of a public servant. Journalism is the most poorly paid, the most despised and the most neglected of public service. When one elects to take up journalism one makes up his mind to have nothing to do with wealth or with luxuries of life or even with the modest competence. It goes without saying that one must be prepared to suffer at every turn.'

In his collection of essays entitled 'Indian Nationalism' Gupta stresses the need of caution in adopting a common language for India. He writes 'There is a movement on foot to make Hindi or Hindustani the univer-

sal common language of India so that it may be used on all public platforms and may be understood in every part of the country. This is as it should be, for, after all, the common national language of India must be an Indian language. At the same time, the knowledge or the use of a foreign language need not be jeopardise the spirit of Indian nationalism. The desire for freedom does not imply any antipathy against a foreign people or a foreign language. The boycott of foreign goods is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The problems of a national language for India will be solved without any necessity for boycotting the language of Shakespeare !

As a deeply read man and a man proud of his nation's culture and heritage Gupta speaking at the South Indian Association of Karachi in 1934, commented about Mahabharata in a crisp and beautiful analysis. 'An accurate estimate of the Mahabharata is to be found in a single, petty and pregnant Bengali sentence, evidently composed by a clever punster and uttered fairly long ago—Bharata naike jahe Bharata naike tahe—what cannot be found in Bharata (and abbreviations for Mahabharata) cannot be found in Bharata (India).'

Indian democracy is today on the verge of a great transition. Is it for good or for evil, only the future can say. Gupta with a clear foresight had offered a concrete formula for safeguarding Indian democracy from utter chaos and confusion. He wrote 'The national and democratic movement in India is being retarded by our people. There are too many wise men of the East in India. It is a case of many political cooks spoiling the broth, that will give sustenance and strength to the national character. We feel India is not at rest and all around us are premonitions and signs of impending change. The part of real patriotism is the clear issue and to focus the contending and distracting voices into a single demand, to formulate and coalesce the national will into a lever and to rest it upon a secure fulcrum.'

To conclude one can say Nagendranath Gupta, throughout his life lived as a symbol of Indian culture and tradition. He was a man who had a clear foresight about the events which were affecting the nation. He was a true journalist to the core and upheld the cause of social justice through his multitude of clear cut thoughts and expressions till his death in December, 28, 1941 at the age of 78.

TEACHING ENGLISH IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

KRISHNA MOHAN

Considerable thought has been given in the recent past to the teaching of English in Indian Universities. There has been talk of the introduction of new techniques of teaching, revision of syllabuses, production of suitable text-books, the training of teachers etc. Various committees, panels, conferences, seminars, besides the Radhakrishnan and Kothari Education Commissions, have devoted a great deal of their time and energy in deliberating over the different aspects of the question. But what is the result? Are we any better than we were, say, 20 years ago?

The fact is that there has been too much TALK on and about this problem in the forums of experts and too little DIALOGUE between the experts and the educated citizens. Since teaching English is still a big business in India—there are millions of young Indians struggling to learn it and lakhs of rupees are being spent on teaching them—it is a problem which concerns the entire nation. I have, therefore, chosen the columns of a popular magazine to express my ideas in the hope that this would start a dialogue between the experts and the educated citizens. It may well be that in this process some fresh light is thrown on the hitherto unexplored aspects of the problem. I also venture to think that some of the problems I am going to discuss may be prevalent in our higher education as a whole and consequently some of the solutions I offer may be equally applicable to other

subjects. Sometimes very pertinent questions are raised by men of common sense and while trying to answer them an expert may discover an entirely new point of view which might not have otherwise occurred to him during discussion with his fellow experts.

Let us then look at the parties to this business of learning and teaching English. The first and the most important is the student. When he joins a university he is SUPPOSED to be proficient enough to hear and understand lectures in English and to comprehend the books and journals published in English relevant to his chosen subject. Even if the medium of instruction at the university level is an Indian language he is expected to have enough ability to comprehend the materials written in English. Is he able to do so? And if not, does he exert himself to acquire the expected level of proficiency in English within the shortest possible time?

For answering these questions let us identify the various types of students and divide them into certain broad categories. In the first category let us put the student who joins a university because he has nothing better to occupy his time. He loathes reading, shuns the company of 'treasured and embalmed master-spirits' and considers sitting in the classroom as the dullest thing in the world. He devotes all his time and attention in extra-curricular and non-academic activities.

The next category is of the so-called 'nationalist'. He hates English and loves to shout from house-tops that English should be banished from our dear motherland. He considers knowledge of English as a sign of mental slavery. But as the university requires a pass in it, he tolerates it as a necessary evil for so long as it is absolutely essential.

In the third category I would place the student whose command of English is shaky but who is keen on learning it. He struggles to master it but sometimes gives up in midstream as a result of a frustrating atmosphere that surrounds him like an encircling gloom.

We may place in the next category the student who thinks he knows English simply because he comes from a public school or an English medium school. He can use bits and pieces of colloquial English picked up at school from teachers and classmates, English films and visitors of the family who consider it *infra dig* to speak an Indian language. But his English may show a marked departure from the accepted usage and one may discern incoherences even in his spoken English.

The last category consists of the student who has reached the desired level of linguistic attainment and who, therefore, finds the teaching of English pitched at too low a level. He comes to the university with great hopes but soon gets disappointed and he often infects others with his cynical attitude to learning English.

The pity is that most of our universities offer the same course to all these categories of students. No wonder the result is disastrous. Many students look at the syllabus

with distaste and reconcile themselves to their inevitable lot after an initial inner struggle lasting for a few months or so. The syllabus-makers should recognise this fact and offer diversified courses, keeping in view the needs and requirements of all categories of students. For example, syllabus for a student of Engineering and or for category three should be different from that for students of Humanities and or for the last category. It's no use feeding them all with the time-honoured wisdom of Milton and Shakespeare. The emphasis should be on imparting the practical ability to use the English language as an enlightened citizen of India and of the world in mid-20th Century. It is obvious that before this is done, the interest, the level of attainment, and the aptitude of the student will have to be found out by means of carefully constructed tests. In choosing the text books the same criteria should be kept in mind. They should not be prescribed to satisfy the whims of a few 'learned' professors but to aid the operation of the chosen syllabuses.

The main hindrance in the introduction of diversified courses is the attitude of the power-wielding old-timer who is sternly averse to any radical departure from the trodden path and who, therefore, waves the sceptre of authority to thwart all attempts for changes in the existing pattern. The love of power keeps him blind to fresh light and straight-jacketed as he is in the garment of tradition, he abhors everything new. He solves the problem of teaching by not reading anything fresh. He reads or dictates to his class notes that his teacher had dictated to

him. He feels a strange chuckle of delight when towards the end of the academic session he has dictated the last word from his 'scholarly' notes. In such a situation no wonder that the information is transferred from the notebook of the teacher to that of the student without passing through the mind of either and that the student is encouraged to indulge in psittacism.

And then there is the young ambitious teacher who soon realises that the way to success lies in engaging himself in activities, which he euphemistically calls 'research', under the supervision of 'the grand old man' of the department. Very often 'the grand old man' happens to be a powerful politician on the campus. He fills his vacant hours (saved from scholarly pursuits) with activities more rewarding from the point of view of gain in power and money. The young researcher is, therefore, left to work almost entirely on his own. There are a few who succeed in spite of their guides but there are others who feel frustrated and who, therefore, develop a dislike for academic activities. Some of the latter category try to follow the footprints of their master and the amazing thing is that sometimes they do succeed in climbing the ladder of promotion. Those become a source of inspiration to other young aspiring souls and thus a vicious circle is formed. There is, however, one thing that both have in common viz. they neglect teaching. They know that howsoever good as teachers they may be, they would not be promoted unless they have some research papers to their credit. Unfortunately no objectively verifiable criteria have been laid down by the

University Grants Commission or any other such body for assessing the quality of teaching at the university level.

Another factor that vitiates the atmosphere among the faculty members is mutual distrust between some of the Professors and their junior colleagues. Taking credit without any scruples for the academic work done by the junior members, discouraging them from attending seminars, conferences pertaining to their areas of interest and research, ignoring their claims for strengthening the library relevant to their fields of specialisation may be cited as instances of misdeeds of such senior staff. The situation as it is to day, very often these intellectually dishonest persons have formidable powers concentrated in their hands. And infact, that is what keeps them going.

What happens then to the few conscientious teachers? Undaunted by the stifling atmosphere generated by the power-seekers and the over-ambitious they continue to work for professional excellence. They know that rigidity has no place in teaching and that the continuous search for more effective techniques of imparting instruction and the capacity for adjustment to the changing attitudes of society are the essential qualities of a good teacher. They also realise that a teacher remains throughout his career a student with insatiable thirst for knowledge and for new contributions in his field. Some universities which have been able to retain the true character of a university have sustained themselves as such because of the academic bedrock forged by this band of devoted teachers.

Some of the problems mentioned above can be solved locally by a vigilant and capable Vice-chancellor. But the major ones demand thinking at the national level and solutions of a lasting nature. I am inclined to suggest that there is an immediate and imperative need for diminishing the halo that surrounds the Heads of university teaching departments. This can be done if the Headship rotates among the senior staff of clearly defined qualifications and experience. But it would be possible to implement this suggestion if the ratio of senior staff to junior staff is increased. Another step which should be taken to create an atmosphere of mutual trust among the staff is the introduction of running pay-scale of Rs. 400-400 300 E. B.-50-1300-E. B.-60-16000 and a selection grade of Rs. 1600 100-2000. This pay scale has three grades: Grade III, Lecturer, Rs. 400-800; Grade II, Reader, Rs. 800-1300; and Grade I, Professor, Rs. 1300-1600. A young man with a brilliant academic record who enters university service at the age of 25 on Rs. 400.00 deserves, after 34 years of teaching experience to get Rs. 1600. 00 when he is 50 years old. The service in a university can be considered equivalent to class I service of the Central Government and to All India services only if the running pay-scale is introduced. At present the ratio between lecturers and senior staff (Readers and Professors) is approximately 3 : 1 with the result that three-fourths of the total staff have every chance of retiring at Rs. 950.00, the maximum of the lecturer's pay-scale of Rs. 400-950. How many officers of Central Service Class I and All India Services retire at Rs. 950.00? I wonder if even a single instance

can be cited of such a case. Why then our leaders do never get tired of comparing university service with the all India Services and Central Service Class I? If we are really interested in attracting first-rate men to the universities it's high time that some concrete steps were taken to offer the same, if not comparatively better, terms and conditions of service in our universities.

It is sometimes argued that the introduction of running pay-scale would encourage mediocrity and discourage the pursuit of excellence in teaching and research. A closer look at this proposal would, however, indicate that such fears are unfounded. In order to provide incentive to better-than-the-average teacher, promotion from Grade III to Grade II and from Grade II to Grade I should be made out of turn. And then there is the selection grade for rewarding a teacher of extraordinary merit and / or a scholar of international repute. Similarly, to punish the lazy and the careless teacher there are efficiency bars provided at two stages in the suggested pay-scale. For example, if a teacher is not allowed to cross the efficiency bar at the first stage even for a year, he would suffer a recurring loss of Rs. 50.00 per annum and this is no mean punishment.

For proper guidance of research, apart from provision of facilities of books, journals etc, it would be better if the supervisors are recognised for guiding research in certain broad areas eg. Modern Poetry, American Fiction, 18th Century Prose, instead of in the entire range of English studies as they are at present. If this is done, the senior

staff would not be able to pressurise the junior staff into doing research and to accept research scholars for mere prestige value in the areas in which they have not specialised.

Lack of qualified staff is another reason for the present sorry state of affairs. An M. A. degree in English Literature is not just the kind of qualification that equips a young man to teach a foreign language and literature to the growing young men and women of the age group 16-21. The minimum qualification required for joining the staff of an English Department should be a good second class degree plus at least one year's training in the teaching of English language and literature. But this can be done only if facilities for such training are available in India. We can't afford to send hundreds of our prospective teachers to the U. K. or the U. S. A. where opportunities for this kind of training are offered by several universities. The efforts made by the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, though laudable, are inadequate. And the impact

of the short-term training provided by the University Grants Commission organised summer institutes, mainly for teaching English as a language, is almost negligible. What is required then is to encourage the universities to develop such courses by providing them adequate funds and other assistance for the purpose.

If diversified courses suitable for different levels of linguistic attainment are offered by well-qualified and happy staff we would, I am sure, be able to dispel the 'encircling gloom' and to motivate even the students of categories one and two. There is no dearth of suggestions or recommendations. What we lack as a nation is the capacity to take decisions quickly and to implement them boldly in the right spirit. We must realise that investment in education is the best investment. It is the universities that nourish and nurse the nation's soul; a nation can't survive for long on steel plants and dams alone.

WOMEN IN THE SACRED LAWS OF THE HINDUS

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

The condition of women in India at the dawn of British rule seems to be shocking. The enforced child marriages, the exposure of female children, putting to death female children by throwing them at the estuary of the Ganges, the violence used to make women follow the Sati system and thus end their miserable existence, the shameful treatment accorded to a widow, the notorious Kuinism which made marriage a profession rather than a sacrament; made woman not only an object of pity, but many a woman sighed in the secret recess of her heart and wished that she had never been born a woman in this hapless country.

Were the laws from the time of the Rig Veda to blame for this state of affairs, or the customs of the time? The later commentators, while sanctioning a particular custom peculiar to their age, used all the force of their argument and ingenuity of scholarship in reconciling the new with the old. They had always to revert to the Vedas and even modify the words of the sacred texts for enforcing the new law. The Griha Sutras the Dharma Sutras of Gautama, Bandhayana, Vasistha, Apasthamba, Kautilya, Vatsyayana, Manu, Yagnavalkya, Parasara, Vishnu, Brihaspati, Narada, Medhatithi, Madava-charya, Yama, Samvarta, Devala and a host of other commentators, too numerous to mention, clearly show how the attitude of the lawgivers change to meet the exigencies of the times as regards status of women.

It must not be forgotten that the authors of later Smritis and commentaries were not entirely responsible for the new changes. Times changed and with it the requirements of society. The fifth century B. C. saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism, which influenced the laws of the time as regards women to some extent due to the austere nature of both the religions. The equality of status and the freedom, given to women, demoralised the general outlook of society, as we find pictured in the Jatakas and the Jain Scriptures. Hence Apasthamba and others of his time had to make rigorous laws for women. The age during which Buddha and Mahavira flourished was noted for asceticism of a rigorous type. We have only to read the Buddhist and Jain literature referring to the life-time of these teachers to be convinced of the correctness of this conclusion, which received a remarkable corroboration from the Brahmanical literature. It seems, as though the air was surcharged with asceticism, and it is no wonder that the laws were framed according to the ethical standard of the time. But the earlier lawgivers, inspite of the small changes to check the freedom of a woman, were in substantial agreement with the old liberal Vedic order. Apastamba was the first to rebel against the old system.

During the early centuries of the Christian Era, hordes of foreign tribes, namely, Yuechis, Sakas, Huns etc. poured

into India through the North-Western gates. To give greater protection to women from the foreigners, still more rigid laws were framed, and a woman was placed under the protection of man in all the stages of her life. Laws had to be revised. Ordeals by fire, which are immortalised in the Ramayana to prove the purity of Sita, were first codified in the Vishnu and Narada Smritis, ascribed to the fourth century.

The Vedic practice was for a widow to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. In the Sutra period, she was allowed to marry any near relation. In the early Dharmasutra (Gautama) it was without enjoining any restriction and in the latter (Bandhayana and Vasishtha) enjoining ascetic practices for a short period only. Later on this asceticism alone remained and became life-long. This was the characteristic of the period ranging between the 2nd century B. C. and the 4th century A. D., when the Smritis of Manu and Yajñavalkya were compiled. But there is absolutely no allusion to widow burning. Later on, we find Anumarana (i. e. Sati) prescribed for a widow as an alternative to life long asceticism. Between the 5th and the 9th centuries A. D., the new Smritis and new commentaries of Vishnu, Brihaspati and others were holding up the custom of widow burning or Anu-marana as the ideal thing for a widow in comparison with life-long asceticism. This practice was highly praised and celestial felicity of the highest type was promised to the widow, who immolated herself. The practice of Anumarana was gaining ascendancy between 5th and 9th century A. D. but author Medhatithi and scholar Baua, the poet of Harshavardan,

condemned the practice as suicide, doing no good to the persons concerned. The custom of burning widows on the funeral pyres continued unabated, though Akbar tried to stop it unsuccessfully till it was left to Raja Ram Mohan Roy to abolish the cruel system with the help of Lord Bentick through legislation in the fourth decade of the 19th century. This cruel custom seems to be foreign to Indian soil, at least, to Aryan culture. It seems to have been adopted in Aryan Society at a very late period. India has been the victim of foreign invaders from age to age. Among the foreign hordes were the Mongolian races, among whom, a similar custom prevails even at present. When Attila the Hun died, hundreds of his wives and concubines were interred with him. In Japan and the allied nations, the custom still prevails under the name Harikiri, in which, a person commits suicide as a pledge of his devotion and faithfulness to his master. The underlying motive of it is to join his master in the next world.

The tenth to the twelfth centuries A. D. saw the advent and later the firm establishment of Muslim domination in this country. When Hindu culture came into clash with a culture, far different from its own, the leaders of society began to formulate rules and laws to safeguard their interests, specially the position of women. Rigorous restrictions were imposed on them. Even while stinting the freedom, the lawgivers did not forget to make provision to welcome abducted women back to their homes. At this stage child marriage was firmly rooted and enforced. The death of a widow was preferred to her falling into evil hands. Hence self-immolation of a widow

was enjoined by the law codes giving the unfortunate victim the uncertain hope of heavenly bliss. Such and several other customs were introduced, which curbed the freedom of women to a very large extent. This was done perhaps to save her from the host of foreigners and to preserve the purity of the race.

The commentators to justify the changes in the secular law, had to revert to the old ones, and reconcile their arguments with the spirit of the old texts. It is these texts which demonstrate the true spirit of Hindu Law. These codes, in some aspects, have become so catholic and humanitarian that the law found, cover the entire gamut of human needs. Eleven types of marriages are admitted as legal. In sanctioning them no type of law is lost sight of, but it must be solemnised by Sacrament. The rites and ceremonies concerning them point out that they are clearly meant for adults. Thirteen types of children are admitted into society, obliterating the word 'illegitimacy' from the fold of the society. There are (1) the son of a legitimate wife, (2) the son of a man by another's wife, (3) the adopted son, (4) one whom a man makes his son (5) son born secretly (6) son cast off by parents and taken as a child by another, (7) son of a maiden (8) son of a pregnant bride (9) son bought with money (10) son of a twice married woman, (11) one who gives himself to a stranger as son when abandoned by parents, (12) son of a Sudra woman married to a Brahmin and (13) son born of lust. Even the commentaries and the digests mention them.

Both Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages

are allowed. Even inter-racial marriages are not banned but welcomed. All the earlier codes sanction in clear terms that a man of a higher caste can wed a woman of the lower caste. Gautama and Vasistha sanction the reverse also. Children born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes, becomes Savaras, Ambasthas, Ugras, Nishadas, Daushyantas or Parasaras and children born in the inverted order of wives of higher castes become Sutas, Magadhas Ayognas, Kshatris, Vaidehalcas or Chandalas. We have epigraphical evidence on all the three types of Anuloma, Pratiloma and inter-racial marriages. The eighth and ninth centuries have evidenced many such marriages, though they came to be banned after the thirteenth century.

In the laws of marriage, gotra played a very important part. Laws were emphatically against the union of parties belonging to the same gotra. But law-givers shifted their ground, and though later Smrities deny that a woman changes her gotra with the seventh step of the Saptapadi ceremony, the earlier law codes do not furnish any substantial evidence to confirm the truth of the statement.

In regard to property and inheritance, the status of women in India was far superior to that of her sisters in any other country of that age. A woman was entitled to separate property on which she had absolute power. It is called 'Stridhana'. This was sanctioned by the earliest of the law givers though the later commentators divided it into different categories. A daughter is not left out in the law of inheritance. Both Manu and Brihaspathi say 'As is self, so is a son, and a

daughter is equal to a son; how they, when one's self is living in the form of one's daughter, can any one else take the wealth? " Hence the equality of son and daughter is conceded. The right to perform Sradha and offer oblations to the deceased and to take his wealth go hand in hand in Hindu Law. Manu says 'Let one offer Pindas and take his wealth.'

According to Vedic notion, a Purusha or a person consisted of a man, his wife and progeny. Brihaspati asserts, 'In Vedas, Smritis, and practice of people, a wife is considered by wise man as half the body of her husband, sharing equally the fruits of his good deeds and misdeeds. Half-body of his, which is not dead, lives. How then can any one else obtain his wealth when half of his body survives.

A father assured a comfortable position for his daughter by means of marriage. Sometimes he had to spend beyond his means, even incur debts. The daughter looked upon her father's family as her main-stay for support in case of any distress, specially when her marriage proved to be miserable and unhappy. Even in a joint family an unmarried daughter is provided for; the author of Mitakshara gives her due shares, viz, the unmarried daughter would get to the extent of one fourth share of what she should have had, had she been a son. In the Law of Inheritance a daughter occupies a very high place in the order of succession coming immediately after a son and grandson. The sense of justice shown by the Hindu Law givers by allotting such a high place to wife and daughter in order of succession, when perhaps, in every other legal system of the time

women were totally excluded, is astonishing and praiseworthy.

Divorce is allowed on easy terms under certain circumstances. Kautilya and Parasara mention these. A woman is allowed to remarry in case of five calamities mentioned by them. In a joint Hindu family a widow when her husband has been separate, can always adopt without the authority of her husband and without the consent of the Sapindas of the family, unless she has been expressly prohibited by her husband from doing so.

In the range of adoptions, Hindu Law does not leave out a daughter. A daughter can be adopted. Narada Pandita, though conservative in other respects, has pleaded in his commentary for permitting the adoption of a daughter and his views have the weighty support of sacred texts.

II

At the commencement of British rule in India it was seen that most of the ancient laws were forgotten and customs, derogatory to the progress of the society, born out of the struggle of Hindu society to save itself against clash of virile exotic culture, prevailed. The revival of ancient culture with the encouragement of Western Scholars coupled with the gradual spread of Western learning and science, gave incentive to social reforms, and so reform laws were passed from time to time to suit the conditions.

In 1832 Lord Bentinck passed a regulation which did away with the system of Sati and Penalised the same for violation. In 1850 an Act was passed known as the Caste Disabilities Removal Act XXI of 1850,

which removed the difficulties arising out of caste. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar started an agitation for the marriage of Hindu Widows and in 1856 the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, Act XV of 1856 was passed, which enabled widows to marry again. This gave a severe shock to the then conservative Hindu society. As a result of agitation of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen to legalise inter caste marriages in 1872 the Special Marriage Act was enacted, which enabled one to marry out of one's own caste and also without any reference to any Gotra relation. In 1937, the Hindu Womens' Rights to property Act (Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938) was passed, which affected the views of Mitakshara relating to women's right of inheritance giving limited ownership known as a Hindu woman's estate to the widow and the widows of predeceased sons with the right of claiming 'partition as a male owner in both the Schools of Hindu Law.

Thereafter a committee was appointed by Government of India on January 25, 1941, to examine the said Act so as to (1) resolve the doubts felt as to the construction of the Act, (2) to classify the nature of the right conferred upon the widow and (3) to remove any injustice that may have been done by the Act to the daughter. They were also asked to examine and advise on the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Bill as well as the Hindu Women's Rights to separate Residence and Maintenance Bill.

On June 19, 1941, the Committee submitted their report and contended that Piecemeal legislation will not be beneficial

to society. The time had now come, the Committee averred to attempt a codification of Hindu Law, but that it should be taken up one by one first the law of succession, then the Law of marriage and so on. Accordingly two bills, prepared by the Government of India, were published on May 30, 1942. On the recommendation of the Joint committee, the Government of India appointed a committee for drafting the Hindu Code. The Committee consisted of Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter, Principal J. R. Ghorpur and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri with Mr. Justice B. N. Rau as its Chairman. They toured the country, a questionnaire was issued, a large number of persons were examined and then the report was finalised on February 21, 1947. A draft of the bill to amend and codify certain sections of Hindu Law was also submitted. The Select Committee examined these and reported on August 12, 1948. The labour of all these committees blossomed into the present Hindu Code. The Hon'ble Dr. Ambedkar held a conference for discussing the provisions of the Code, amendments were suggested after due discussion. The bill, as amended, was placed before the Parliament for its approval.

Broadly speaking the Code consists of nine parts with seven Schedules. The provisions contained in the Code are distributed into 139 Sections. The subjects relate to marriage divorce, adoption, minority guardianship, joint family property, women's property, succession and maintenance. The Code later on diversified into five separate Acts. Viz. (1) Hindu Succession Act (Act XXX of 1955) (2) Hindu Marriage

Act (Act XXV of 1955) (3) Special Marriage Act (Act 43 of 1954) (4) Hindu Adoption & Maintenance Act (Act 78 of 1956) and (5) Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (Act 32 of 1956). The important feature of the Hindu Succession Act is that it applies inclusive of the members of Brahmo and Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj as well as Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs. A woman now inherits the properties from her parents, father-in-law and husband and takes as an absolute owner under Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act.

There are two kinds of marriage as recognised in the Hindu Marriage Act and the Special Marriage Act—the Sacramental and the Civil. Monogamy has been compulsorily introduced, the breach of which has been penalised. In the former, the marriage must be monogamous and the bride and bridegroom must complete fourteen and eighteen years respectively. Civil Marriage is in the form of a contract. Objections can be raised to a proposed marriage, a certificate of marriage is an essential feature of a Civil Marriage. Sacramental marriages can be registered if the Parties so desire. Divorce and judicial separation have been permitted and the grounds thereof have been fully narrated. It is unfortunate that the Indian Muslims did not come within the Common Civil Code

as regards abolition of polygamy, which has been accepted in many Muslim countries including Pakistan and which is a great stepping stone to national integration. As regards adoption, the consent of the wife to the adoption of a son by the husband is ensured. Any Hindu female can adopt under Section 8 of the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, the law before the introduction of the Act having been that a widow could adopt a son to her husband only with the latter's express consent. A daughter now can also be adopted. A wife and a widowed daughter-in-law is entitled to get maintenance under certain conditions as mentioned in Sections 18 and 19 of the Act. Not only in matters of personal law, but also in public affairs every female over the age of 21, has been enfranchised, though votes to females are denied in France, Egypt and some other countries. A mother now can be a guardian to her minor child. It is heartening to see Modern India attempting to re-establish the time honoured laws of this ancient country, which were, however, forgotten during these changing centuries due to various factors mentioned above. The laws of ancient India were so catholic in spirit and all embracing that if they are accepted sincerely, they can cover the entire needs of humanity. At the time when these were framed, no country in the world produced better laws for womanhood, nor gave a higher status to woman in Society.

GOVERNORS AND THEIR CHANGING ROLE IN CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

P. M. SHARMA & M. P. SINGH

The Conference of Governors which was held on 13 and 14th December 1969, is a historic one in the Constitutional history of India. The tone of the discussion on the role of the Governors was set by the President in his opening address. He said that in our Constitutional structure, a Governor functions free from political pressures or party bias. His concern is always the good of the people in his state. He is a sagacious counsellor and advisor to the Ministry and a friend and mediator helping in the smooth working of the cabinet. Not only this, the Conference evolved, that the Governors are only creatures of the Constitution and not the agents of the Centre, they could not function under any hard and fast rules. Therefore, no rigid line can be fixed for their political behaviour in tackling situations in the States. They will themselves be the judge of the situations and work accordingly.

The Conference has recognised the right place of the Governors in the working of our Constitution in the present political context. One may see that the Governors were not given their right place in the working of our Constitutions because before the fourth general elections the whole country was governed by only one party, namely, the Congress, barring one or two isolated

cases. Under the one party umbrella the Governor's office became a 'gift' for defeated Congressmen or non-Congressmen with Congress leanings or for those whom the Prime Minister wanted to oblige. This is the reason why this important office has been reduced to the position of 'golden zero'. Some leading Congress Chief Ministers never bothered for Governor's advice in all sorts of decisions because of their position in Congress organization and their direct relations with Prime Minister Nehru. However, the fourth general elections altered the whole political context, as the Congress was unable to return with a clear-cut majority in many states. So the crucial importance of the Governor's role was been highlighted.

In the new situation the office of the State Governors has become the focus of controversy. It is being debated whether it is ornamental or purposeful. In the present political controversy, nobody can doubt that the Governor has a very important role to play at present and in future, not only as a vital link between the Centre and the State but also to ensure the political stability in the State and the proper working of the Constitution as the days of one-party domination are over. The august office of the Governor is now acquiring new dimen-

sions and is becoming day by day more and more important in the midst of multi-party system.

A NOMINEE OF THE CENTRE.

The framers of the Indian Constitution considered the office of the Governor a constitutional necessity in independent India, for its purposeful unity. They discussed and examined the pros and cons of the frame work of this office. After long discussion and consideration of various viewpoints and proposals they came to the conclusion that India was in earnest need of a strong Centre in the prevailing social, economic and political conditions. K. M. Munshi reminded the Constituent Assembly that "the strength, the power and the unity of public life which India has developed during last one hundred years is mainly due to centralized administration of the country. I would warn the members to remember that one supreme fact in Indian history is that glorious days of India were only the days whether under the Mauryas or the Moghals, when there was a strong central authority in the country, and the tragic days were those when the central authority was dismembered by the provinces trying to resist it, we do not want to repeat that fatal mistake".¹

The Constituent Assembly reached a unanimous decision that the Governor should be nominated by the President of India and should play the dual role as did the Governors during British regime under the Act of 1935, because it would add to the harmony between Centre and States. A. K. Ayyar observed that "you will add a close link between the Centre and the provinces and

a clash between the provinces and the Centre will be avoided which will otherwise occasionally result."² Nehru agreed with A. K. Ayyar that the prime necessity of the hour was to avoid any separatist tendencies and the creation of groups etc. If we had an elected Governor that would, to some extent, encourage the separatist provincial tendency more than otherwise. And an election by adult franchise would mean expenditure of tremendous amount of energy, time and money of the nation.³ Alladi Krishnaswami's view was that such a system would establish "a close link between the Centre and the province."⁴

With these considerations, the framers of the Constitution came to the conclusion that the nominated Governor is best suited to the needs of parliamentary democracy and incorporated the Articles 155 and 156 in the Indian Constitution. Article 155 provides that the "Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal". By Article 156 the Governor shall hold office during the pleasure of the President and subject to the foregoing provisions of this Article, a Governor shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office. These provisions have made him a subordinate of the Central Cabinet and Prime Minister and he is bound to consult them and to take directions from them for the proper working of the Constitution.

GOVERNOR AS A LEGISLATIVE LINK

Governor is having a dual capacity in Indian semi-federalism as the constitutional

head of the State and the nominee of the Centre. The framers of the Constitution had made him a connecting rod between the Centre and the State. The Article 168 clearly indicates that he is a Constituent part of the the legislature even though he is not the member of it, and entrusted with certain functions—as to ensure the proper working of the legislature. And under Article 174 his obligations are such that he can act safely at his own discretion as a representative of the Centre and custodian of the Constitution.

The Constitution provides him very wide powers to reserve any bill passed by State legislature for the consideration of the President.⁵ Obviously this power has been given to him to prevent the unnecessary legislative conflict between the Centre and the State mainly in the field of concurrent list. In spite of this, if any bill passed by State legislature which in the opinion of the Governor, was repugnant to any provisions of the Constitution, for example violative of fundamental rights or directive principles of state policy or any act of Parliament or which affected the Union's policy of the interest of the people at large, could be reserved by the Governor.

Governor is authorized to send the message to the State legislature, with the consent of the Centre, and may nonplus the whole legislative programme of the State. He can refuse, even his assent to any bill which is against the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It clearly indicates his influence over the legislature and makes him virtually a bridge between the Centre and the State.

Now, let us see how far the Governor is

justified in reserving or not signing any bill for the consideration of the President, at his own discretion or on the advice of the Centre, against the wishes of his Council of Ministers. But there is no specific provision in the Constitution, making it binding on the Governor to accept the advice of the Council of Ministers. The Constitution has empowered him to reserve any bill concerning ownership, transfer and acquisition of property or estate⁶ and again in respect of taxation on water or electricity.⁷

So he is within his constitutional powers in reserving any bill of which constitutional validity is doubtful. But, according to parliamentary conventions, he should not reserve any bill on his initiative morally. Durga Das Basu has correctly analysed this issue by averring that "the Governor may, in particular situations, be justified in acting without ministerial advice, if he considers that the bill in question would affect the powers of the Union or contravene any of the provisions of the Constitution even though his ministry may be of different opinion."⁸

In the present period of Coalition governments with changing phases of politics, Governor will exercise profound influence over both the governments. Dr. P. Singh rightly remarks: "Thus keeping in view the factors of the inter-state rivalries, faction-ridden state politics, unstable ministries and dissident in the States, the Governor's power to reserve a bill for the consideration of the President may serve very useful purpose in regulating and controlling State legislators."⁹

Besides this, Article 213 (1) provides that the Governor can promulgate ordinances to meet out the exigencies of the situations. But the promulgation of ordinances can be

made only when the State legislature is not in session and it also requires the previous permission of the President of India relating to following subjects—acquisition of property,¹⁰ the power of the High Court,¹¹ a matter of concurrent list, if there is likelihood of a conflict with the Union law¹² and imposition of restrictions on the freedom of trade and commerce.¹³ Every year more than a hundred state bills are reserved by the Governors for the President's approval. For instance, in 1963 the President gave assent to 151 state bills and gave prior sanction to 18 state ordinances.¹⁴

Again, the practice of sending reports about the condition of the State fortnightly to the President, independently or in consultation of his Council of Ministers, make a Governor a virtual link between the Centre and the State. In the opinion of M. V. Pylee, "He is the link that fastens the federal state, chain and channel which regulates the union state relationship."¹⁵

GOVERNOR AS AN AGENT

Governor in Indian Constitution, is a constitutional head of the State administration, but he has to discharge certain obligations as an agent of the Union or at his own discretion. Some people take the narrow interpretation of Article 163 that he is bound to act under the advice of his ministers. But the obvious answer is in the negative. It is an obligation of the Governor to see that the functions of the States must be in unison with those of the Union Government.

Article 256 lays down that the executive power of every State shall be exercised in accordance with the laws passed by the

Parliament or any existing law of the Union Government in the State. And Article 257 says that the executive power of every State should be exercised in compliance of the executive of the Union. Even in both the cases Union Cabinet is empowered to give such directions to a state as are necessary in this connection. Along with these provisions under Article 356 of the Constitution, the Governor of a state may report to the President that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. And when President's rule is established in case of any emergency in a state the the Governor becomes the real master of the whole administration as an agent of the Union Government to exercise legislative, executive and financial powers given by the Central Government under Article 355. Practically, these provisions make him the real agent-administrator of the Union in the State.

In spite of these constitutional provisions, the Defence of India Act 1962 provides. "The Central Government may, by notification in the official gazette, make such rules as appear to it necessary or expedient for securing the defence of India and civil defence, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient conduct of military operations, or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community."¹⁶ The constitution does not provide specifically any discretionary power to the Governor for the implementation of these directions or rules but on the other hand, it is his moral duty to exercise his discretionary power, if the state executive is not willing to implement these

directions in right perspective. Before any step is taken by the centre in this direction, the Governor would try to mediate between both the parties to solve the tangle; if he fails in his effort to achieve the settlement then in the end he will act according to the wishes of the Union Government.

In the present political context it is often very likely, that there might be a clash between the Congress Government at the Centre and non-Congress governments in many states regarding functions entrusted by the constitution at large and particularly by the Articles 258 (1) and 258(A). The ex-Chief Minister of Kerala and Deputy Chief Minister of Bengal had already declared that they would violate the constitution of India from within and demanded the revisal of Centre-State relations to achieve greater autonomy for the States. In such a conflict the Governor may play the role of a negotiator because state executives know that through him they can have more funds and help from the Union Government and Centre may respect the suggestions made by its own representative. For example, Shri Prakash says, "when Chief Ministers or other ministers go up to the Centre and make their demand, pitching them as high as they can, the Centre is rightly inclined to tell them that they have the whole country to look after, and cannot pay more attention than is possible to the needs of any particular state, when, however, their own representative, in the form of the Governor, writes on particular urgent and pressing matters on behalf of the State, they have to listen and they do."¹⁷

Virtually, India is a Union of States within the framework of a federation. The

Constitution provides uniformity in basic matters.¹⁸ Planning has brought this uniformity in more concrete and perfect form even beyond the letter of the Constitution. K. Santhanam observed: "Planning has superseded the federalism and our country is working as a unitary system in many respects."¹⁹ Tirlok Singh comments on the same lines that the "Planning Commission has noted that the National planning widens the role of the Centre and tends to reduce the distinction between centre and state responsibilities."²⁰ This uniformity devolves more heavy responsibilities on the shoulders of the Governor, to achieve the objectives of planning within the State or, at large, of the nation.

Even in the judicial field, the Governor generally acts as a titular head of the parliamentary system of Government but in particular cases, he is guided by the Central Government. Late Prime Minister Nehru disclosed on March 14, 1960 in the Lok Sabha that the Governor of Bombay was advised by him in the case of Nanavati in exercising his judicial powers.²¹

The annual Conference of Governors held in the Capital to assess the activities of the States also provides the guideline to implement the common programme adopted by the conference for the future. Now it is evidently clear that the Governor is the "ears and eyes" and the "watch-dog" of the Centre.²²

CONCLUSION

With the growing separatist tendencies different ideologies not only based on political and economic considerations but also on the basis of regionalism and religion

and the developing multi-party system have created a situation in our country which deserves careful attention in order to save our nation from the possible dangers and difficulties ahead. We have modelled our Constitution on British laws and customs, but we have neither developed the bi-party system which is one of the basic requirements for the successful working of parliamentary democracy, nor have we the unitary form of government to curb the tendencies of separatism, regionalism, etc. So these disturbing political trends may convince the people at large that the parliamentary form of government is not suited to Indian conditions. J. R. D. Tata, one of the most prominent industrialists of India, pleads "for the revision of the Constitution so as to ensure stability on the one hand and expert management of affairs on the other".

If we want to achieve stability and uniformity out of present diversities, then we should try to do so through the office of the Governor. Shri Prakash writes: "To my mind, it is clear that the only official emblem to-day of the unity of the country is the Governor. I have a feeling that even the President is not."²³ Shri V. V. Giri said that "a Governor generally being an outsider to the State with fairly rich administrative and political experience could give suggestions and advice which would be a kind of compromise of the various viewpoints and provide a solution to many knotty issues".²⁴ In this way the Governor is the coordinator of economic, legislative and administrative policies of the State as well as of the Union Government.

But the Congress has set the political

pattern of this office, in which the Governor is merely a figure-head. He was guided by the Central Government in the exercise of his powers before and after the fourth general elections or by the Chief Ministers of the States. In the year 1952, the Governor in making the Ministry of Orissa had solely acted in favour of the Congress and was guided by the Central leaders of the same party. It is reported that when the Governor Dharam Vir of Bengal was in Delhi in connection with Governors' Conference on November 10 and 11, he consulted the Central authorities regarding the future course of action. Again, the Governors of U. P., Bihar and Rajasthan acted on the same lines. It is very difficult to change this pattern, but the natural outcome of emerging events in political field may alter the whole position.

According to present needs, the Governor should be given adequate real powers by amending the Constitution or by developing the healthy conventions. And his appointment should not be made on political considerations but on a basis of merit, integrity, ability and administrative experience. With these virtues and a dynamic personality, a Governor will play a positive role as a friend, philosopher and guide of the States and act independently to become the real source of uniformity throughout the country and decisively determine the Centre-State relations in the right perspective. As K. M. Munshi put it, the Governor "is the watch-dog of the Constitutional propriety and the link which binds the State to the Centre, thus securing the unity of India".²⁵

1. K. M. Munshi, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, p. 927.
2. Mr. Ayyar, C. A. D., Vol. III, p. 454.
3. Jawaharlal Nehru, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, p. 431.
4. Alladi Krishnaswami, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, p. 432.
5. Article 200.
6. Article 31 (3), and Article 31 (A) (1).
7. Article 288 (2).
8. D. D. Basu, Vol. 6, P. 244.
9. P. Singh, "Governor's Office in Independent India", 1968, P. 141.
10. Article 31 (2) (3).
11. Article 200, Proviso (2).
12. Article 254.
13. Article 304, Proviso (b)
14. Government of India, MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS REPORT 1963-64, P. 33.
15. M. V. Pylee, INDIAN CONSTITUTION, 1962, P.240.
16. V. N. Shukla, THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT, 1962, P. 12.
17. Shri Prakash, "Governor's Role", HINDUSTAN STANDARD, (Calcutta) 3 September, 1962.
18. Article 261(I) (2).
19. K. Santhanam, UNION STATE RELATIONS IN INDIA, Bombay, 1960, P. 56.
20. Tirlok Singh, "Administrative Relations in Planning", 1962, P. 7.
21. LOK SABHA REPORTS. "India Lok Sabha Debates" (Second series), Vol. 40, 1960, col. 5682.
22. P. Singh, "Governor's Office in Independent India", 1966, P. 226.
23. Shri Prakash, "NORTHERN INDIA PATRICA", April 16, 1969.
24. V. V. Giri, NATIONAL HERALD, December 8, 1968.
25. BHAVAN'S JOURNAL, Kulpati's letter No. 103.

ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICAL RECOMMENDATION FOR GOLDEN AND JEWELLED VESSELS

Dr. (Miss.) APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

In his chapter on Rules for eating and drinking (annapanavidhi) Susruta has given a fine picture of the ideal type of method for eating or feeding one. In this description we find different items to be served in different kinds of utensils. Thus Susruta says that the clarified butter should be served in a vessel of steel (Kanta-Loha) drinks

(Peya) in silver bowls, all kinds of fruits or sweetmeats on leaves. The meat preparations known as 'parisuska' and 'pradigdha', 'mamsan' should be served on golden plates; fluid essences and meat juices in silver bowls 'katvaras' and 'khadas' in stone utensils and cool boiled milk in copper vessels. other drinks, wines and cordials should be give

in earthen pots ; 'Ragasadava' and 'Sattakaa' in cool pure glass bowls or in vessels made of crystal and 'Vaidurya' gems¹.

So in the above rules we find golden plates for meat preparations and vessels made of crystal or vaidurya gems for drinks. In Caraka Samhita it is prescribed that drinking vessels should be made of gold and silver set with jewels, and gems and should be beautiful and attractive in appearance².

The medical recommendation for golden and jewelled utensils for eating and drinking leads one to an investigation about the actual practice of the ancient Indians in using golden and jewelled vessels. The data provided by the accounts of the foreign travellers, the Dharmasastric rules and literary sources from Vedic times upto the last phase of Hindu India, prove the fact that golden and jewelled eating and drinking vessels were used in ancient times.

Megasthenes tells us that Indians ate their food from golden bowls³. We get the same information from other Greek sources. Thus Strabo as well as Appolonius tell us about the golden vessels of the Indians⁴ and we are also told about wine cups of India made of precious stones which were used at royal banquets⁵. Probably those were goblets made of crystal Vaidurya gems as prescribed by Susruta. We shall notice the use of crystal wine cups by ancient Indians in course of this article. If we examine the accounts of Hsuan Tsang another foreign traveller, who visited India several centuries later than the Greeks, we shall find that he tells us in narrating the rules and regulations relating to meals in India that Indians used vessels of gold⁶.

So far as the data found in the Dharma-

sastras are concerned we find in Manu as well as Yajnavalkya references to the use of golden vessels⁷. In both Manu and Yajnavalkya, golden vessels are mentioned along with vessels made of copper brass, tin, iron etc., in connection with the rules for purifying those vessels. Thus Manu says that a golden vessel, which shows no stain, becomes pure with water alone.....copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin and lead must be cleansed, (as may be suitable for each particular case) by alkaline substances acids or water⁸.

According to Veda-vyasa, a vessel from which to eat, may be of gold, silver, copper, or lotus or palasa leaves⁹. Vrddha Harita prescribes that the plates may be of gold, silver, or bronze or any leaf allowed by the Sastras¹⁰.

A survey of the literary sources will again provide us with references in support of the fact that ancient Indians used gold and jewelled eating and drinking vessels. The Vedic Aryans used cups of gold, as it is pointed out by a scholar on the subject¹¹. In the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad we find reference to golden cups¹². In the Vinaya texts we find costly utensils like bowls of various kinds made of beryl, crystal, gold, silver etc and some of them were painted or set with jewels. Even circular supports of bowls were made of gold or silver. It is worth-noting that most of those utensils were used by the monks, though some of those were forbidden by the Buddha. And so it can be inferred with good amount of certainty that they were used by the middle class people¹³. The Cullu-vagga refers to golden eating utensils¹⁴. In the Jataka literature we find

references to golden plates¹⁵. In the Ramayana in the description of a feast given in honour of Bharata by the sage Bharadvaja, the various items are kept in golden vassels and numerous golden bowls are kept for Bharata and his retinue¹⁶. Again in the description of Ravana's banquet hall in the Ramayana we notice golden, crystal and jewelled wine goblets and vases set with gems¹⁷. In a work on early medieval age, we notice reference to jewelled drinking vessels as found in Upamitibhava-prapancakatha¹⁸. In the Kathasaritsagara, a work of the 11th century A.D., we find golden dishes for food¹⁹, and jewelled, golden and crystal goblets for drinks²⁰. Thus we find king Udayana enjoying wine along with his queens, brought to him in vessels of gold²¹. Crystal goblets are mentioned in the same context²². In the description of a banquet we find goblets made of various jewels²³. In Ksemendra's Brhatkathamajari, a work of the same period, we find jewelled vessels for drinking wine²⁴.

So the medical recommendation for golden eating vessels and jewelled and crystal wine goblets, was followed in practice by ancient Indians. Though it was sign of prosperity and luxury to eat and drink from golden and jewelled vassels, we notice its support in medical literature as well as in the Dharma-sastras, as pointed out above.

1. graam Karsnayase deyam, peya deya tu rajate 449 Phalani Sarvabhaksyamsca Pradadyatvaidalesu tu Parisuskapradigdhanau Sauvarnesu Prakalpayet—450 Pradravani rasamscaiva rajatesupaharayet ...451. ...452 Kacasphatikapatresu Sitalesu Subhesu

ca dadyatvaiduryacitresu ragasadvatsattakan- 453. Susruta, Su, Ch. 46, 419. 453.

2. Sauvarnai rajataiscapi tatha manimayairapi

Caraka, Cikitsasthanam, Ch. XXIV, V. 14.

3. Megasthenes, XXVIII; Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Revised 2nd ed.) edited by R.C. Majumdar, P. 22.

4. Classical Account of India, P. 281, 390.

5. Classical Accounts of India, p. 403.

6. S. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 135.

7. Manu, V, 111-114, Yaj I, 182-183.

8. Nirlepam Kancanam bhandmadbbirela Visuddhati.....Manu, V, 112-114.

9. Veda-vyasa, 111, 67-68.

10. P. V. Kane. History of Dharma-sastra, Vol. 11, Pt. 11, P. 762.

11. P. Sengupta, Every day life in Ancient India. P. 41.

12. Brhad Up., 1, 1, 2.

13. The Age of Imperial Unity, P. 577.

14. Culla-vagga, V, 1, 10.

15. Sujata Jataka (Jataka No. 306); Asadisa Jataka (J. NO. 181); Sorivaniya Jataka (J. NO. 3); Jataka, Hindi Tr. By B. A. Kausalyayana. Vol. 1, P. 141.

16. Rama, Ayodhya, ch. 91, 71-72.

17. Rama, Sundara, ch. XI, 24-26.

18. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, P. 386.

19. Kss, XLII, 55.

20. Kss, CK, 125, XXI, 6, 8, 10.

21. Kss, XXI, 7.

22. Kss, XXI, 10.

23. Kss, CXI, 125.

24. BKM, IX, Vetala I, 123-125.

IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(10)

I have been digressing a bit. Getting to know him had given us a feeling of achievement, but what about HIS feelings? How could he tolerate our persistent demands? Didn't he ever feel tired or irritated? But, truly, he didn't—although, for many today, this fact may seem unbelievable, Providence had built him with the strength and proportions of a superman—abundant was his wealth, but also astounding was his capacity to give. His pleasure was in giving away so much of himself.

About this time Mr. Andrews wrote a letter to father, the last two lines of which I am tempted to quote here. He wrote, "Gurudev spoke so happily of your visit here with your daughters. He enjoyed it very much." We do not know what made him so happy. Except for a few hours' sleep and a brief respite for his meals and bath, he had his guests gathered around him all the time. No one spoke much, he had to do all the talking. But he enjoyed all this. He loved playing with young and immature minds. Our speechless, undemonstrative love and devotion never escaped his deep insight. His sincere admirers, therefore, had always received his affection. He had such a profound love for all, that it was difficult for him to ignore or distrust any one.

That year (1917) the Poet's birthday was celebrated in Santiniketan. Many (had) visited the ashram, not excluding us. As far as I remember, my parents and all my brothers and sisters had gone there that year. The train was uncomfortably crowded, as usual, but the joy of a trip to Santiniketan made us ignore all that. Sukumar babu and his wife were with us, and we also spotted Rathibabu and Pratima Devi in the train. The ladies' compartment was awfully crowded, so we shifted over to a general compartment, at a wayside station. There we, at least, had breathing space. An orgy of eating and buying food began at Burdwan junction, as usual!

Dwipu babu's horse-drawn coach and a tiny bus were awaiting us at Bolepur Station. A wooden cot was placed inside the bus for the half-a-dozen ladies. A couple of gentlemen also travelled with us. The coach carried most of the others, while a few walked all the way. Riding the bus was not much help, as it just stopped moving after about a mile. The ladies, therefore climbed on to the horse-carriage. It took us straight to Rabindranath's residence and he himself was the first to welcome us. The poet had nothing to worry about, this time, as Nepalbabu and his group of boys

were already there to take care of us. He touched his feet and greeted a few others before settling down again in Santiniketan Bhavan. We rested our tired, aching limbs and waited for our luggage that took some time coming. A slow bullock cart brought them in, at last. After a bath and light refreshments, we went out for a walk. Hearing of Santoshbabu's illness, we set out towards his house. We met Meera Devi, Kamala Devi, Dinubabu and many others on the way. After sitting a while at Santosh babu's, we rose to leave as the sky was now dark with clouds. Nearing the poet's house, we noticed him on the terrace, sitting with my father. There was a raised cement platform on the open field facing this house, where we sat down to chat. But a severe headache—an after effect of the train journey—forced me to come back alone. I lay down on a string bed in our verandah, trying to sleep off the headache. Meera Devi and my companions rushed back soon after, and they all got busy looking after me. The poet had sent them back, hearing of my illness. Embarrassed, I sat up. I did not wish to make myself conspicuous and I was already feeling much better.

We were getting ready to go out again when a small boy rushed in to inform us that a 'Bangaal Sabha' was being organised and we had been invited. We followed him eagerly, as we had heard about this gathering but had never attended its sessions. There were several invitees and the poet himself was going to be there. We met them all on the way. The poet was the first to ask me about my headache, and then

he said, "well then! let's go to the 'Bangaal Sabha'—the East Bengali dialect may lessen your misery."

It was an open-air meeting. The women and some honoured guests were to sit on a wooden bench, while the boys sat waiting on cotton rugs spread on the grass. Sukumarbabu was elected president, unanimously. Rabindranath's suggestion was that his wife Srimati Suprava should be presiding, as Sukumarbabu had lost much of his East Bengali ways by being a Calcuttan since his infancy. As Suprava was not willing to accept the honour, Sukumarbabu's position was secure. The proceedings did not take too long a time. A short story, an advertisement and a report were read out, in perfect East Bengali. Two songs were sung, one in the usual way and the other in East Bengali. Many stood up to speak but had nothing much to say except, "I have very little to say." I remember two of the speakers, Sri Sudhakarta Roychowdhury and Sri Nagendranath Ganguly. Charuchandra Bandopadhyay was present—so, he also had to speak a Madlah dialect, used by his mother's family. The president now requested the poet to speak a few words in his mother's East Bengali tongue. Rabindranath declined, saying that his limited knowledge of Khulna Bengali would not allow him to give a speech. The only two words he knew were 'Kulir ombol' and 'Mugir Dal'. Finally, the president gave a painfully correct speech which was not exactly East Bengali.

After the meeting we returned to Santiniketan Bhavan and relaxed on the terrace. Soon after the poet arrived. He asked me

whether the Bangaál Sabha had done anything to relieve my headache. He spoke for us a few words in the Birbhum dialect. He asked my mother to speak in her Bankura tongue but her extreme shyness prevented her from doing so. We wished to hear him read his recent essay 'What is Art?' He agreed, but somehow our attention got diverted. We listened to other discussions and Srimati Suprava—being herself a good singer—demanded new songs to be sung by the poet. Meanwhile, the boys were bringing our evening meal inside. Meera Devi's tiny daughter insisted on supervising the affair. As we could not sit down to eat right then, our little hostess had to be persuaded to return home. Rabindranath sat by, while his guests finished their dinner. This time fish was being served, I noticed. The poet stayed on after dinner, for a while, discussing European politics with my father.

We woke up early in the morning, listening to hymns sung by the boys. The song that they sang most often, in the morning, was 'Amarey di tomar hatey, nuton koray nuton pray.' We got up to freshen ourselves and go for a walk down the red-brown dust road. We could not go too far, as we knew that we would be called back for breakfast. The boys were already there, without food, when we returned. After the meal we went to Kamala Devi's house, where we saw the gentlemen taking their tea. Dinubabu always kept an open-house for a jam session of tea-drinking, singing and talking. The open verandah was always full of people and the session went on and on. Rabindranath stood by the verandah, talking to some guests. We went inside to visit Pratima Devi, who had

been suddenly taken ill. We were told later that the poet was going to Santiniketan Bhavan to teach the girls some new songs. We rushed out immediately and soon spotted at a distance, the poet walking towards the house. But even at a brisk pace we could not catch up with him. Some of the gentlemen guests also came along. When we reached the place, we saw the poet looking through the morning mail in the middle room, upstairs. Seeing us he said, "So, you did come, after all! I thought you might not, and that would give me an excuse to escape and say, 'I kept my word!'" The singing lessons began, but there were too many listeners, and therefore teaching suffered. We managed to hear quite a number of new compositions. He read out his new essay, "The Nation" afterwards. Later a discussion ensued, where there was talk about the national reactions to the future publication of the essay. The session drew to a close and we went home for our baths. There were only two bathrooms for the numerous guests—so we took our time. There was a general holiday mood, away from Calcutta, and a certain degree of indolence was permissible. After a length of time, all freshened up, we reached Meera Devi's place. There was a row of mud huts by the Dehali building, where some professors had their living quarters. Lunch was served for us in the cool, front porch before these rooms. This was where we first met Sukeshi Devi. She served food to us with great care and attention. Later we visited Pratima Devi, who was feeling much better. The stage-effects for the next day's play, 'Achalaytan', were strewn all around the house. The poet came in to discuss the arrangements with Dinubabu. Should he wear an ochre turban

or remain bare-headed—was his question. Dinubabu did not express any opinion, so Rabindranath asked for Kamala Devi's viewpoint before he left. We met him once again when we were returning. He promised to teach Suprava some songs and asked her to meet him after lunch. We thought that giving an after lunch song lesson would be a physical strain for the poet. But the poet said, "What I eat does not take too much space within my stomach. Do come, whenever you feel like it. I do not need to rest at all." He went upstairs after this, and we returned for our mid-day siesta.

Our lessons began at three in the afternoon and we learnt and heard many songs. During intervals, Rabindranath discussed details about the next day's play with one of the professors. He was told that the mother of one of the boys had come to see him. "Would she be willing to come before me?" he asked. We wondered how any one could be unwilling to come near him, when for most people that would be such an achievement! Our lessons being over, we went back to get ready for our evening walk. Now Santoshbabu came to inform us that Gurudev was coming back here to read out his English translation of "Prakitir Pratisodh". In those days, the upstairs' room in Santiniketan Bhavan was the largest in the ashram. All indoor meetings were, therefore, held in this room. We hurriedly removed our beddings and boxes from there and tidied it up a bit. Almost immediately afterwards, the poet arrived and sat down to wait for the listeners. Soon three unknown ladies entered the room. One of the veiled ladies knelt down by the door and greeted the poet with a 'pranam'. Rabindranath got up to welcome them in. We

found out that the same lady was the boys' mother. Then the reading began. Many liked the English rendering better than the original Bengali play. Now news came of the arrival of a new batch of lady visitors. Rabindranath got up to leave—the meeting was over—abruptly. As he left, he turned to us saying, "Please take care of the new arrivals. After they have had some food and rest, bring them to Benu-Kunja. We shall read 'Bisarjan' there". As the poet left, we saw the bullock-drawn bus coming towards the house.

"There were several guests. Some were taken to Neechu Bangla, as there was no more room here. We looked after the guests, according to the poet's wishes, and then took them all for a walk. For many of them, this was a first visit, consequently the walk took longer than expected, we did not wish to miss the play-reading, so we almost dragged the reluctant visitors to the room. The poet was already there and the audience had a large number of Calcutta visitors. Rabindranath read out the English version of his 'Bisarjan.' After the reading the poet smiled and asked the front row, "Well! How did you like it"? Before anyone could answer, he turned towards my father and said, "these people had decided even before listening to it, that it would definitely be much worse than the original." Many of the guests then humbly acknowledged their mistake. We went out for a walk afterwards.

Sri Gurusaday Dutt and his wife were going to visit the ashram that day. Kamala Devi and some others were waiting to receive them, near the raised platform facing the

poets' house. The poet himself sat on the open terrace by his room. We took a long walk down the red dust road, singing the freshly learnt songs.

We were told that a Sanskrit drama was to be staged that night. We hurried back to the ashram and saw that Gurusaday and Sarojnalini Dutt had already arrived.

The play was to have been an open-air performance, but a clouding sky changed the arrangements, and it was staged in Natyaghar. The third act from the play 'Beni Samhar' was put up. Sri Bidhu Sekhar Shastri explained the story in Bengali, before the actual performance. The students, particularly the junior section, or the Shishu Bibhag, cheered all through, with lusty shouts of "Sadhu! Sadhu"! The role of the Sutradhar was played by Sangeetacharya Bhimrao Shastri. He sang a Sanskrit hymn and left the stage after scattering flowers all around. The real play did not take

much time, so the audience requested Sukumar babu to read out his skit named 'Shabda Kalpa Drum'. There were many amusing songs, but the singers seemed to sing rather timidly.

After the play we returned for dinner. Ours was a big group this time and the poet had noticed this. When we were walking home to bed, he told us, "you are quite a crowd—be careful, don't start a fight," we slept comfortably on the open terrace that night, and did not get a chance to fight.

The morning hymns woke us up. We could hear, "Amar mukher kotha tomar ram diye dao dhuye. Before the others awoke, we had a wash and walked out. Coming near the poet's house, we saw him sitting in prayer on the terrace. When we returned from our walk, he was no more there. That day was his birthday, the boys were busy decorating the mango-grove, with leaves flowers and Aipona.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Foreign Periodicals

Vegetarian Food in Holland

P. N. Agarwal, of Allahabad, writing in *The Netherlands*, a monthly journal published by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Delhi tells a very interesting story of a vegetarian's experience in Holland. We reproduce it below.

Strict vegetarian food without eggs, fish or meat is no problem in Holland. But one has to instruct the waiter carefully when ordering a vegetarian meal since in several European countries eggs or fish both are considered as part of a vegetarian diet. And the vegetarian movement almost everywhere in Europe considers lifeless eggs as a natural part of it. The waiter will not dare to question you, but Dutch friends if present in your party, will with their traditional curiosity and usual cheerful way of life ask whether you take milk butter or cheese. Some waiters take that initiative themselves but you'd better instruct them straightaway. The result will be choicest vegetarian dishes peculiar to Dutch life and not known to us. Taste for yourself!

Holland is well known for its dairy and agricultural products and some people, while taking a view of this little but wonderful country, forget that its industrial development is by no means less. In fact, both of these made the Netherlands, which means Land Below Sea-level for a very good part of this country has been taken over from the sea, after a really hard and tough battle with it during the last centuries. And the fight with the sea still continues...It is a unique sight and a most thrilling experience to see Dutchmen fighting with the mighty sea to reclaim land from it by pushing its waves back. And to drive on the roads in these areas. And to live and to eat several feet below sea-level.

This depth differs in different parts of the country.

Love for flowers and vegetables is very much marked in the life of the Dutch people and an Indian visitor will be surprised to find flowers everywhere, particularly in the countryside or in residential areas where every house is surrounded with flowering shrubs and trees and where the house within is decorated with flowers.

Returning to my subject, the potato is an important vegetable in this country; as a matter of fact, it is not considered a vegetable at all. And numerous are the preparations made from it. Our Indian housewives may be surprised to find several new appetising dishes. Fruit juices, canned fruits as well as fresh ones are found in abundance all the year round and in a far greater variety than in India. Even in out-of-the-way villages or places vegetarian dishes are not difficult to get. The Dutchmen themselves are also very fond of them. Early in springtime when Dutch fresh fruits are not available, you'll find fruit in good quantities as they are imported from all over the world. Dutch bread and butter with fresh orange juice, with slices of different types of canned fruit, with coffee or tea, used to make a delicious appetising breakfast for me, often served by a Dutch or Finnish girl (Holland has plenty of foreign workers), of course English-speaking.

Lunches and dinners and often afternoon tea (as such not known in Holland), I often used to have outside my hotel's restaurant in areas where I happened to be about at that time of the day. Smiling on my repetition of the above-mentioned phrase to the waiters, they often suggested some other good dishes for me. By that time it had become a habit

already to add "Cheese butter and milk products no objection". This enabled me to taste Dutch curd, which I soon took with every meal. Fruit compote made from different fresh or canned fruits was my favourite and on the whole I never had any difficulty in getting that during my stay. Milk at bed-time was also most delicious and I enjoyed drinking lukewarm milk with a little bit of sugar in it,

But a surprise, and I must say a disappointing one, I met at the KLM-plane. As a matter of fact, although before boarding the plane I was told that a vegetarian meal would be available on board, yet it was not. What ever the explanation is for that I don't know, but in this respect KLM proved careless in sharp contrast with my experiences with many other airlines.

But in spite of this unpleasant experience I had a very good time in Holland and strict vegetarian food was no problem. Other Indian visitors can and should be extra emphatic in stressing their point of view to get a proper full vegetarian meal (in particular with KLM). But I am sure that they will return with most bewildering impressions and experiences, all of which will make them a true friend and admirer of Holland for all times to come!

Filth Control

Human beings by their developing industrial civilisation and modern way of living, are creating problems as fast as they are being solved by the growth of new discoveries and inventions. The latest danger on the horizon of life is air and water pollution and filling up the surface of the earth with industrial waste and the refuse heaps created by men who throw away empty cans, cartons, bottles, old news paper, packings, rusty nails, bits

of wire, tinsel and a million other things. The *New Statesman* says:

"It is no good telling car-owners that they have made a mistake, that they would really be happier without the individual mobility which a car gives them. The more people have cars, the less worth having each car is; and the more polluted the air, the more crowded the roads, the less pleasing the cities.

Developing the theme the same journal expounds socialist ideals of the truly useful conserving and progressive variety:

"A socialist society should use its resources properly: it should produce wealth, use energy keep moving. It should also observe standards of excellence: not just free schools, not just high productivity but production of things that people need. And it should do its best to ensure that these things are fairly distributed...these principles apply just as urgently to the buildings we work or live in (or look at), to the land scape we see from a train or bus, to the air we breathe."

In other words it is a paramount socialist objective to make the world a better place to live in; a cleaner, safer, healthier and more comfortable place; but to assure to posterity that the world shall continue to be a good place for human beings to live in.

Those human societies which have no faith in common ownership of the means of production and lay greater stress on individual rights, have also a very great desire to drink and breathe clean water and air. Sweden perhaps has better arrangements for keeping its land, water and air regions free from noxious contents and for the introduction of sound health rules, than most socialist countries of the world. There is a strong move in that country now to control the use of pesticides. The poisons used for these insect and vermin killers eventually get into human

food through birds, fish, cattle, sheep, vegetables, fruits etc. etc.

We have said before this that we light too many fires for cooking in India. Greater use of electricity can prevent this. The generation of power by using the energy of flowing water, tides and air currents can further reduce the burning of coal and oil and thus check air pollution.

Possibility of a Sino—Soviet War

The Guardian Weekly says: "For the new year and the new decade, one threat which stands out is that of a nuclear war between the Soviet Union and China. The Western nations cannot draw comfort from the prospect of such a war. To connive at a nuclear holocaust because it happens in Asia would be the depth of political immorality; it would destroy the moral credibility of any statesman who did so. And once the prevailing taboo on the use of nuclear weapons was broken it would be harder to restore elsewhere. The nuclear fallout from such a war would threaten huge areas of Asia with destruction. The political fallout would be greater, and even less calculable. If the Russians should win, the West would eventually be confronted with a monolith more powerful and more threatening than before. That the Russians and Chinese contemplate war is less fantastic and less irrational than it seems. Ideological and personal differences between Peking and the Kremlin are not as important as the economic and demographic pressures that threaten to drive the Chinese northwards into the empty spaces of Soviet Central Asia. On the Russian side there is the calculation that in nuclear terms China is still weak and the consequent temptation to launch a preemptive strike. And under the rational arguments lie deeper passions, generated by racial feelings and centuries of conflict and demonstrated by the

manner in which recent border clashes have produced more heat than light, even among otherwise 'liberal' Soviet intellectuals. Emotional antipathy as deep as this can be more decisive in generating war than rational arguments."

Israeli Air Raids Increasing

Guardian Weekly Publishes the following:

"They say they won the War: They didn't they can't and they won't." Thus one of President Nasser's advisers, talking in Cairo a couple of weeks ago. The Israelis, he said, could not cross the Suez Canal in 1967. Nor, in his view, could they cross it now. They controlled the air over the Canal and they could make hit and run raids almost anywhere in Egypt....But in the time, even if it was a long time, the Arab armies would be ready to hit back.

That was his theme. Is it sound?...General Dayan plainly intends to prevent Egypt from ever recovering. Spectacular exploits by his air force and Israeli commandos are used to upset and demoralise the Egyptians, and to show the Russians that supplying advanced equipment is a waste. Within the past few days Israeli air attacks have struck Egyptian military camps within 20 miles of Cairo, as well as a supply centre close to the steel works at Helwan....

To return to the Presidential adviser. "We know it will be a long struggle," he said, "We are ready for that."

North Vietnam Increasing Forces

Ian Wright writing for the *Guardian Weekly* from Saigon says "There are now six times the number of North Vietnamese soldiers in the Mekong Delta than there were last May, and according to official American sources, the build up is still going on. It used to be said that in the Delta the Communists wanted parity with the Government regular troops

ARVN); now it is believed they are aiming for numerical superiority."

There are various interpretations of all these movements and of improvements made in the air defence of the lines of communications leading from North to South Vietnam. One is that the North Vietnamese soldiers are infiltrating and filling the ranks of the Vietcong. Another is that there are plans of large scale operations in the near future. Of course nobody can rest much faith on American official estimates of troop movements nor on the guesses they make about the purpose of the alleged movements.

Are Labour Turning Middle Class in Britain ?

Alan Watkins writing in *New Statesman* analyses the mental outlook (political) of affluent Labour. Are they becoming middle class in outlook or are they retaining their class outlook? Would more and more of them vote conservative due to earning higher incomes? Some say this and some say that "Mr. Lockwood put it most succinctly when he wrote, 'A spin-drier is a spin-drier is a spin-drier'." No matter what he earned. More and more of working class people would become middle class in point of earnings but would they become conservative in their outlook? They would not, so think some authorities because their conditions of work will not permit them to consider themselves equal to the professional groups. These latter people are not subjected to such rigid rules and regulations as the factory workers. Teachers may form trade unions but they would insist on their rights and privileges, as accrue to teachers. Staff employees will move more or less with the officer class and they will work in condition and under terms which will be easier and more advantageous than what workers enjoy. So that "high wages, and a consequent acquisition of consumer goods

"would not" lead individuals and families to identify themselves with the middle class."

"... Unofficial strikes are almost always a denial of wider group values. They are an assertion of individuality." And such strikes are more common with middle class employees.

But working class people formerly accepted many things in an unquestioning manner which they are now objecting to. High Taxes, for instance, are now found objectionable by workers in spite of the fact that the extra taxes "contributed towards worthy social objectives." This new psychological development was middle class in nature. Middle class employees had perks, expense accounts, expense allowances, travelling expenses, pensions etc. which working class employees did not have. Workers had to pay taxes on all earnings. They therefore are now developing opinions on the economic justice of taxation systems and their other rights. "Sydney Smith" once observed 'In England it is considered monstrous impertinence for any one of under £3000 a year to have any opinions on any subject whatever.' This permitted many injustices to working class people to go unchallenged. "A reluctance to be fooled by politicians" is fast growing and deference is dying.

Art Collections in the History of Rome.

Speaking on the occasion of the 2722nd anniversary of the foundation of Rome, Professor Bruno Molajoli, Director general of the Department of Antiquities and Fine Arts spoke about ART PATRONS AND COLLECTIONS IN HISTORY OF ROME. We are reproducing portions from his speech as published in ITALY, a two monthly review.

What may be compared with the great, majestic, fluid existence of Rome? What may be compared with her imperial policy, the strength of her laws, her philosophy, her

poetry, her architecture and her civilization? What may be compared with her collections of art that adorned private homes, the public buildings, the temples and the country villas, collections that appeared and disappeared according to the changing fortunes of those who took the name of "mecenati" from an aulic and imperial Councillor and who were often popes and emperors, cardinals and princes, warriors and lawyers, bankers or merchants? Yet, those collections were mirrors of their times, and they truly reflect the ideas, aspirations and the conquests as well as taste and habits, making them live long after the conclusion of temporal happenings.

In her history, Rome offers a paradigmatic picture of this passion for art collections. She has been responsible for the move towards those stupendous creations that have taken place in Italy and elsewhere in Europe right up to the present day. It is a historical fact, and not the result of wishful thinking, that the modern passion for collecting with all its cultural and social implications, has been inherited from Rome.

The gardens of Lucullus, on the slopes of the Pincio (where Villa Medici was to be built later) have been described by Plutarch. They were filled with magnificent statues in the same way as the Orti Sallustiani on the Quirinal hill, the gardens of Pompeius on the Janiculum hill and the gardens of many other imperial and private villas on the outskirts of Rome. Famous sculptures that are now the proud boast of the museums of Rome and Europe undoubtedly once belonged to these collections. At the time of Augustus, picture galleries were so common that Vitruvius felt

himself obliged to include a room on the north side of the homes he designed for patricians—an early example of planning that still holds good—to house what was then known as the "pinacotheca".

It was during Roman times that the initial, timid understanding of the value of a work of art on a collective scale became apparent, a conception that has assumed the maximum importance today. This proclaimed a progressive interest—and it later became a right—in enjoyment of the masterpieces wrested from conquered peoples. These became "MONUMENTA VICTORIAE", "RES POPULI ROMANI", placed on public monuments or premises or used to decorate the buildings of the city. Pliny tells of the remonstrations of the Roman people who forced Tiberius to transfer a marble group of Lisippo from his own residence to the baths built by Agrippa. But this right of public enjoyment was also extended to monuments erected on open ground by private citizens or which were constructed to commemorate some event or happening and even collections in private homes were not exempt. Pliny again testifies to the moving appeal that Marcus Agrippa made openly to the wealthy citizens of Rome, asking them not to hide their collections of art in their own villas but to make them available to everyone. Although no legal compulsion was involved, this episode was a forerunner of what was to happen much later.

It is not possible to give even short details of the faith of the numerous private collections in Rome, of which Ulisse Aldovrandi, in 1550, mentioned about one hundred. A century later, many of them had

passed to the ownership of the Colonna, Borghese, Barberini, Giustiniani, Ludovisi, Pallavicini, Rospigliosi, Sacchetti, Aldobrandini, Pamphili, Odescalchi and Chigi families, to be added to those new collections that the princely families of the old and new aristocracy—whose fortunes were closely connected with those of the papacy—were forming either for love of art, reasons of prestige or dynastic rivalry.

The Vatican collections, neglected because of the desire to create family riches, began to grow as the others contracted. The popes were aware of the need for erudite learning which was becoming more and more obvious as even foreign countries developed new interest in archaeology and study of ancient times. But there was also serious preoccupation over the fate of the treasures that various Pontiffs had donated to their relations and which were in danger of being sent away from Rome to satisfy the pride of foreign monarchs and princes, many of them of Protestant faith, or members of the middle class society that was expanding all over Europe.

The transfer of over 1,300 sculptures belonging to the Giustiniani family to England in 1720, the marble sculptures of the Odescalchi family to Spain in 1723, the Chigi collection to Poland in 1728 and 30 statues of Cardinal Albani a little later, gave rise to fears of a general liquidation and provoked a strong desire to put an end to such losses.

Pope Benedict XIV (Lambertini) may be considered as the real founder of the new Vatican museum; Clement XIV and Pius VI (Braschi) were responsible for the new Pio-Clementino Museum, Giambattista and Ennio Quirino Visconti provided a great deal of information about the immense collection owned by the Vatican, the new wing, the picture gallery and the Gallery of Tapestries were enlarged at the beginning of the last century, during the reign of Pope Pius VII and under the direction of Antonio Canova, three other museums were opened later and other new innovations introduced, all steps which have led up to the presentation of the immense wealth of ancient and modern art as we know it today.

We must mention the slender ranks of those who, with their donations to the public museums of Rome and other parts of Italy, have helped to keep alive the noble traditions of private patronage. Among those who should be remembered are Giovanni Baraccè, Prince Doria Pamphili, Prince Basilio Lammermann, Countess Pecori Giraldi di Frascara, Count Cardelli, Ambassador Auriti, Eugenio di Castro, Dimitri Sursok, Duke of Cervinara, Pietro Canonica, Carlo and Marcello Sestieri and the Marchioness Gagliardi di Francia. The thread of history which we have followed today continues for them.

India had a long art history and in spite of the vandalism of Moslem conquerors and the apathy of the general public in India towards their national duty in the sphere of protecting historical and cultural monuments and conserving objects of great artistic and antiquarian value; India had a tremendous number of temples, memorials, palaces, forts; statues of stone, bronze and Terracotta; mural paintings and miniatures; gold, silver, brass, gem set and enamelled ornaments; weapons of rare design and superb quality; textiles of various descriptions including wonderful shawls, carpets, brocade; and, objects made of ivory, conch shell, horn etc. etc. during the time the British occupied India. From the beginning of her political contact with European nations, India began to lose art treasures of great value for the reason that Europeans valued these things more than the Indians did. This has been going on for nearly two hundred years; but India still has enough material to fill a number of great museums. Unfortunately, the heads of the Indian political parties have not shown any great and profound appreciation of India's ancient culture. Some have gone all out for outlandish political philosophy while others have shown a deep attachment to Hindu or Muslim superstition or the fads or fancies of the so called moderns of the West. The above remarks of professor Molajoli may help some Indians to recover their lost sanity.

Indian Periodicals

Maithili : A Great Language

Ramanath Jha contributed a paper on the problem of Maithili to the Seminar on Languages organised by the Sahitya Academy which has been reproduced in INDIAN LITERATURE, published by Sahitya Academy, Calcutta. We are quoting certain portions from this paper.

AMONG THE LANGUAGES represented on Sahitya Akademi, Maithili stands in a peculiar predicament. It is spoken by nearly one third of the people of the State of Bihar, almost all over North Bihar, and parts of the South also. It is the only one of the three indigenous languages of the State that has a literary tradition dating back to the 8th century, and all the Universities of the State have recognised it as a subject of teaching and examination. But most unfortunately, Maithili has not yet been recognised as a regional language by the Government of Bihar and does not receive any aid, grant or encouragement for its development, as a result of which it is literally being starved. It is systematically and deliberately being ignored, if not suppressed, at home. The recognition by Sahitya Akademi has given Maithili only the status ; it still lacks the political recognition which seems now essential for the removal of all those disabilities from which it suffers and which stand in its growth and development.

It may sound surprising to my learned friends of Sahitya Akademi, but it is a fact,

that among those who count in the political life of Bihar there are people, no matter to which political party they belong, who still labour under the delusion, or allow themselves to be deluded, that Maithili is not a language but only a dialect of Hindi. The recognition by Sahitya Akademi accorded after a thorough consideration of the matter does not seem to have any effect on these diehard protagonists of Hindi who would sacrifice Maithili at the altar of the national language. Speakers of Maithili are not antagonistic to Hindi. Their contribution to Hindi has not been less either in quality or in quantity than that of any other non-Hindi speaking people of India. Yatriji who has won the last award in Maithili is renowned as Nagarjun in the field of Hindi literature also. We do not believe that there is any antagonism between the national language and our own native language, but the planned and deliberate antagonism of non-Maithili speaking politicians and lovers of Hindi still continues to oppose the cause of Maithili in the name of the national language.

Whenever there is any talk about the amelioration of Maithili language and literature, the Government of Bihar brings forth the cases of Magahi and Bhojpuri, the other two indigenous languages of Bihar. We sincerely wish that they, too, should prosper and flourish, but their cases are different from ours. We are represented on the Sahitya Akademi and Universities of Bihar have

recognised Maithili for teaching and examination. Bhojpuri and Magahi have still to achieve that. But because they have not yet that status, Maithili is being denied the privileges which it deserves from the State Government.

In the field of education, it has been the settled policy of the Government of India that primary education should be imparted through the mother tongue. The Government of Bihar conceded this privilege to Maithili more than ten years ago but primary education to our children is not yet imparted in Maithili because there are no books available. The Government of Bihar publishes books for the primary classes and does not permit the use of books printed privately. No books are published in Maithili and therefore no teaching in Maithili is possible.

At the secondary stage, Maithili is recognised as a Modern Indian Language and our boys who read Maithili have to appear in Rashtrabhasha paper of a lower standard. This privilege is allowed to our boys along with students of Bengali, Urdu, Nepali, Orya, Santali and all the minority languages of Bihar. But students of other minority languages have the privilege of writing their answers in other papers also in their own language while students of Maithili have to write in Hindi, like students who read Hindi of a higher standard. Maithili is not given the status of even a minority language there.

This is the case with the University also, though in all the Universities of Bihar there is provision of examination and teaching of Maithili up to the M. A. standard. In course of the last six years more than a dozen theses in Maithili have been approved

for the Ph. D. and D. Lit. degrees. Still there is no provision of Maithili in the examinations held by the Public Service Commission of Bihar. More than twelve years ago when Maithili was recognised for the M. A. Examination, the then Chairman of the Bihar Public Service Commission wrote to the Government recommending the inclusion of Maithili in the curricula of the State public examinations but nothing has been done to implement it, with the result that post-graduate teaching of Maithili is losing its popularity and our young men are getting desperate.

The Government of Bihar has established the Rashtrabhasha Parishad at Patna at a great cost and it is doing very valuable work indeed, of which all of us of Bihar are really proud. But the same Government has not spent a single pie up till now for cause of Maithili.

[The writer's reference to Hindi as the National Language is erroneous. Hindi is the official or State language of India. Rashtrabhasha means that and not national language, the correct name for which would be Jatiyabhasha or Sarbajaninbhasha. The peoples of India speak many languages; all of which, including Maithili are India's National Languages. It is quite common among Hindi speaking peoples to ascribe to Hindi the distinction of being our National Language WHICH IT IS NOT. If people remembered that Hindi written in the Devanagri Script was only a State language for use in governmental offices; Hindi speakers would cease to suffer from thoughts of any undue glorification of their language. India's culture and civilisation developed in the past with Sanskrit as their medium

of linguistic expression. Thereafter various languages took the place of Sankrit. Among these the most prominent were Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Maharastrian, Gujrati and Bengali. Hindi never played any important part in India's political, economic and cultural development, and still does not. Official publications cannot build a civilisation.)

How China looks at Japan

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MAINLAND CHINA published by the American Embassy New Delhi publishes an analysis by prof. S. W. Siman of Sino Japanese relations. We reproduce one portion from this analytical survey.

The only Asian state perceived by China to be a serious military and economic rival is Japan. As a status quo power bent on internal development and the enhancement of regional stability through the maintenance of noncommunist neighbors, Tokyo presents a long-term obstacle to Peking's ambitions for regional influence. Chinese foreign-policy makers seem particularly sensitive to Japan's efforts at regional leadership through such organizations as the Asia-Pacific Council (ASPAC) and its hosting of a number of regional conferences beginning in 1966, all of which have been described by Peking as "an attempt to build the so-called 'Asian and Pacific community,' an anti-China area stretching from South Korea to Australia and New Zealand." Nor has Peking been reassured by Japan's rearmament plans, its recent naval cruises in Southeast Asian waters, or the projected return of Okinawa to Japanese political control, since these developments are interpreted as enhancing

Tokyo's military capability. Japan's rearmament is assessed by Chinese media in the omnipresent context of collusive efforts with the United States and Soviet Union. Peking has complained. :

At the instigation of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, the Japanese reactionaries gradually changed their military deployment from Hokkaido which is near the Soviet Union to Kyushu which is near China. Corresponding military deployment was also made by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

The fact that Soviet, Japanese, and American fleets are all now plying the waters surrounding China has led to Peking's claim of being threatened with both land and sea encirclement.

Developing Talent in Bulgaria

NEWS FROM BULGARIA, published by the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, New Delhi describes how talented boys and girls receive great encouragement from the Bulgarian State Government to develop their latent cultural abilities. We reproduce below the account of the institution set up for this purpose in Sofia.

THE Pioneers Palace, in one of the most beautiful spots in Sofia, is a place where gifted young people are formed and trained. It is less than 25 years since it was founded yet dozens of talented young people have already gained a firm foothold in the world of music and art in its rehearsal halls and are adding to the reputation of Bulgaria abroad, spreading her renown to all parts of the world. Very few are the countries in which either a big or a small circle of people have not yet read or heard about the unusual

achievements of the Bodra Smyana Children's Choir or about the Young Pioneers' Symphony Orchestra. The little nightingales of Bulgaria have toured a dozen countries and left unforgettable impressions on all who were fortunate enough to listen to them. At almost all the international competitions the Bodra Smyana Pioneers' Choir carry off the biggest prizes. The same can be said about the pioneers' Symphony Orchestra. It was applauded everywhere with unheard of ovations and the notices about it in the press were brilliant.

But this is only part of the high achievements of the Pioneers' palace.

There are about 4,000 Bulgarian Pioneers in the other ensembles at the Pioneers' palace. They are all children up to the age of 14, mainly the sons and daughters of industrial workers and office employees. In other words, they are children of the people, who are given every opportunity of knowing that they can work systematically and diligently and of developing their talent in all fields of the country's cultural life—singing, dancing, building, drawing, playing instruments, and telling stories, in brief to display their talent from an early age.

The Pioneers are interested in very different things. Some take up aircraft modelling. They build and make with their own hands models of different kinds of planes and listen to the interesting lectures given by well-known pilots. Others are bent over models of ships. They are full of eagerness to know about different kinds of ships and love to listen to talks about interesting voyages across the sea. It is almost sure that some of them will not only dream of becoming but will actually

become captains of ships sailing to distant shores in a few years time.

In one of the halls the radio fans diligently study the parts of a radio-station and how to manipulate it. When they learn this, they will be happy and pleasantly thrilled to establish contact with similar Pioneer amateur radio-stations scattered all over the world.

It is very interesting in the astronautics hall. Boys are very fond of astronautics and many of them dream of flying tomorrow in the starry skies. That may happen some day, of course.

The children also find chemistry a very interesting science. In the laboratory there is always a group of Pioneers around the chemist. They listen to him speaking about the magical nature of chemistry, how synthetic fibres, petrol, etc., are obtained.

Young ballet dancers diligently study folk and classic dances under the guidance of experienced choreographers. In the not too distant future they will surely spread the renown of our country throughout the world, as did Vera Kirova, who learned ballet dancing first as a Pioneer in the Pioneers' Palace and who is now prima ballerina in the Sofia National Opera.

The young artists from the Pioneer Palace have also gained fame. They are happy not only at being able to see among them the best-known Bulgarian painters and sculptors, such as Stoyan Venev, Sotir Sotirov and Tenyo Pindarev, but also because their works were awarded high prizes and a great deal of praise at many exhibitions in India, Japan, Great Britain, and other countries.

In Friendship Hall it is not less interesting. Here the Pioneers listen to entertain-

ing talks about the life of the Pioneers in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries.

It is always pleasant to enter the Young Pioneers' Palace and experience the creative atmosphere in which the gifted young people are formed—the young people, the greatest wealth of a country.

Social Insurance in Bulgaria

Prof. Ivan Katsarov writes in *News From Bulgaria*—

PRIOR to September 9, 1944, social insurance in Bulgaria was not well developed and not general. The pensions of state employees—in actual fact the greatest attainment in this sphere, were devaluated to a great extent by the steadily rising prices during the Second World War. The indemnities paid from the social insurance fund to workers and employees in the private sector were quite insignificant.

The social insurance system in our country was in need of a fundamental reconstruction. This important task was fulfilled by the people's government, under the wise instructions of Georgi Dimitrov.

The reconstruction was carried out in three main directions: extension of the scope of pensions, improvement of the terms on which pensions could be received, and an increase in the rate of the pensions.

A reform of great importance and with a tremendous social and financial effect was carried out in 1946: the length of service, whether in private or state enterprises or offices, was to be taken into consideration in determining the rate of a pension. As a result of this, thousands of working people with years of mixed service (private, state,

etc.) have been granted pensions. The same year the scope of the farmers' pensions was extended and made to include women when they reached the age of 55 years. Thus with this reform our social insurance already covered 1,500,000 more people.

In 1947, state employees were granted indemnities in cases of illness. Before this they had been granted only retirement pensions. A little later, such indemnities were also granted to the members of their families.

A great reform in social insurance and the granting of pensions was carried out in 1948-49. The numerous (over 80) norms were codified, the recipients were unified and the various schemes for granting indemnities and pensions to state and non-state employees were abolished, a general social insurance system was set up, the conditions on which pensions could be received were improved and the pensions were revised and reestimated in accordance with the 1949 wages. In this way, social insurance and pensions were reconstructed along socialist lines. A historic reform was carried through in public health services, in 1951, when a nation-wide system of free medical aid was introduced, a system similar to that in the USSR. It embraces all the methods and remedies known to medical science and practice and every citizen has the right to this free medical aid.

A great reform, pertaining to all kinds of pensions, was carried in 1957. The new pensions, for which the required maximum length of service is from 21 to 30 years, vary from 66.6 per cent (for wages above 220 leva) to 89.6 per cent (for wages up to 60 leva).

Also in 1957 the Government granted

pensions to farmers. The range of the pensions has been extended and the rates increased many times since then.

Today social insurance in our country, which numbers 8,000,000 inhabitants, covers about 4,500,000 workers, employees, co-operative farmers, members of producers' co-operatives, free-lancers and persons in other social groups, i.e. practically the entire working population. Nearly 1,500,000 persons are receiving pensions at present. After the death of persons who are insured or pensioners, their relatives receive dependants' pensions.

Every citizen in our country is entitled to social insurance.

Polish Help to Indian Mining Industry

POLISH FACTS ON FILE published by Jerzy Prtalinski from New Delhi publishes the following facts.

Poland supplies India with considerable assistance in the development of her industry and national economy. In Bihar, two teams of Polish specialists supervise the construction of collieries which will supply the Bokaro iron and steel plant with coking coal.

Polish mining engineers and foremen celebrated recently at the Sudmadih coalmine, together with their Indian colleagues, the extraction of the 100,000th ton of coal.

The mine whose full capacity is to amount to 2.2 million tons of coal a year is still

under construction, but it will probably reach one-half of its final extracting capacity in 1972-73. Nearly all machines and installations working in this coalmine have been built in Poland.

The construction of another mine in Monidih is supervised by Polish specialists. Its planned capacity is 2.5 million tons of coal a year.

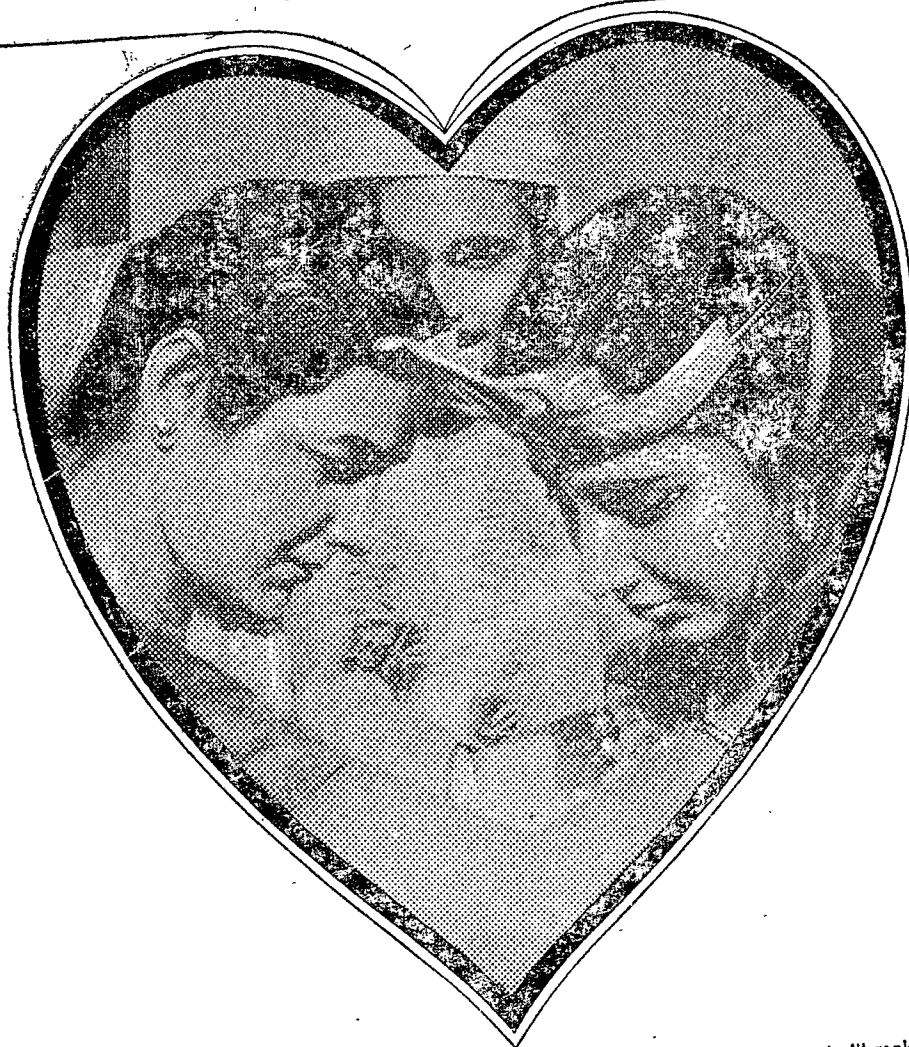
A coal dressing plant designed by the team of Engineer Jan Wolniezak from the "SEPARATOR" enterprise in Katowice has been built in Gidi.

Six Polish specialists are supervising the assembly and commissioning of the Polish installations. When the work is completed, probably at the close of next year, the plant will be able to dress 800 tons of coal per hour.

These three establishments are being built by Poles for the Indian National Coal Development Corporation.

A 21-member team of Polish engineers and foremen is supervising the assembly of a second block of 50 mw in a power station. The first block of the Barauni Power Station (the turbine from Elblag and the generator from Wroclaw) was put into operation on October 2nd this year, produces already 30 mw of power. Another power plant is under construction at Nagpur. In Madras a factory of cellular concrete is under construction.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RENAISSANCE TO MILITANT NATIONALISM IN INDIA : Author Dr. Sankar Ghosh, Published by Allied Publishers Pr. Ltd., 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Dmy Oct PP. 387+XII, cloth gilt, jacket price Rs 25.00. The Renaissance in India is closely connected with the discovery of the Cape route to India by the Western navigator Vasco da Gama in 1498 A. D. Thereafter during the first two centuries of European contact with India; efforts were made by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Danes and the French to establish trade relations with India. The factories set up by Europeans in various parts of India played a significant part in creating Indo-European cultural relations, but, due to lack of outstanding incidents and personal acts, we have no clear knowledge of how things developed during this early period. The ground work for the Renaissance must have been done then. The author describes the Renaissance from the time of Rammohun Roy and deals with the various movements that followed up to the time of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a well written book and deserves the attention of scholars as well as of general readers.

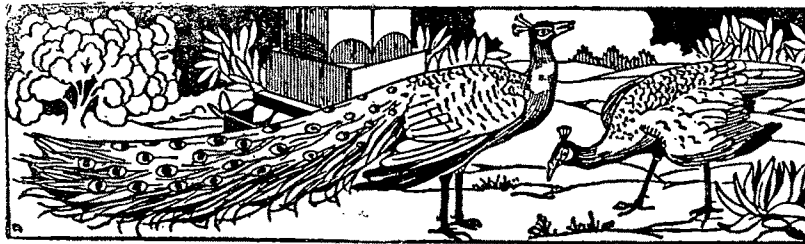
SLENDER WAS THE THREAD: By Lt. Gen. L. P. Sen D. S. O., being an account of the Kashmir confrontation 1947-48, published by Orient Longman Ltd. PP 308+XII, illustration plates and maps, cloth art jacket Price Rs 27.50. Lt. Gen. L. P. Sen was a

Brigadier when he was ordered to take command of the famous 161 Indian Infantry Brigade which was air lifted to Srinagar for the protection of Kashmir from the hands of Pakistani and Tribal marauders. These invaders were thrown back by the 161 Brigade which fought many spectacular battles in a cleverly courageous manner. The Indian Army was for the first time fighting under the command of only Indian officers and they proved themselves masters of strategy and tactics. The c. in c. at Delhi was still a British General who did not prove himself to be of great assistance in enabling the Indian Army to win victories. In fact his interference with the plans of the soldiers on the spot helped the Pakistanis to stay on in some parts of Kashmir when cease fire was called by the U. N. The Brigade fought an enemy vastly superior in numbers and it could never get enough soldiers to protect its gains and to prevent counter attacks by the Pakistanis. According to General Sen, the same sort of thing happened in the N. E. F. A. when the Chinese attacked there with four Divisions of troops. The Indian Army corps in the N. E. F. A. was a corps in name only. It had a mere four Brigades there to fight four Divisions over 600 miles of the most difficult terrain. In 1965, when Pakistan attacked India in full force and with arms procured from America, India had more soldiers and better equipment than she had

in 1962. She could therefore throw back the Pakistanis again in a spectacular manner. The exploits of the 161 Brigade in Kashmir in 1947-48, however is something that students of military history should make a special note of. It was a brigade put together in great hurry out of available bits and pieces, so to speak; air lifted into a cold mountainous country with not even proper clothing and it had to face unknown enemies of unknown strength, coming over a wide and little known territory. The

Brigade had to face great odds and did its work gallantly, unflinchingly, tenaciously and with great ability in point of generalship and craft. Had the Army H. Q. been properly cooperative the Brigade would have entirely cleared the territory of Pakistanis and the so-called tribal brigands.

The book is very well written and should be read by all who wish to understand the job that the Indian fighting services do for the protection of our Motherland.



The Modern Review

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Founded by : The Late Ramananda Chatterjee

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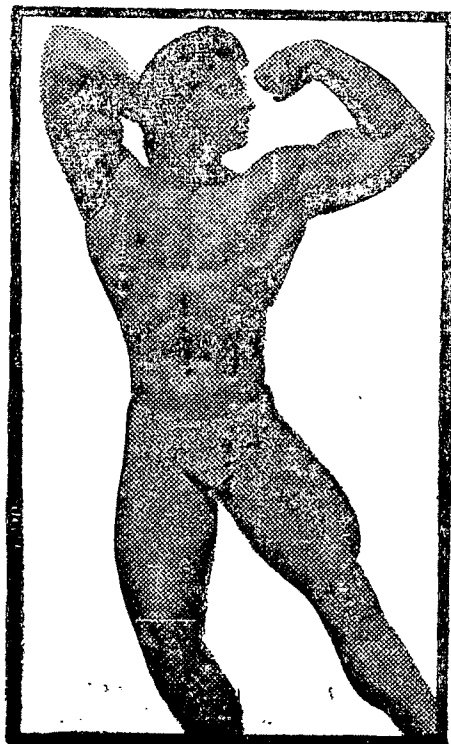
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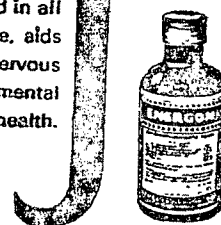
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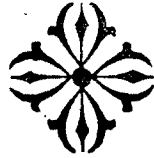


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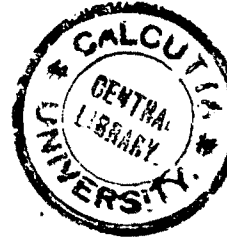
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NOTES

Law and Order in West Bengal

The American cynics are of the opinion that there are three grades of lies : Lies, D—d Lies and Statistics. In other words in the land of statistics, which the U.S.A. can be described to be, facts and figures are commonly cited to create a wrong valuation of almost anything. And knowledgeable persons therefore, donot give unconditional credence to statistical tables. Facts and figures can be cooked, and often are ; so that one cannot go by the numbers, per centages and the co-relational conclusions which are presented by interested propagandists. In India, there is more faith in statistics as well as in the printed letter. People say usually and quite whole heartedly that they believe in such and such because they found such and such described as facts in a newspaper. If the information emanates from official sources the faith of the people is greatly strengthened in it. Relying on this many assertions had been made in the past in official publications which later on were found to be untrue. Pandit Nehru's publications relating to the wide spread character of Hindi as a language, for instance, were mostly based on alleged facts and figures which were thoroughly incorrect and were falsely interpreted to suit an official purpose. In those publications

numerous languages, including Punjabi, were labelled as Hindi to prove that nearly half the people of India had Hindi as their language. Maithili, Bhojpuri, Maghdi and various other languages were all Hindi. But when this misuse of linguistic facts and figures was challenged, the official publications stopped their unjustified publication of false information. Punjab was later divided on a linguistic basis which proved to the hilt the fact that Punjabi was clearly and definitely a separate language. No doubt, everybody knew that the Punjabies spoke Punjabi and not Hindi ; but even now some Punjabies are described as Hindi speaking for political reasons. Another peculiar misuse of well known facts is the reference to Hindi as the *National Language* of India. This is being steadily done by ignorant and dishonest persons. The Indian Nation has no single National language, there being many languages in India. Hindi has been accepted as the state language or as *Rashtrabhasha* which is hardly the same thing as national language or *jatiyabhasha*.

Official publication of alleged facts and figures under our national government can therefore be utterly misleading whenever the government have a purpose in giving wrong information. The British used to do such false

propaganda on a grand scale. A good example was the man made famine of 1943, when several hundred thousand persons died of starvation in West and East Bengal. The British published false figures all through those dreadful months to make things appear not so hideously criminal against themselves. The British of course had been guilty of many political crimes and had always published things to suit their own propaganda. A very early example was the Black Hole of Calcutta story in which the Muslim Nawab of Bengal was accused of causing the death of numerous British prisoners whom his officers allegedly shut up in an impossibly small cell in which they were suffocated to death. The prisoners were named and most of them were discovered to be alive in Britain long after the so called incident. In fact the whole story was a concocted one and the Black Hole monument was demolished by the British, under pressure of public opinion organised by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The story however is recounted by British writers even to this day.

The recent failure of the Congress party to remain in power in the state of W. Bengal has brought about the formation of a coalition of fourteen political parties in this state who have undertaken to govern W. Bengal under the leadership of the Bangla Congress chief Sri Ajoy Mukherjee. From the beginning the present United Front Government have taken up an attitude towards certain types of lawlessness which encouraged people to act in a high handed manner against persons assumed to be privileged in point of ownership of assets and possession of powers of a capitalistic nature. Thus senior managerial officers and proprietors of firms had begun to be forcibly detained in their offices or residential houses by their employees with a view to induce them to grant better terms and conditions of service to these employees. These "gheraos"

or acts of surrounding were really a violation of the laws relating to unlawful detentions; but the police were instructed by the ministers in charge not to interfere as these detentions were mere attempts at settling industrial disputes in a peaceful manner. The sophistry of this sort of interpretation of detentions involving shouting of abuse and prevention of supplying food or drink and obstructing the satisfaction of physical requirements of the persons detained, was quite obvious; but that went unrecognised by the police. It was only through court orders that the people detained in this manner could regain their freedom of movement after long hours or days of "gherao". Another lawless method of acquiring goods which did not belong to the takers was cutting and removing crops from a field by alleged cultivators of the soil. This also led to forcible occupation of other peoples lands by persons who said they cultivated those lands. The rural areas of West Bengal became a stage for anarchy on account of these "direct methods" of enforcing claims without reference to the courts of law. People who were neither employees of commercial, governmental or industrial institutions, nor were cultivators; felt they were getting nothing out of this new era of anarchy. They began therefore looting, robbing and snatching on a widespread scale to satisfy their claims on a society which protected private property and trading for private profit. Banks were robbed, wholesale trading centres looted and women were subjected to ornament or bag snatching every where in the city of Calcutta. Insecurity became a part of the citizens' life. The lawless elements also began gang warfare on a large scale and they obtained arms from smugglers who had contacts with Chinese and Pakistani suppliers of weapons. The gang battles had political motives too and the political parties fought it out to show to the public their

relative physical superiority over one another on point of arms and numbers.

The Chief Minister of W. Bengal Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee could do nothing to control this state of anarchy. His Home Minister defied him and his Labour Minister together with his Education Minister went their own way without caring to take directives from the leader of the coalition. The number of bomb and revolver attacks on the various party groups went on increasing and bands of young lawbreakers roamed the streets throwing bricks or soda water bottles at houses and shops just to get over their feeling of frustration.

But the Central Government did not see anything abnormal in all this. Mr. Chavan thought W. Bengal was quiet and peaceful and Sm. Indira Gandhi visited Calcutta more than once without noticing any signs of lawlessness. Anyone going out after 8 p. m. in the streets of Calcutta would notice a great falling off in the crowds that normally throng those streets. But then a panic is no proof of a state of anarchy ! Statistics show a slight increase in crimes ; but surely that can happen anywhere at any time. The people of West Bengal feel that conditions are going from bad to worse. But then that may be just propaganda to discredit the United Front. What about the numerous fights and killings ? Well if political groups fall out and fight ; how does that affect the peoples' lives ? There are therefore statistics and interpretations of all that is happening to prove that conditions are normal in West Bengal. Bands of men and women are marching up and down the main thoroughfares of Calcutta throughout the day with flags and shouting slogans to prove that somebody or other must be prevented from breaking up the United front. Who these destroyers of the Front are is anybody's guess. 127 factories and establishments have closed down in this State. Others are working

haltingly with many stoppages. Businessmen are planning to leave this state and to start up business elsewhere. Employment is at a standstill. Trade and commerce have been cut down to a minimum. Nobody is sure of the future and that puts a brake on enterprise.

Students have been won over by different political parties and are now organised party-wise in large groups. There are fights between students and defiance of authority by them at the educational institutions and examination centres. The students are using bombs, revolvers and other weapons to subdue one another. Some say they want to break the present system of government and bring off a revolution. Others do not say anything very clearly about their objective ; but act violently against rival parties and against their teachers. The student population of W. Bengal is very large. They can add considerable strength to the forces of disorder if they get out of hand. The United Front is breaking itself up through the active disunity that prevails among its 14 participants. Attempts are being made to patch up differences but there are no signs of any growth of inter party solidarity.

Confused Thinking at the Centre

The Government of India is now controlled by the Ruling Congress Party. There is also an Organisation Congress Party which is against the Ruling party. The other political parties of India are all there too. The atmosphere in New Delhi therefore is greatly favourable to confused thinking. Everyone has his or her own interpretation of the basic concepts of political thought. Democracy, Socialism, Secularism or Communism have different meanings in different gatherings of political thinkers. Democracy for instance, has an accepted definition. It is Government of the people, by the people and for the people. That is, in a democracy all people have equal rights and opportunities. The question is,

what are equal rights and opportunities? Equal power to vote either in one's own name or falsely cannot surely guarantee the possession of equal political rights or opportunities. For, in a corrupt democracy votes really count for nothing. Professional voters go about at election times voting dishonestly for dead, absent and sick voters and the same person casts many votes in different names. The parties which obtain a majority by doing false propaganda, making false promises and by purchasing real or false votes, have little desire to set up governments of the people by the people and for the people. They appoint their own party men to wield all powers of government for the advantage of party men. The only other people who gain in power and enjoy privilege are the bureaucrats without whose assistance the largely untrained and uninstructed partymen cannot run governments. So democracy becomes a corrupt and arrogant bureaucracy in which only party members are shown any deference or granted rights and privileges.

For instance, let any private citizen go to reserve railway accommodation in the air conditioned class. He will be told that there are no vacancies. The reason for this is that V.I.P.s, that is political personages, may require accommodation and therefore a good number of berths will be kept in hand for their advantage. This sort of thing goes on all the time as a normal practice in the railways which are run by the people and for the people! At the Howrah Station, quite often, private citizens are made to walk half a mile to the railway coaches, although there is a wide road leading inside the station area where hundreds of cars can easily go. The police stick up a *No Entry* notice at the entrance to this road and tell people the road is heavily crowded with cars and no more cars will be allowed to enter. Inside one finds room for at least 50/60 cars and also the ordinary policemen tell the truth

about this high handed and unjustified interference with the rights of the private citizens. *Koi Minister ah raha* (Some minister is coming) says the honest policeman! So 70/80 year old men and women are made to walk a long distance so that the police may curry favour with the political party leaders. This is surely not government of the people, by the people and for the people. And police officers who tell lies to the public about congestion inside the platform area are not reprimanded either. In Europe in the highly capitalistic States, no such privilege attaches to the nobility or to cabinet ministers. They live in their own houses and not in palaces provided to them at public cost, as in India. Even members of parliament have privileges in India relating to housing and travelling which are not found in other countries. In short 'democracy in India means government of the people, by the bureaucrats, and for the advantage of political party men.

If we analyse secularism we find also a great deal of religious communalism everywhere and that no efforts are being made by the states to make people secular minded. Rowdies and hooligans raise donations everywhere for the performance of religious festivals and men are killed and injured if they so much as refuse to donate a sum specified by the committee members. Religious and semi-religious bodies therefore force their will upon the community at large and interfere with their individual freedom to participate in festivals or not to do so. No state has taken any action in this field and bullying the public by small groups of rowdies has become the order of the day. Quite often private lands or public roads are used freely to put up pandals for meetings and gatherings. Generally speaking the public have not much enthusiasm for these gatherings nor have they any love for great processions. The government can easily

control the anti-social elements by making compulsory the issue of licences for organizing religious festivals. Unless fairly responsible persons take charge actively and fully of such organisations and unless they undertake to prevent donation collecting by exerting pressure of any kind, the licences should not be granted. Secularism on paper is all right in so far as it is the acceptance of a principle. But real Secularism requires the development of a non-partisan and generous attitude of mind which is not found in a hoodlum ridden society. The government must be stronger than the rowdy elements and must not encourage or make use of such people for their political ends in any manner what so ever, in order to remain really above the gangsters.

Socialism is another term which is often used by the political leaders to justify their actions in various fields of life. The laws they make, the taxes they impose or the manner in which they organise and operate various economic institutions—all point to their great attachment to socialistic principles. The delay in running railway trains and the non-delivery of telegrams in time have, of course, no socialistic explanation. Some people say money orders are not paid to the persons to whom they are sent but the monies are used for other purposes for some time before payments are made; for reasons which are obviously not socialistic. Non enforcement of law and order bribery and corruption favouritism etc have only a gainful significance for the bureaucracy or the parties. But we suppose if a political party claims to be socialistic, all its misdeeds will have to be accepted as of assistance to the cause of socialism.

Mrs. Gandhi in her budget, has tried to directly tax the rich more heavily. The less affluent members of society only pay enhanced indirect taxes. This method of levying direct taxes on the rich and indirect taxes on others apparently has a socialistic aim. In fact the

enhanced indirect taxes will greatly increase the cost of living of the poorer sections of society. These taxes will work out at much higher per centages of the poor man's total income compared to the percentages that these will represent in the case of the total incomes of the rich. These taxes, therefore will be iniquitous and burdensome as far as the poor people are concerned. Most probably demands for higher wages will follow and that will upset the economy more than the gains to the enchequer would justify.

A ceiling on land holdings may have a purpose which aims at the establishment of economic justice. But a ceiling on urban property does not in any manner help the less prosperous members of society to live better, earn more or enjoy greater privileges. For, property worth one to four hundred thousand rupees would be beyond the reach of the average Indian, as would be property worth five to twenty lakhs of rupees. This proposed ceiling therefore is more of a political gesture than an economically meaningful arrangement for establishing greater equality of rights and opportunities. Where poorer people are exploited by those who have control over economic resources, the state should prevent such exploitation through control over the possession of particular types of capital goods or the use of such goods in unjustly exploitative ways. A house owner can extort unfairly high rent from his poor tenants. But a house costing more than five hundred thousand rupees will never have any poor tenants. Rather the most rack rented tenants live in *Busties* where the huts are owned by persons of small means with *thicka* tenancy rights which are now being specially safeguarded by the United Front Government under the mistaken idea that these *thika* tenants themselves live in the huts. The usual *Bustie* hut owner is a money lender class of person who lends money at 75 to 150 per cent per annum rate of interest and rents out a room built for

Rs. 500/- for Rs. 20/- per month. A man who builds a large house can seldom get more than 5 to 6 P. C. return on his capital after paying the heavy municipal rates and income tax on the rent earnings.

Socialism really requires all able bodied persons to be gainfully employed. Our socialistic pattern of government has not been of much use in the creation of employment opportunities for the masses. The reason for this is that our economic planning has shown a preference for capital intensive industries and has thereby used up all available resources in building large scale industries which have employed not many persons compared to the capital invested. India is now full of half employed or fully unemployed persons who have such a low income that they can barely buy their food with their earnings. What India needs are a great number of labour intensive establishments which will produce goods and services for common consumption. There must be much greater variety in the consumption schedules of the general public so that employment, production and consumption balance and support one another.

We now come to communism which has assumed a greatly controversial character during recent years. We have no specialised knowledge of communistic institutions as set up and run in Russia, China, Poland, Hungary, Czecho-slovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, East-Germany, Yugoslavia and other totalitarian states. We know that political parties in these countries have no "oppositions" and can dictate all policy through their top men without encountering any contrary point of view. What these policies are in various fields of political and economic life are not clearly understood by outsiders; but there are differences which are sharp enough to cut into the solidarity of the communist world. China and Russia have strong contradictory views and so have other states. In India we have different types of

communists whom we describe by reference to their attachment to Marxism, Leninism, Maoism or some other ism about which we have no precise or detailed information. Some of these groups are pro-Russian and some are pro-Chinese. There are others who are anti-every communistic group excepting themselves. All these groups want to rule India according to their own wishes. What these wishes are cannot be clearly visualised for the reason that no party of communists has as yet been able to acquire full power of government in any part of India. If some groups have captured a state government, that has merely given them the powers exercised by a state government. Such powers are only limited. So, we do not know what they would do if they could control the central government.

There are some parties which do not flaunt much political philosophical ideosyncracies. They are democratic socialistic, followers of Gandhiji or Netaji, utterly Hindu or totally Muslim. Whether there is a hard core of uncompromising nationalism in these political parties is difficult to discover. We, who are optimistic in regard to the political future of India, like to believe that all Indians are true to mother India in their heart of hearts, no matter what philosophical views they may hold superficially and as decorative details of political opinion. If we are right in our assumption we shall find a majority of Indians rallying round in case of a national crisis of any kind. We feel that we are right in holding this view. Most Indians will not betray India.

Political Parties of India

Governments are set up for efficient administration of the country according to the laws in force and the constitution of the country. All people may not however agree as to the exact meaning of the laws or the constitution; so that, when an administration takes up the work of government there may be variations in the

interpretation of legalities to a certain extent. But such interpretations cannot ever lead to any total negations of the laws of the land or the fundamental provisions of the constitution. Generally speaking, therefore, the laws and the constitution do not necessarily suffer from any great changes caused by differing interpretations when new groups of political thinkers come into power in the administrative field. It is not impossible for a political party to go contrary to the fundamental principles of the established order; viz in a constitutional monarchy a political party may demand the abolition of kingship, or in a capitalistic country a political party may demand the abolition of private property. But no political party can keep in force the laws and the constitution and, yet, support the confiscation of some property in some cases or arrange to make a gift of some body's property to some other person *by order of the party* and without going through the courts of law. When, that happens the laws and the constitution are made to occupy a subordinate position to the will of the political party. This sort of thing can happen in a communist state in which the single party, the communist party, is all powerful and can do anything it pleases. But in a democracy, in which a communist party comes into power, the party may only try to arrogate to itself the functions of the law courts and the legislatures and give direct orders to persons and institutions without taking the trouble to follow any legal or constitutional procedure. Such action will be in keeping with the practice of communism in a communist state; but will be illegal and unconstitutional in a democratic country, until and unless the democracy is officially abolished and replaced by a communistic constitution.

In India there are local Communist Parties which achieve occasional and regional political majorities by following the established electoral procedure. These parties when they acquire political power in a democracy

forget that political parties as such, have no powers of direct action within the laws and the constitution of the democracy. They must do everything by following the constitutional, legislative and legal procedure as laid down statutorily. No order of the communist party or any party, as such, can be carried out by anybody, as such action will be illegal. But the communists find it difficult to acknowledge the superiority of any laws or constitutional provisions when their party leaders issue any directives. Communism is by nature totalitarian and dictatorial. And the views expressed by a communist leader become the law or the constitution so long he retains his leadership. If he loses his leadership, he may also lose his head and, certainly, his views and opinions cease to possess any unchallenged sanctity or force any longer. In a democracy personal opinion is never allowed to attain such supreme infallibility. For persons are more susceptible to mistakes than the fundamental principles of rational thought on which human society has tried to construct their laws during the last several thousand years. There have been, in the past, many occasions when individuals have tried to replace laws by their own personal whims and fancies. But such tyrants have seldom succeeded in ruling any large section of mankind over a long period. Personal force of character can dominate the common run of human beings, for good or for evil, as long as a particular person remains in full possession of his power; but sooner or later the individual fails to command the obedience of his followers. This may be caused by circumstances over which he has no control, such as, loss of popularity, old age or death. There have been on rare occasions a succession of tyrants; in the technical sense of being absolute rulers; but many of such rulers obeyed the rules of religion

and morality so punctiliously that they were just like any constitutional rulers who governed their subjects according to established codes of law. In short, personal rulership may be inherent in a communistic form of government; but the absolute leadership of individuals cannot continue for any great length of time in other forms of government. Laws replace dictatorial commands inevitably and without much loss of time.

The idea therefore that the Indian communist parties or the other ideological groups like the Congress will establish military or moral dictatorships and thus do away with the requirements of well-established laws or a clearly stated constitution; cannot be entertained by rational and experienced persons. "Grab so and so's land or house" or "cut the crops of such and such fields and give the same to x, y or z" and similar orders cannot be issued by the political party headquarters for any length of time. The laws of ownership and the fundamental rights must be stated and obeyed. Otherwise, the public will eventually overthrow such fanciful dictatorships and the leaders who issue such orders will have to be replaced too. Codes and principles must replace individual whims and fancies.

Talent in Politics

As in all human institutions so in political bodies, there is great need for specialised ability and talent. In olden days when individual inspiration and creative genius determined the progress and development of human communities, extremely capable men usually succeeded in leading nations to their political objectives. These involved wars and conquests as a matter of course. That is how great generals like Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Tamer Lane or Babar came to the fore front in the pages of political history. In the field of social challenge to established authority too fighting men like Cromwell, Washington and Shivaji achieved fame. There have been, of course, some very great men in the field of politics who

distinguished themselves by reason of their moral superiority as opposed to military talent. The name of Mahatma Gandhi comes up naturally as one of the greatest among such morally inspired politicians.

Current politics in most countries however has not required the possession of any great political acumen or talent to achieve party leadership. Political parties have been organised effectively everywhere with only mediocre persons holding their reins. Elections have been won by tricks and by the use of superior material resources. As a result of this sort of businesslike exploitation of political fields; talented persons or men who value the principles of personal conduct have avoided politics. Men who could command the students and the youthful elements and the working class organisations, or hold out promises of easily attained Utopias, have come out as leaders all over the world. Persons who have any constructive ability or detailed knowledge of the factual dimensions of socio-political evolution have stayed outside politics. The result has been government by persons of doubtful ability who have somehow managed to become the leaders of political parties. These party leaders are not necessarily good administrators, law makers or capable guides in the field of social progress or institutional developments. The growth of ideologies during recent years has further lowered the standards of general ability in political leaders. For experts in political ideals are seldom experts in anything else. The various isms of politics cannot teach one to run educational institutions, hospitals, railways or to arrange for irrigation and flood control in a proper manner. Those who can think and quibble in a complex way cannot act effectively in a clear and uninvolved manner. That is why modern politics is so dry in talent and practical ability.

It is very surprising that with the growth of general education the gullibility of the masses is not showing any signs of decrease. Unscrupulous demagogues can now a days win the confidence of reasonably well educated persons quite easily. For years the public have experienced betrayals by politicians; but that has not made them any the wiser. The party system has now become a menace and one does not know how human liberty and progress can be preserved with marauding politicians actively engaged everywhere in destroying the same.

PROHIBITION AND ILLICIT DISTILLATION OF LIQUOR IN WEST BENGAL

JITENDRANATH PAL

The drinking of liquor has recently increased among students and youth of West Bengal and the State Government wants to meet this evil by strict application of the existing law prohibiting service or sale of liquor to those under 21 years of age, says the report of a Staff Reporter of the Statesman. It adds that the United Front Government does not believe in prohibition and is "keen on giving adequate facilities to the people so that they can get their supplies of liquor without taking to any 'irregular' means".

Increase of drinking among students and the youth of Bengal is not a new phenomenon. It started in 1790 when the East India Company introduced the Excise system in Bengal to raise revenue and has been continuing ever since. Although there was no total abstinence from intoxicants in any period of Indian history, the drinking of and traffic in liquor was, except during the Maurya age, not recognized officially and encouraged as a source of revenue, and the evidence of foreign travellers visiting India during and after the Gupta period of Indian history is that the people were, in general, free from the evil of drinking and the State derived no revenue by dealing in liquor. This position was reversed when the East India Company sought to obtain revenue by introducing in 1790 the Excise system, popularly known as the Outstill system of Bengal whereby the right to manufacture and sell liquor in different areas of the province was

given to the highest bidders who had no restriction on manufacture or sale. This state patronage of liquor business led to widespread drinking among the population and protests against the system were made from time to time by people like the late Shri Keshab Chandra Sen and bodies like the Indian National Congress on the ground that the system had encouraged intemperance among the youngmen of the country. Government, which took note of these protests, modified its licensing system and announced its policy that it would not interfere with the habits of those who used alcohol in moderation and that due provision was necessary to be made for the needs of such people, but temptation to those who did not drink should be minimised and excess amongst those who did, should be discouraged, and that subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue was to be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicating liquors. The most effective method of furthering this policy, it was declared, was to make the tax upon liquor as high as possible without stimulating illicit production and without driving people to substitute drugs or harmful form of liquor and to restrict the number of shops as far as possible subject to their location being examined periodically with a view to minimising the temptation to drink and to conforming as far as is reasonable to public opinion. This policy continued to be the

Excise policy of Government till the last days of the British regime in India, and this must be said to the credit of that regime that this policy was substantially implemented. In those days, proposals for opening new shops or for extending the hours of sale used to be summarily rejected by Government. Notwithstanding the faithful execution of this policy, consumption of intoxicating liquor among youngmen of Bengal increased through the years. That being the lesson of history, the proposed action of our Excise Minister to attempt to curb drinking among students and the youth of West Bengal by mere application of an innocuous provision of law prohibiting the supply or sale of liquor to youngmen of a certain age, which has been in the Statue Book for the last sixty years, and to provide at the same time increased facilities for easy supply of liquor by granting licenses for more shops and extending the hours of sale, can be of no use. The proposed measures are self-contradictory and likely to increase rather than decrease the evils which are sought to be controlled.

It may be that the Government of West Bengal, faced with innumerable responsibilities without adequate resources to discharge them properly, finds it difficult to give up immediately its Excise revenue of 15 crores of rupees. Even so, it is doubtful if it has been constitutionally proper for the Excise Minister to declare that the U. F. Ministry does not believe in prohibition when he and the other Ministers have taken the oath that they "will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established", and the

Constitution provides that "the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition....".

It appears from the Statesman report referred to in the beginning that a special drive against illicit distillation of liquor initiated by the Minister led to the detection of a large number of cases. A few years back, the Congress Ministry increased the number of Excise shops throughout West Bengal in order to control illicit distillation of liquor by facilitating the lawful supply of liquor, just as the present Ministry is going to do. And what has been the result? The statement made by the Minister himself clearly shows that both drinking and crime have increased. It is pertinent to ask what good it will serve by doing it over again except to make history repeat itself.

There is much controversy about prohibition, and it is not clear if public opinion is for or against it. It is also difficult to say how much of this controversy is due to the activity of vested interests in liquor business. That liquor business should be controlled by the State is recognized all the world over and there is no two opinion about it. The only difference of opinion is how far this control should extend. This, I think, must depend on the history, way of life and nature and trend of legal imperatives of the people concerned.

As already stated, the records of history show that for about 1500 years, that is, from the beginning of the 4th century A. D. till about the end of the 18th century, the people in India, in general, were free from the evil of drinking. It is only during the last 180 years of our history, thanks to the Government policy of raising revenue from liquo

that drinking habit has spread among certain sections of our people.

In the U. K. or the U. S. A., the drinking of alcoholic beverages is common to all. Liquor is a "must" in their dinners and social functions. There are, of course, teetotallers in those countries, like Lord Montgomery 'who does not drink and feels 100% fit,' but their number is few. The great majority of the people there are with the late Sir Winston Churchill who drank a lot and felt 200% fit. Our way of life is fundamentally different in this respect from theirs. Drinking of alcoholic beverages is not common among us. The majority of our people does not drink. Only a minority indulges in this habit. In my village which is inhabited by about 500 people in the rural area of the Burdwan District, there are about 15 to 20 persons who drink. Most of them are not regular drinkers. They drink usually on festive and ceremonial occasions. Country spirit is their drink although fermented liquors such as Pachwai and Tari are also favourite with some of them. The majority of the drinkers come from backward classes of the community and only a few from middle class families. Thus not more than 4 to 5% of the people in my village are addicted to intoxicating liquors. This seems to be the general pattern of drinking in the rural areas of West Bengal. The position is, however, quite different in urban, industrial and tribal areas where the incidence of drinking is much greater than that in rural areas. The overall picture of drinking pattern in West Bengal, broadly speaking, is that (1) consumption of foreign liquor, both overseas and Indian made, is confined to the richer and upper middle classes who have adopted, more

or less, a western way of living and (2) consumption of country liquor is confined to the poorer classes such as the lower middle class; industrial, mining and tea garden labourers; hillmen adibasis and backward classes of the community. The liquor consuming classes of West Bengal taken all together do not, in my view, constitute more than 10 to 12% of the total population. This includes quite a sizable number of non-Bengalees who have migrated to West Bengal from outside to earn their living. Generally speaking, therefore, the way of life of the Bengalees is not one of a liquor drinking people.

Our fundamental law, the law of our constitution, enjoins that the State should endeavour to bring about prohibition of consumption of intoxicants except for medical purposes and that this principle should be applied in making our laws.

Our history, way of life and legal imperatives thus all point to prohibition. That being so, it is most unfortunate that our Government should all at once declare that it does not believe in prohibition and come forward to offer us facilities for adequate supply of liquor which makes life sick without being able so far to give us facilities for adequate supply of things like food sanitation, houses, education, hospitals etc which make life civilised.

The bulk of the excise revenue of this State comes, it is reported, from country liquor which is consumed by those who are at the lowest rung of the social ladder. Most of them belong to the poorest sections of the community who do not always have two square meals a day all through the year.

They have no proper houses to live in, no arrangement of sanitation in their localities, and no proper education or medical facilities. In the urban and industrial areas they live in slums and in rural areas they live in small huts—surrounded by filth. "Disease, squalor, degradation of the human being to the level of animals are rampant as men live in stinking filth", wrote a foreign journalist about these men some three decades ago. It is a matter of great shame that this description largely holds good even after 22 years of our independence. Must we continue to give these men liquor and more liquor to drown their hunger and miseries instead of making a determined effort to remove the root cause of their sorrow?

If my survey above is not wholly wrong, prohibition of country liquor seems urgently necessary in West Bengal in the interest of the poorer sections of the community. Most of these men are now members of an exploited economic class and have been forced to become a source of cheap labour supply. There has been no social integration of these people with the rest of the community. The only social contact that they have with the others is the demand for a supply of cheap labour. What these people need most is a satisfactory social life with proper recognition and solution of the economic exploited aspect. Prohibition is the means by which this is expected to be brought about. Prohibition in this context does not merely mean the enactment of a law and its enforcement by police action. This coercive action of society will no doubt be necessary in a programme of prohibition but what is more necessary, particularly at the preliminary stage, is the persuasive action of society in the shape of education to bring about a

community sentiment between these people and the rest. Unfortunately, even after 22 years of our independence we are still lacking in this sentiment. The backward classes are still "untouchables" and factory labourers are still "coolies."

Prohibition as envisaged herein is essentially a social reform which seeks to change the way of life and raise the standard of living of the poorer sections of the community and to bring about among them a social consciousness which will hate drinking. Such a consciousness cannot be brought about unless the richer and the upper sections of the community, to whom the poorer sections often look up to for guidance build up a proper climate by giving up their own habits of drinking. A phased programme will be necessary for them with the enactment of a suitable law and arrangement for proper enforcement. As much social readjustment will not be necessary in their case, this article does not deal with this aspect in detail but passes on to the prohibition of country liquor which is regarded by the writer to be one of the most important problems of this State if the persons wielding the state's powers want the people in the lower rungs of the community to live and not merely to exist. All the propositions made hereafter will, therefore, relate to this aspect of prohibition only.

The social reform, referred to above should aim at such changes in the living conditions of the poor as would provide them, in a greater measure, with health, length of life, assurance of the means of good living, sustaining social companionship, the respect of one's fellows and some degree or

kind of power and prestige. In one word these people should be made respectable and when they are made so, the sense of their respectability will make them averse to drinking and much of the present drinking among them will, I suppose, die a natural death; the little that will remain may be adequately dealt with by the coercive action of society. Year ago, I had an occasion to discuss this matter with the Christian Fathers of Sonthal Parganas and Midnapore Districts where they had been doing wonderful welfare work among Adibasis. I was told that their attempts had considerably succeeded in weaning away the Adibasis in their charge from liquor habits. Education and a sense of respectability generated among the Adibasis concerned by the efforts of Christian Fathers brought about this welcome social change. I see no reason why similar efforts, if seriously and sincerely pursued by the State in a wider field will not produce similar results.

The most important point in a programme of prohibition is education. Education, both primary and secondary, which is in a chaotic condition in West Bengal, reaches only a very small proportion of the children of the poor. Primary education should be free and within the reach of all. A system should be evolved whereby the children of the backward classes can have free education up to the secondary standard. At present, even where schools exist, the children of the backward classes do not benefit by them because of their being compelled to do work from a tender age to help the family and this does not permit them to attend school. Financial assistance that may be necessary for such families

to enable them to send their children to school should be provided by the State.

The next important point is the creation of a proper environment which may help the poorer classes to develop their personalities and awaken in them the will to self-help and the conviction that they also may become normal members of the society. The requisites to bring about such an environment are good houses, roads, clean surroundings, proper sanitary and medical arrangements, communication facilities, educative propaganda against evils of drinking, adequate facilities for healthy recreation and sports for useful utilization of leisure and some sort of social integration with the rest of the community. The State should help to furnish these as far as possible.

The next important point is gainful employment of the adult male population in suitable occupations. Landless agriculturists should be provided with land and agricultural implements. There should also be provision for such classes to be represented in local deliberative bodies. Simultaneously with these persuasive actions, the coercive action of the society, namely, detection, arrest and punishment of the persons violating the prohibition law should be diligently pursued.

Similar measures should also be taken with regard to industrial labourers. In their cases, night schools should be started in all industrial centres for the education of the labourers who have not received proper education. Slums should be cleared and good houses should be built there to enable the workers to live with their families decently. Arrangements for proper education of the children of the workers,

propaganda against evils of drinking, establishment of attractive restaurants and canteens to serve cheap but nutritious food and non-alcoholic drinks, facilities for recreation, relaxation, sports, libraries etc should be made and vigorous police action should also be taken at the same time against violation of prohibition laws.

With the introduction of the social reforms as suggested above, pachwai and Tari shops should all be abolished. pachwai is a traditional drink with the Adibasis and the Hillmen. They should be allowed to have their drink free in the privacy of their homes and Government should not interfere with that. The existence of innumerable pachwai shops at important centres which has made pachwai available at huts and bazars in any quantity has made the traditional drink of the Adibasis on ceremonial occasions a daily drink for intoxication. But for these shops, the extent of Pachwai drinking would have been much less. In Sonthal Parganas, manufacture and possession of Pachwai for family consumption is free. Only sale is illegal. In spite of this, I was surprised to find that the district authorities licensed a number of Pachwai shops which attracted large numbers of Adibasi customers. On my query as to why they were patronising the shops in such large numbers when they were free to manufacture and consume at home any quantity of the drink they liked, the Adibasi customers replied that it was a lot of botheration to manufacture "handi" (Pachwai) at home and that the shops served their purpose better. Shops have thus extended the drinking habits of the Adibasis and they should be abolished. A ceiling on manufacture and possession for

home consumption should be fixed. Manufacture and possession within ceiling should be free. Manufacture and possession beyond ceiling and sale should be made illegal and punishable. Manufacture, possession and sale of fermented Tari should be made illegal, and those of sweet Tari should be free. Regarding country spirit, it may be necessary in the beginning to issue permits with small quotas of liquor to the hardened drinkers of and above the age of 40 years to enable them to change their habits gradually. The number of shops, sale hours and quotas should be progressively reduced every year till the shops are all abolished by a stated period. With the spread of education and social progress as suggested in the prohibition programme, a social consciousness is likely to grow among the present drinkers, which will help them to give up their addiction without much difficulty and prevent growth of new addiction among others.

It is the cry of the anti-prohibitionists that prohibition breeds illicit distillation of liquor. West Bengal has never practised, nor preached prohibition, yet illicit distillation is rampant in this State. It seems, therefore, doubtful if the cry is wholly correct. The fact seems to be that no one factor is responsible for illicit distillation of liquor. Unemployment, unusual profit from small investment, easy process of manufacture, considerable demand, wide disparity in prices between the lawful and the illicit liquor, easy availability, sale on credit, support of the local public and of the subordinate officials of the enforcement staff, and law's delay—all these have their due

shares in bringing about the vicious ring. There can be no easy and magic formula to solve such a difficult and complex problem. The Minister has intensified police action and a record number of cases have been detected. This is good as far as it goes but its effect is temporary. Previous records will show that such drives were taken from time to time in the past and that the number of detections by excise officers every year, as a rule, exceeds that of the previous year, but the problem remains where it is. A change in the drinking habit and a solution of the unemployment problem among people who distil and sell illicit liquor are necessary to make preventive measures really effective. It is for this reason that a considerable persuasive social action has been suggested to bring about a change in the habits of the liquor consuming classes in order to lessen the demand for liquor which will have immediate—favourable reaction on illicit distillation. The problem is thus not a police problem alone; it is both a police and a socio-economic problem and should be tackled accordingly. So far, only police measures have been taken without any corresponding socio-economic action and hence no permanent result has been achieved. The majority of the illicit distillers are poor and unemployed having no proper means of livelihood. Economic rehabilitation of these

people is necessary for permanent solution of the problem. Economic rehabilitation by way of education, propaganda and employment etc as suggested for the drinkers should be equally applied to the illicit distillers.

Enforcement machinery will also need strengthening. There is unfortunately considerable corruption among the lower strata of the enforcement personnel on whom the bulk of preventive action falls and this makes preventive measures largely illusory and ineffective. I am not sure if the State Government has done enough to make and keep these men honest. They have often to work hard for long hours under difficult and trying circumstances but they are the men who get the least from Government. They have no amenities of life and the pay and allowances they get do not often meet the bare necessities of life. The State Administration is top heavy. Government will be well advised to curtail its expenditure at the top and spend it at the bottom to build its base strongly.

Prohibition of country liquor as envisaged above is largely a matter of education and economic rehabilitation of the downtrodden. It is no doubt a costly affair but education and social uplift of the depressed and oppressed people are always so, and a welfare state cannot afford to be indifferent to them.

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION : A WAY OUT OF THE ASIAN DILEMMA

GAUTAM SEN

The Vietnam War has radically altered the Asian scene and brought about significant changes in the foreign policies of many countries including the U. S. A's. All the effects of any such change may not be discernible outwardly at present, but there are unmistakable signs that such changes are imminent in the near future. Serious debates are currently going on in the high level official circles at various capitals, on the likely course of their future policies.

India cannot be a mute spectator to the political and military developments in South East Asia as her own security and prospects for economic development are inextricably linked with the developments in the region. Instead of having a short-run policy and meeting the political, military and economic developments on a contingency basis, it would be infinitely better to have a long-term policy flexible enough to adjust itself to the ensuing developments.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam begun by the Nixon Administration are much more than mere gestures towards N. Vietnam and the Viet Cong to de-escalate the war. It would not be an overestimation to regard the troop withdrawals as only the initial phase in an "Operation Withdraw" from Asia. President Nixon has already initiated discussion with Thailand over a prospective pullout of a substantial number of American military personnel and weapons from that country. President Marcos of the Philippines and Premier Sato of Japan are currently facing tremendous political pressure at home to re-negotiate the physical presence of U. S. military personnel

and weapons in their countries. It is quite possible that the U. S. A. would be responsive to their demands. The ultimate effect of all these developments in Asia and the political pressure in the United States on Washington's policies would be a gradual but definite U. S. withdrawal from South-East Asia, and the termination of her active presence and involvement in the affairs of this part of the world.

For us in India, it would be a new experience. The Chinese aggression of 1962 brought about substantial changes in our foreign policy. To many of our Foreign Ministry officials, the question of India's security against China after 1962 became dependent on a U. S. military presence in Asia. To some, the U. S. policy of containment of China (backed by the former's massive military presence in Asia) was considered to be satisfactory to India's security. Today, the dismal failure of such a "containment-of-China" policy is amply clear. The U.S. has already burnt its fingers in Vietnam, China-abetted insurgency in northern Burma, Thailand and Laos is on the increase, and on top of everything else the threat to India from China has increased manifold. What is significant even in this state of affairs is President Nixon's avowed aim to gradually disengage his nation from involvement in Asian affairs.

In this background, the only non-Asian power which seems interested enough and has the willingness to participate in Asian affairs in the Soviet Union. The Asian Security Proposal bear testimony to this. For sometime the Soviet Union has been sending out feelers to various capitals about their latest Asian security proposal which has not been spelt out clearly even

today. Possibly, owing to the lukewarm response towards the proposal from many nations today the U. S. S. R. does not seem inclined to vigorously pursue it further.

Before the latest series of Sino-Soviet negotiations began, it would have been self-defeating to fall in line with the U. S. S. R. over their so-called Asian Security Proposal as this would have antagonised Peking. The proposal is nothing more but a belated attempt to develop an instrument for the implementation of the Soviet Union's political design on South East Asia. The best way out of the tangled political situation in South East Asia is to strive for a rapprochement with Peoples' China as therein lies the only hope of stability.

In the rapidly changing situation in Asia, Peoples' China is bound to have a pre-eminent position. Despite the fact that China is unlikely to abandon her militant and revolutionary policies, some sort of an understanding between India and China can be built up on a bilateral basis. An India-China rapprochement is an essential preliminary for any regional cooperation which the Indian Government may like to

achieve with other nations like Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan and Ceylon.

In the absence of political stability in South-East Asia economic development is likely to be hampered. Foreign aid from the West cannot by itself promote economic development and end the age-old misery and hardship to which the common people of Asia have been subjected to through the decades. Military pacts and alliances are superficial means of defence. Economic hardships make the common man susceptible to communist-style insurgency. This causes chaotic situations in the nations affected, leading to the downfall of democratic governments and the subsequent emergence of fascist-style military dictatorships. To prevent the occurrence of such situation, economic development is the only way out, and the latter in turn cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of political tension and turmoil. Regional co-operation with heavy economic undertones, among the South East Asia nations on a multilateral basis can lead to peace in this region. Peoples' China would have to be a part and parcel of this programme of regional co-operation to make it workable and successful.

CRIME IN INDIA

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The publication, *Crime in India 1967*, brought out by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs is a very useful one providing, as it does, a glimpse into the working of the law and order enforcing machinery in the country. In 1967 the number of total cognizable crimes reported was 8,81,981 of which only 6,99,601 were reported to be true. In other words about 21 per cent of the reported cases were found to be wrong. It deserves the attention of all concerned how such a large proportion of wrong cases comes to be reported. The strangest part of the report is that the crime rate is also worked out on the basis of this wrong and inflated figure of crime. Because of the use of this wrongly inflated number (8,81,981) as base, instead of the correct number (6,99,601), the crime rate (172.5 per 100,000 population) is also consequently inflated. The harassment of such a large number of persons (1,82,380) in false criminal cases must be considered to be a very disturbing phenomenon.

The efficiency, or lack of it, of the police machinery is further measured by the fact that only in less than half the number of true cases of reported crime charge sheets were laid. One of the most potent causes of the growth in the incidence of crime in the country has to be found in this characteristic inability of the police to take action in cases where the charges have been found true. Apparently there is no abatement in this failure and there is a steady rise in the number of true cases of cognizable crimes going unattended. It is stated that only in 1,89,401 cases the police could secure conviction of the criminals in a

court of law. In other words in 34.5 per cent of the total number of cases (2,84,774) tried by a court of law during the year 1967, the criminals went unpunished. The consequence of this failure by the police to act effectively is easily imaginable. Crime can still be viewed as a safe proposition by many! So long as some people can take to crime with a fairly reasonable hope of escaping the consequences it would be difficult to suppress crime in the country. The following table is illuminating:

(Table 1 page 179)

1967 seems to have been a very bad year so far as the increase in the incidence of crimes was concerned. There was a sharp rise in all types of crimes in 1967 compared with the average of the preceding five years. Total cognizable crime in 1967 rose by 21.2 per cent over the quinquennial (1962-1966) average: murder by 13.5 per cent; kidnapping and abduction by 8.1 per cent; dacoity by 26.5 per cent; robbery by 27.4 per cent; house breaking by 21.0 per cent; cattle thefts by 13.6 per cent; ordinary thefts by 28 per cent; riots by 34.7 per cent; criminal breach of trust 18.1 per cent; cheating by 18.0 per cent; counterfeiting by 233.3 per cent and miscellaneous by 13.3 per cent.

To quote the report "A significant increase of 30.8% in dacoity cases has been noticed during the year as against other heads of crime under study. Almost all the States contributed significantly to this over-all increase. Maximum contribution to this over-all increase

TABLE I

**PERCENTAGE DISPOSAL OF CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME IN
INDIA DURING 1963 TO 1967**

Year	Percentage of cases charge-sheeted to total true cases	Percentage of conviction to total true cases	Percentage of conviction to cases in which trials were completed
1963	50.9	28.2	65.4
1964	52.7	29.5	66.1
1965	54.4	30.4	66.2
1966	54.1	29.9	67.0
1967	50.0	27.1	66.5

was made by the State of U. P. which recorded an increase of 30.9%.

4,313, cases were found to be true out of which 17.6% ended in conviction during the year while the percentage of conviction to total number of cases in which trials were completed was 39.3 as against 42.6 during 1966.

27,098 persons were arrested during the year out of whom charge-sheets were laid against 12,293 persons. Percentage of conviction during the year was 29.9 as against 30.9 during 1966.

Robbery

The incidence of robbery is more prominent in the State of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and U. P. which together accounted for about 65% of cases reported in the entire country and these States contributed to the over-all significant increase of 19.4%.

7,463 cases were found to be true out of which 18.3% cases ended in conviction as against 20.7% during 1966. 46.1% of the cases resulted in conviction out of the total number of cases in which trials were completed as against 47.0% during 1966.

“11,358 persons were arrested and charge-

sheets were laid against 6,783 persons, 40.2% of persons, in whose cases trials were completed, were convicted.

House-Breaking

About 70% cases of house-breaking were reported from the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, U. P., West Bengal and all these States contributed significantly to the over-all increase of 15.6% over the previous year.

1,56,196 cases were found to be true out of which 19.2% ended in conviction. Charge-sheets were 74.4%, laid in 44,324 cases. Trials were completed in 40,374 cases out of which 74.4% ended in conviction as against 72.9% during 1966.

98,025 persons were arrested and charge-sheets were laid in respect of 66,251 persons out of the total number of persons in whose cases trials were completed, 64.8% were convicted as against 63.4% during 1966.

Position in States :

The highest incidence of crime, 271.6 per lakh of population, in 1967 was in Madhya Pradesh, and the lowest 89.8 in Haryana. The incidence in Bihar was 160.2 ; Andhra Pradesh 94.1, Assam 155.9, Gujrat 133.1, Jammu and

Kashmir 158.0 ; Kerala 112.2 ; Maharashtra 211.6 ; Mysore 119 ; Nagaland 125.1 (a remarkably low figure considering the state of tension and uncertainty prevailing there) ; Orissa 152.0 ; Punjab 99.0 ; Rajasthan 142.8 ; Tamil Nadu 181.7 ; Uttar Pradesh 200.9 and West Bengal 203.8. (all figures relate to a lakh of population).

An analysis of the trend shows that the highest rate of growth in the incidence of crime in 1967 over the preceding quinquennium was in Jammu and Kashmir—43.9 per cent ; followed by West Bengal 37.1 per cent, Nagaland 35.3 per cent ; Maharashtra 31.8 per cent ; Bihar 29.7 per cent ; Madhya Pradesh 27.3 per cent ; Uttar Pradesh 22.7 per cent ; Orissa 20.2 per cent ; Rajasthan 19.6 per cent ; Mysore 16.3 per cent ; Assam 12.1 per cent ; Haryana 11.8 per cent ; Tamil Nadu 11.3 per cent ; Andhra Pradesh 8.5 per cent and Gujarat 2.6 per cent. Punjab had the unique record of showing 23.4 per cent decline in the reported crimes.

Chandigarh had the highest incidence of crime in the country 1058.50 per lakh population, followed by Madras 595.9 ; Kanpur 589.7, Bombay 555.3, Delhi 493.0, Calcutta 427.5 (belying the general impression created by distorted publicity that Calcutta's incidence of crime is higher than in other cities), Bangalore 367.9 ; Hyderabad 209.1 and Ahmedabad 192.0. Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman & Diu, Pondichery, Tripura and Ahmedabad registered a decline in the incidence of crime over the average of the preceding quinquennium.

Type of Crime :

Cognizable offences have been divided into twelve major groups murder ; kidnapping and abduction ; dacoity ; robbery ; house-breaking ; cattle theft ; ordinary theft ; riot ; criminal breach of trust ; cheating ; counterfeiting ; and miscellaneous. A reference to the figures of the

relative incidence of these crimes in 1963 and 1967 does not show any marked variation except in the case of counterfeiting which was nil in 1963 but which constituted 0.2 per cent of the crimes in 1967. There was a 2.3 per cent rise in ordinary thefts between 1963 and 1967 suggesting that it was due to economic distress rather due to any inherent tendency to criminality that people resorted to crimes. The following table is instructive :

(Table II page 181)

Juvenile Delinquency

It is a matter of great concern to know that the juveniles were responsible for 2.6 per cent of the cognizable offences in the country in 1967. The incidence of crime committed by the juveniles had gone up from 4.4 per lakh of population in 1966 to 4.5 per lakh of population in 1967. Over thirty six per cent of the juvenile crimes related to ordinary thefts (suggesting economic reasons behind the crimes), followed by miscellaneous (30.4 per cent) and house-breaking (9.2 per cent). There was sharp increase in the number of juvenile crimes in 1967 exceeding the number in 1966 by 3.5 per cent and the preceding quinquennial average by 21.2 per cent. What should cause particular concern is the involvement of juveniles in murder (298 cases in 1967), dacoity (55), robbery (182) criminal breach of trust (255), and cheating (146). In 1967 the total number of juveniles apprehended was 72,109 of whom 66,719 were boys and 5390 were girls. Nineteen girls were involved in murder cases of whom two were in the 7-12 years age group, eight in 12-16 years age group and nine in 16-21 years age group. The number of boys involved in such cases were eleven, one hundred eleven and 388 respectively. Sex crimes did not figure very prominently. There were 137 cases of rape and unnatural offences and 185 cases of kid-

TABLE II

**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME UNDER IMPORTANT
HEADS DURING 1963-67 IN INDIA**

Heads of Crime	Years				
	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
1. Murder	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.5
2. Kidnapping and abduction	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9
3. Dacoity	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7
4. Robbery	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
5. House-Breaking	20.8	20.3	18.9	18.9	19.7
6. Cattle theft	3.6	3.1	3.0	3.3	3.0
7. Ordinary theft	33.2	33.0	33.4	34.4	35.5
8. Riot	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.8
9. Criminal Breach of Trust	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7
10. Cheating	1.3	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.5
11. Counterfeiting	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
12. Miscellaneous	29.3	30.6	31.4	30.3	28.4
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

napping and abduction. The statewide break-up of cognizable juvenile offences in 1967 was Andhra Pradesh 580, Assam 555, Bihar 462, Gujarat 1702, Haryana 655, Jammu and Kashmir 243, Kerala 229, Madhya Pradesh 3289, Maharashtra 4,906; Mysore 697, Nagaland 92, Orissa 720, Punjab 1491, Rajasthan 1030, Tamil Nadu 2477, Uttar Pradesh 1781 and West Bengal 729. Among the metropolitan cities Madras with 920 reported cases had the highest number of juvenile offences, followed by Delhi 662, Bombay 492, Ahmedabad 197, Hyderabad 103, Calcutta 61, Kanpur 56 and Bangalore 10.

The hollowness of the facile argument that an increase in the strength of the police force would automatically lead to an improvement in law enforcement is exposed by the performance of the Bihar police force during the past few years. The figures below show that

States with a smaller police force per area have a much better record of law enforcement than Bihar with a larger police force per area.

Bihar

Bihar had twenty three policemen per hundred square kilo metre area, compared with one in Andhra Pradesh, four in Jammu and Kashmir, ten in Rajasthan; eleven in Madhya Pradesh, fourteen in Mysore, seventeen in Maharashtra and Orissa and twenty in Assam and Gujarat. An idea of the effectiveness with which this (far from inadequate) police force works in the State of Bihar is given by the fact that only in 9.7 per cent of true cases investigated by the police a conviction could be secured from the courts of law. The figure for Andhra Pradesh was 66.5 per cent; Jammu and Kashmir 14.4 per cent; 20.9 per cent in Rajasthan; 30.9 per cent cases in Madhya

Pradesh; 39.0 per cent in Mysore; 26.5 per cent cases in Maharashtra; 23.4 per cent in Orissa, 20.5 per cent in Assam and 24.2 per cent in Gujarat.

In murder cases only in 17 per cent of the true cases conviction was secured in Bihar, compared with 42.1 per cent cases in Andhra Pradesh; 30.6 per cent cases in Assam; 35.7 per cent in Gujarat; 46.1 in Haryana, 10.2 in Jammu and Kashmir, 50.9 in Kerala; 45.8 in Madhya Pradesh, 39.5 in Maharashtra, 28.23 in Mysore; 33.3 in Nagaland, 36.7 in Orissa; 63.6 in Punjab; 36.9 in Rajasthan, 57.2 in Tamil Nadu, 27.03 in Uttar Pradesh and 25.7 percent cases in West Bengal. Leaving aside Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar's record was the worst. Equally disappointing was the performance of Bihar police in securing conviction of dacoits. It is seen that in only 8.3 per cent of the true cases of dacoity investigated conviction could be secured in Bihar, compared with 37.3 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, 16.3 in Assam; 12.3 Gujarat, 22.2 in Kerala, 19.8 in Madhya Pradesh; 16.6 in Maharashtra; 8.1 in Mysore; 16.7 in Nagaland; 18.9 in Orissa; 17.3 in Rajasthan; 46.7 in Tamil Nadu; 23 in Uttar Pradesh and 17.8 percent cases in West Bengal. Similarly only 11.8 per cent of the true cases of robbery could

be substantiated before a court of law in Bihar. The percentages of conviction to true cases in Bihar in respect of other crimes were house-breaking 4.5; cattle thefts 39.5; ordinary thefts 8.1; riots 13.5; criminal breach of trust 17.6; cheating 21.4; kidnapping and abduction 21.5; counterfeiting 100. In Bihar 31.5 per cent of the value of the stolen property was recovered. However in dacoity cases only 1.2 per cent of the value of the stolen property was recovered; in robbery cases 3.7 percent of the value of the stolen property was recovered; in house-breaking cases 11.9 per cent; in other thefts 7.1 per cent, in criminal breach of trust 3.8 per cent of the value of property stolen was recovered; in other offences 32.2 per cent; in cattle theft 55.2 per cent; in cycle theft 15.8 per cent; in motor vehicles theft 44.9 per cent; in other thefts 28.1 per cent and in fire arms theft 36.4 per cent of the value of the property stolen was recovered.

The Central Bureau of Investigation has to be congratulated upon the production of this very informative volume. A publication of this type serves the democratic purpose of public information and enables an assessment of the efficacy with which the taxpayers' money is being spent by the Government in the various States.

TRENDS IN MODERN TAMIL LITERATURE

STEPHEN FERNANDO

The growth of modern Tamil literature has been marked by significant contributions in all the major genres, especially the novel and poetry. The following few pages are an attempt to describe the trends in modern Tamil literature. It will not be possible to do justice to all those who have contributed to the modern literature in this short paper. I shall therefore, confine myself to only a few who are considered to be the best among them.

The modern period of Tamil literature commenced as early as the 19th century. The impact of Western ideas and literary forms was felt in the different forms of literary production in Tamil. As a result of European contact with South India, Tamil literature commenced a new era—a period of renaissance. Love and war formed the themes of the ancient Tamil classics, and religion and philosophy of the medieval poems; whereas humanity and science predominate in the modern writings.

The poet Subramania Bharati (1882-1921) can be rightly called the father of modern Tamil renaissance. His poetry is great because it is extremely simple and because he created new poetic forms. The creation of a new poetic style approximating to the spoken Tamil of the common man and free from artificial diction can be rightly called Bharati's contribution to modern Tamil poetry.

Subramania Bharati with his burning patriotic fervour was the first to write a verse which was intelligible to the common man. Basing his work on the achievements of Thaymanavar and Ramalinga Swamikal, Bharati almost single-handedly created modern

Tamil Poetry. Bharati wrote many national songs which helped to inspire those engaged in the struggle for independence. He was a poet who looked around and saw the degradation and misery that political bondage had wrought on his countrymen and from his agonized heart poured forth words full of emotion and patriotic fervour. Bharati was a great social reformer too and he spread his revolutionary ideas about caste system and the emancipation of the Indian woman through his charming and simple poetry. And he sang :

Freedom, freedom, freedom,
To the Pariahs, the Tiyas, the Pulayas,
freedom,
To the Paravas, the Kuravas, the Maravas,
freedom,
If there is no bread for one, even one,
We shall smash the world.

Bharati was also a skilful adapter of older works. An old epic like the Mahabharata was adapted by him in his Panchali Sabatham. Works like Kuyil Pattu and Kannan Pattu can be considered as Bharati's contributions to modern Tamil literature. Bharati employs a language disarmingly simple, so direct and simple indeed that to translate him seems easy enough till one attempts it. Bharati works his magic with inflexions of the Tamil idiom and creates a shining interspace between word and word clearly perceived by one whose mother tongue is Tamil but incapable of being rendered easily in another language.

Bharati was a pioneer of modern prose style too. He brought into being a prose that captures all the ease, naturalness and

flexibility of the spoken word. He wrote short stories, sketches and fables—all of them of great merit. But his greatest achievement lies in the field of poetry. For, centuries after the great epic poet Kamban, Tamil poetry had remained practically barren. Though large number of works were written in verse, during this period, Tamil poetry had cut itself off from life and buried itself in ornate inanities, in religiosity and in theological hair-splittings, that is to say, it had ceased to be poetry. It was in this flat spiritless world that Bharati was born and by the time he died in 1921 at the early age of thirty nine he had accomplished a miracle namely the renaissance of Tamil literature.

Bharati has had many followers and imitators. His example in verse has been followed by poets like Bharati Dasan, Desiga Vinayagam Pillai, Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, S. D. Subramania Yogi and others. Today there are innumerable writers to follow his example. Thiru V. Kalyanasundaranar, Maraimalai Adigal, Prof. K. Subramania Pillai, Sethu Pillai, M. Rajamanikkam, M. Varadarajan and A. Chidambaranathan are some of the prose writers who have contributed a great deal in establishing a clear, simple Tamil prose. The leader of the Pure Tamil School of Prose writers is Maraimalai Adigal. This is perhaps a reflection of an aversion to Sanskrit and other foreign elements found among a section of Tamil people in recent times, but it must be said that this is not a healthy sign for the proper development of any language. In fact, the great merit of Tamil has been its capacity to absorb and assimilate the foreign element and yet preserve its marked individuality. That reveals clearly the intrinsic resilience of Tamil, which is one of the world's earliest languages. The genius of a language is not comprised in its vocabu-

lary, which might absorb a few words from others on account of intimate association with them. Therefore, neither false notions of prestige nor mistaken apprehensions of the future need handicap the attempt to incorporate foreign words into Tamil.

In the last three decades there have been significant developments in Tamil literature in the line of novel and short story writing. Novel and short story have been the most popular forms of prose in Tamil. Both these forms are, in a sense, new to Tamil literature. The Tamil novel is generally a story dealing with love, either purely fictitious or based on a historical incident or on some personal experience. The first Tamil novel Prathapa Mudaliar Charitram was written by Munsif Vedanayagam Pillai in 1876. The second novel, Kamalambal Charitram was written by Rajam Iyer in 1893. In 1924, Madhaviah published his Padmavathi. Judged by European standards Vedanayagam Pillai can be labelled a romantic, Rajam Iyer a naturalistic writer and Madhaviah a realist. Following these writers came a spate of novels and short stories by a number of writers of great skill of whom the most prominent have been R. Krishnamurthi known as Kalki, K. S. Venkataramani, Dr. M. Varadharajan, P. M. Kannan, and Akilan. "Panchum Pasium" a novel by Raghunathan has been translated into Russian and is very popular in Soviet Russia. Some of Akilan's novels have been translated into English and various Indian languages.

R. Krishnamurthi popularly known as Kalki is the author of some thirty-five volumes of short stories, novels, essays, travelogues and biographies. He established a reputation as one of the best short story writers in Tamil. Three reasons may be given for Kalki's phenomenal success as a novelist. First of all, he possessed in abundance the gift of story

telling, secondly he introduced humour in his writings and last, he threw light upon the cultural and social aspects of the past as well as the present.

Like the great European novelists of the 19th century, Kalki was a master of striking scenes and episodes. Very often he is compared with Dickens and Thackeray for his sense of humour and his gift of portraiture respectively. His most famous novels are *Thiagabumi* (1937), *Solaimalai Ilavarasi* (1947), *Apalaiyin Kannir* (1947), *Alai Osai* (1948), *Devakiyin Kanavan* (1950), *Parthiban Kanavu* (1941), *Sivakamiyin Sabatham* (1948) and *Ponniyin Selvan* (1952). *Parthiban Kanavu* and *Sivakamiyin Sabatham* give us a picture of the great Pallava age in the 7th century, while *Ponniyin Selvan* paints the age of the glorious Cholas.

Almost contemporaneous with Kalki arose two other writers S. Vridhachalam, known familiarly as Pudumai Pithan (1906-1948) and Ku. Po. Rajagopalan whose names will be remembered by posterity as forcible and penetrating story writers. In the words of Mr. Jambunathan, Pudumai Pithan was a top-rank short story writer of originality. He translated several of the world's best short stories into Tamil. *Ulagathu Siru Kathaigal* and *Deivam Kodutta Varam* are two volumes of his translations. Several of his original stories betray the influence of Maupassant, Kipling, Tolstoy and Gorki. Wild and undisciplined as he was, his stories betray, however, a morbid genius. His creative

genius must have taken the pen from his fingers and moved in directions strange and unknown. He does not hesitate to show life as it might be in some nook or corner of the country. For compression and abbreviation he has few parallels.

Mr. Ku. Po. Rajagopalan created many new characters that are life-like. The commonplace and generally ignored facts of life formed his province and histories are rich in suggestion, sure incendiaries of the reader. His fame will not rest merely on his own production (*Punar Janmam* and *Kanakambaram* etc.) but on his masterly translation of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (as *Irattai Manithan*). There is now a legion of short story writers in Tamil, as the short story has come into its own as a popular literary form, prompted mainly by the rush of modern life and fostered by several magazines in Tamil. V. V. S. Iyer, B. S. Ramiah, Somu, Thooran, Vindan, Jagasirptan, K. V. Jaganathan, T. N. Kumaraswami, P. M. Kannan, Arumugam, Janakiraman, Suki, Nadodi, L. S. Ramanithran Rajaji and Akilan are some of the best short story writers of modern Tamil.

To conclude I should say that the aim of the contemporary Tamil writers should be to kindle the spirit in us and not merely to entertain us. They should try to emulate famous writers of other Indian languages and should try their best to produce works of great merit so as to enrich the modern Tamil Literature.

G. K. CHESTERTON'S CONCEPTION OF HUMOUR

B. DHAR

G. K. Chesterton's conception of humour can be placed in proper perspective only when it is viewed, on the one hand, as part of his conception of art and, on the other, as a catalyst of the Christian virtues like humility, charity and gratitude. It is, according to him, an essential part of the intellectual equipment of an artist, and a *sine qua non* of a really moral man. This paper is an attempt to set forth Chesterton's conception of humour in relation to his artistic and moral principles.

Chesterton's heterodox view of the nature of art is in sharp contrast with his orthodoxy in religious matters. With his innate love of the grotesque, he found the Greek view of art, based on the theory of the beautiful, not only frigid but also inadequate. Its greatest shortcoming was that it weaned men away from 'their natural love of size, vitality, variety, energy, ugliness' through its single minded pursuit of 'one aesthetic type alone'. The grotesque has been, according to him, an integral part of the Christian ethos since the Middle Ages broke away from the Greek ideal of beauty. It manifested itself in the art of Rembrandt who declared that 'a man was dignified, not when he was like a Greek god, but when he had a strong, square nose like a cudgel, a boldly-blocked head like a hamlet, and a jaw like a steel trap'; it expressed itself in the gargoyles of Gothic architecture; it revealed itself in the fantastic imagery of metaphysical poetry; it appeared in the fantastic designs of mediaeval sculpture. Chesterton used 'grotesque' as a sort of 'blanket' term which

represented the bizarre, the fantastic, the ugly and the ludicrous in art as well as literature as distinct from, but not opposed to, the beautiful, the classical and the sublime. (The chief characteristic of the grotesque, which one can deduce from his frequent references to it in his writings, is a topsyturviness, an arbitrary departure from the customary or the normal.) His view of art, in sum, is an improvement on that of the Greeks in that he does not exclude the grotesque from the purview of art but regards it to be complementary to what is beautiful or classical.

The grotesque had in Chesterton an ardent lover and a skilled practitioner. "I have", he declared, "a Gothic taste for the grotesque nourished upon gargoyles". In his *Robert Browning* he speaks at some length of the general function of the grotesque in art. He believes that the view advanced by some people that 'nature, in the sense of what is ordinarily called the country is a thing entirely stately and beautiful' is entirely untenable. He contends that the 'whole world of the fantastic, all things top heavy, lopsided, and nonsensical...Gargoyles, German jugs, Chinese pots, political caricatures, burlesque epics, the picture of Mr Aubrey Beardsley and puns of Robert Browning' cannot be denied their legitimate place in art on the erroneous plea that they are "the work of man" and not of nature. Indeed the sense of the beautiful and what he calls the 'instinct of caricature' in man came from the

same source, namely nature. "Men who live in the heart of nature," he says, "farmers and peasants know that nature means cows and pigs, and creatures more humorous than can be found in a whole sketch-book of Callot". Obviously, nature is the embodiment of the twin principles of the beautiful, or classical and the grotesque and also the source of inspiration to man in all his artistic creation.

In *Robert Browning* Chesterton speaks of the two main uses of the grotesque in literature. There is what he calls a "powerful and symbolic use of the grotesque whose chief characteristic is energy 'the energy which takes its own forms and goes its own ways.'" The other use of the grotesque touches 'the nerve of surprise' and appeals to man's innate sense of humour. Chesterton calls it "genial grotesque" or humour and regards it as the singular glory of English literature from Chaucer to Dickens. He himself was in that glorious tradition not only as a creative humorist but also as a philosopher of the grotesque.

The grotesque in art and literature answers to man's 'abiding spirit of pantomime', his feeling of 'nameless anarchism', his 'sudden and unmeaning hunger for the possibilities or impossibilities of things.' In *George Bernard Shaw*, Chesterton defines this spirit as man's nonsensical second self which he can get into as one gets into a dressing-gown; that ridiculous disguise which is yet more real than the real person'. It is an all-pervading spirit and is present in the greatest of all books, namely, the Bible. An example often cited by Chesterton occurs in the Book of Job wherein God puts a comic question to Job about the leviathan: "Wilt thou play with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for the maidens?" This humorous query, Chester-

ton says, is the main message of the book of Job" because in it "God is made to utter a splendid satire upon the prim and orderly piety of the vulgar optimist". Elsewhere he calls it 'an example of the sense of wonder provoked by the grotesque'.

Chesterton maintained that Christianity was not averse to a sense of humour in man. Its founder was a mirthful man, susceptible to the bracing influence of fun and laughter. When Christ went up the mountain to pray, Chesterton believes, He concealed something. "There was some one thing that was too great for God to show when He walked upon the earth; and I have sometimes fancied it was His mirth" (Orthodoxy). It was His immense sense of humour which He displayed when He nicknamed James and John as "the Sons of Thunder". Christianity as a balance of fierce extremes recommended simultaneously asceticism as well as mirth lest life should become either quite desiccated or utterly riotous for want of one or other. Chesterton went so far as to claim for Catholicism (that is what he generally meant by Christianity) that 'The man who sees the inconsistency in things is a humorist,—and a Catholic', because he contended that it is religion not of taboos but one of "relaxation, symbolic relativity and healthy routine" (*George Bernard Shaw*, P. 38.). One could be 'at ease in Zion'. It was not without reason that St. Francis called his followers *Jongleurs de Dieu*.

'Humour, in the modern use of the term', says Chesterton in his essay on "Humour" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'signifies perception of the comic or incongruous of a special sort; generally distinguished from wit, as being on the one side more subtle, or on the other side more vague'. It implies, on the one hand, 'a rather deep and delicate appreciation of the absurdities of others' and

on the other, self-derision, a 'confession of human weaknesses', a laughing at one's own eccentricities, vanities or whims.

The humorist (the man who perceives incongruity as well as the person whose behaviour is incongruous) is, according to Chesterton, something of an eccentric, 'There is', he says, 'therefore in humour, or at least in the origins of humour, something of this idea of the eccentric caught in the act of eccentricity and brazening it out; something of one surprised in disarray and became conscious of the chaos within'. Chesterton seems to suggest a prophylactic function for humour a capacity to extract a pleasing experience from the minor distresses and inconveniences of daily existence. A humorist is a person with a positive attitude towards life; he is a man who takes inconveniences in his stride.

The "supreme function of the philosopher of the grotesque", Chesterton said, "is to make the world stand on its head that people may look at it." He applied this principle to things as well as men. He regarded man to be a highly comic being:

"It is useless to object to man being made ridiculous. Man is born ridiculous as can easily be seen if you look at him soon after he is born. It is grotesque to drink beer, but it is equally grotesque to drink sodawater, the grotesqueness lies in the act of filling yourself like a bottle through a hole. It is undignified to walk with a drunken stagger; but it is fairly undignified to walk at all, for all walking is a sort of balancing, and there is always in the human being of a quadruped on its hind legs.....Of course it is only because he is not wholly an animal that man sees that he is a rum animal; and if man on his hind legs is in an artificial attitude, it is only because, like dog, he is begging or saying thank you". (George Bernard Shaw, *PP*, 230-1)

The visualisation of the grotesqueness of man was Chesterton's favourite pastime and his essays are strewn with such observations. He made the insufficiency of man the basis of all his jokes.

Laughter is, to Chesterton, the contemplative mind's reaction to the paradox of the original divinity of man and his subsequent fall through transgression. He believes dignity and wonder to be the two ideas at its root. Laughter (humour is the laughter of the mind) "is connected with the idea of human dignity rather than indignity; and rather related to the strangeness of man on this strange earth, than to the mere dull brutalities connecting him with the dull mud". ('Laughter', *The Common Man*, P. 157.) His insistence on human dignity as the source of humorous as well as comic laughter is so unqualified and persistent that it may be regarded an article of faith with him. He is totally opposed to any theory of humour having anything to do with human indignity. He consistently upholds the view that "laughter is not due to an animal cruelty but to a purely human realization of the contrast between man's spiritual immensity within and his littleness and restriction without". ('Humour', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, vol. II, p. 884.)

Chesterton found a very practical explanation for this religious view of humour. He believed that the perception of the incongruous in human behaviour would not be possible if one did not have pre-existing in one's mind an idea of "something erect and, as it were, respectable about the station and stature of humanity".

While acknowledging that humour proceeds from "the Dual Nature of Man", Chesterton does not fail to see that it is also a biological necessity. It is a sort of play-attitude, a laughing scrutiny of things, a holiday mood of

he mind. 'It might reasonably be maintained' he said, "that the true object of all human life is play. Earth is a task garden; heaven is a playground. To be at last in such secure innocence that one can juggle with the universe and the stars, to be so good that one can treat everything as a joke, that may be perhaps, the real end and final holiday of human souls". (Oxford from Without, *All Things Considered* P. 96.) To a humorist life is a lark when he shakes off the thralldom of temporal interests.

Speaking of the moral function of humour he said, "Humour is meant, in a literal sense, to make game of men; that is, to dethrone him from his official dignity and hunt him like game. It is meant to remind us human beings that we have things about us as ungainly and ludicrous as the nose of the elephant or the neck of the giraffe". The highest use of humour is to bring man back "to an enormous and original simplicity". Humour makes for humility and humanity

by reminding man of the wholesome maxim-*hominem momente te*. Humorous laughter, Chesterton said, "unfreezes pride and unwinds secrecy, it makes men forget themselves in the presence of something greater than themselves".

Chesterton regarded humour as indirectly allied "to truth and eternal virtues". "It gives us," He maintained, "delicacy and a secret independence of mind. It makes a man elfishly quick and accurate". Small wonder that he equated a vulgar joke with truth and called the jokes of comic papers 'dark tablets graven with oracles of gods'. Aristophanes once claimed that he was "the only poet who had the nerve to tell the truth to the Athenians". Chesterton, following the great dramatist in the role of a 'minor buffoon rendered the same service to his country and Christendom through what may be aptly called *ridendum dicere verum*, telling truth laughingly.

THE STATUS OF THE CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE STATES OF THE U.S.A. : A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Prof. G. VENKATESAN

The purpose of this paper is to state and compare the status of the constituent republics of Russia with that of the states of the United States of America. The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are the two major federations in the sense that the constitutions of these countries enumerate the powers of the federal authority and leave the 'residual sovereignty' to the federal units and the status of the constituent parts of the respective countries is, therefore, largely determined by the federal systems. However, since the Russian and American federal systems differ to a large extent in their working, a comparative study of the status of the constituent parts of these two systems in theory and practice will be of great interest.

The Constitutional Status of the Constituent Republics of Russia :

The Constitution of 1936¹ describes the state structure of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a "federal state, formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics". The Soviet Federation is made up of the All-Union government and and fifteen union republics.² The Constitution also specifies the governmental set-up of each republic. Each Union Republic, accordingly, has a Supreme Soviet the sole legislative organ—elected by the citizens of the republic for a term of four years³ with the right to adopt the Constitution of the

republic and to amend it in conformity with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R.; to confirm the Constitutions of the autonomous republics forming part of it and to define the boundaries of their territories; to approve the national economic plan and the budget of the republic; to exercise the right of amnesty and pardon; to decide questions of the union republic in its international relations and to determine the manner of organising the republic's military formations.⁴ The Council of Ministers is the highest executive and administrative organ of the state power of a Union Republic⁵ and its position is described in Articles 80-88.

Each republic has its own Constitution which takes account of the specific features of the republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. The extraordinary right "freely to secede" from the U. S. S. R. has been conferred on the constituent republics by Article 17. Each republic has full power over its territory and without its consent the territory may not be altered. Articles 18A and 18B vest the power in the republics to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them and the power to have their own republican military formations!

The structural pattern of each republic

is extremely complex. In general, each republic includes at least one preponderant ethnic group and a number of smaller minorities. It consists of nationality units such as autonomous regions and autonomous republics which are supposed to reflect the autonomy of the ethnic minorities and the administrative units such as territory, region, city and district which are designed chiefly as administrative links with the higher divisions of government.

In appearance, Soviet federalism resembles familiar western patterns. The Constitution describes U. S. S. R. as a "federal state" of a voluntary union of equal republics. This equality is guaranteed by granting the member republics equal representation in the Soviet of Nationalities⁶ and by awarding each a seat on the Council of Ministers.⁷ The equality of the constituent republics and the powers conferred by Article 17, 18A and 18B along with the reserve of powers enhance the prestige, power and status of the republics to an enormous extent⁸.

The Constitutional Status of the States of the U. S. A.

Unlike the Russian Constitution, the American Constitution does not detail out the governmental setup of the States except saying that "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a Republican form of Government⁹. The Constitution leaves undefined what is meant by a republican form of government. James Madison, however defined republican government as "a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period or during good behaviour"⁹. The people of each state are, therefore, free to adopt any

kind of government as they prefer, provided that it is 'republican' in form. They cannot however, install a hereditary monarch or establish a legalised aristocracy but otherwise they can experiment in innumerable ways. They may, for instance, create, a legislature of one chamber or more,¹⁰ authorise the legislature to elect the Governor and other high officers and can introduce direct democratic devices like initiative and referendum. In short, the people of the State are free to mould their state government to meet their special needs and requirements. Having given this freedom to the States, the Constitution vests the ultimate authority in the Congress which can determine whether a State has a republican form of government or not. This the Congress does "when it decides whether or not to permit the Congressional representatives of that State to take their seats in congress".¹¹

The State Constitution, subject to the limits imposed by the Constitution of the Union, is the "supreme law" of the State. All the Central and local authorities in conducting the public affairs are bound by this 'fundamental law of the State'. If any of these agencies oversteps the boundaries of the powers vested in it or denied to it, the affected individuals may not only petition for redress of grievances but also appeal to the courts for orders nullifying the transgression.

The States of America are presumed to enjoy all powers that are not enumerated in the Constitution. We can roughly catalogue these powers as follows: they include complete power over all of local government; the charting and regulation of corporations and manner of business associations; the regulation of public utilities and the operation of economic services such as water and power systems; the maintenance of the highway system and other methods of transportation;

the maintenance of the free public education system, family and religious interests; administration of most of the welfare fields including employment, relief, institutions for the sick, the mentally affected and the criminals; the whole undefined and seemingly limitless field of police power; all of the reserved powers needed for the public health, safety, morals and so on; and finally civil function such as taxation, revenues, suffrage and election, civil liberties and the like. Regarding almost all of the state activities the States of America seem to enjoy full power.

In the American Union, the States are equally represented in the Senate¹² and they are given an equal status except for their numerical representation in the House of Representatives.

Similarities and Differences between the States of the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R. and the States of the U.S.A.

As it is pointed out earlier, the Soviet Federalism, in appearance, resembles familiar western federal systems. For instance, while the Russian Constitution describes the U. S. S. R. as a 'Voluntary Union' of Republics, the Constitution of the U. S. A. seeks to form "a more perfect Union". Constitutionally speaking, therefore, both the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are the Union of Republics/States.¹³ In both the countries, the constituent parts are given the reserve of powers, though these powers are subject to the enumerated powers of the federal government. Both the Russian Republics and the American States have their own Constitutions and are equally represented in the Union Second Chamber.

The resemblance between the Russian Republics and the American States is, however, superficial. Even a cursory reading of the two Constitutions would convince anyone about

the vast difference between the status of the two categories of the federal units. Certain powers given to the Union Republics are much greater than those of the American counterparts. For instance, the reserved right of every Union Republic to "secede from the U. S. S. R.";¹⁴ the right to enter into direct relations with foreign countries and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them;¹⁵ and the right to have its own military formations¹⁶ fundamentally differentiates the Russian Republics from the American States. These powers have never been contemplated in America and some of the powers such as exchanging diplomatic and consular representatives etc. are clearly forbidden to the States of the U. S. A. by the Constitution.¹⁷ In short, the formal powers of the Union Republics are far greater than the "inherent" powers of the American States.

Another major difference between the two is that the Russian Republics are more complex in structure than the American States. Several of the Union Republics, which constitute the U. S. S. R., are themselves subdivided into autonomous republics, autonomous regions, national areas and so on, all of which are represented in the Soviet of Nationalities. Unlike in America, one of the Union Republics, the Russian RSFSR, is more important than all the others put together. It has more than half the total population and almost three quarters of the area. Official publicity of the Soviet government frankly emphasises R. S. F. S. R.'s leading position. Further, from time to time in the U. S. S. R. various categories of areas have been promoted or demoted in status. Though American federal government can promote new territories such as Alaska or Hawaii in status into statehood, it cannot demote the existing status as Russia did in 1956 in reducing the Karelo-Finnish

Republic's status from that of a Union Republic to that of an autonomous republic within the RSFSR.

The free functioning of political parties in Russian Republic is conspicuous by its absence. Though it is a common phenomenon in other western federations that the political parties in the various states build up from below by voluntary associations, the ubiquitous Communist Party of Russia has made it impossible for political parties with different ideologies to survive. In the United States, for example, the States even enact and administer the laws of election for Congress as they like, but in the U. S. S. R. the single monolithic party renders such constitutional guarantees negatory.

The role of judiciary in the American system differs markedly and fundamentally from the Russian counterpart. The Supreme Court of America, which is above the battle, settles any dispute between Union and States and thus the judicial jurisdiction is removed from a political elective body that may have a prejudiced interest in the judgement. But Article 14 along with other Articles of Russian Constitution completely subdue the Union Republics to the central control. Since the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet interprets the law and can accordingly amend the decisions of the governments of the constituent republics union law prevails over republic law. Moreover, the two sets of law courts and of judges—those of the States and of the Union—as they exist in America are absent in U. S. S. R. The law courts and the codes of laws and procedures in the American State Courts differ to a considerable extent from State to State in accordance with state legislation and customary or common law. The judges are elected or appointed by the state Governor and legislature. On the contrary, in the U. S. S. R. the law courts

are more closely integrated. The Procurator General of the U. S. S. R., appointed by the Supreme Soviet, appoints in turn the procurators of the Republics, territories and regions and confirms those of the cities and rural areas. All these bear full responsibility to him for their activity, none to the local organs. And the communist party through the Soviets 'elects' all the levels of judges to apply one body of laws and thus the whole judicial process in U. S. S. R. is systematically centralised.

Appearance and Reality :

To go by the Constitution, both the Union Republics and the States of America appear to have the reserve of powers. To what extent the powers such as the right to secede, the right to have direct relations with foreign powers etc. conferred on the Union Republics are exercisable? How far can the States of the U. S. A. go in exercising their 'inherent' powers? In actual working of the Constituent parts of the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A., we find a great gulf between appearance and actuality.

The secession clause in the Russian Constitution is, for instance, the most controversial provision. The Union Republics, under Article 17, are guaranteed the right to withdraw from the Union. It is, however, highly doubtful whether any Constituent Republic can take advantage of this right. Since no Republic has dared to exercise this power so far, we can only surmise, on the basis of available information, what would happen in case a Republic attempts to break away from the U. S. S. R. The ubiquitous and highly disciplined Communist Party will make it impossible for any Republic to venture in this dangerous experiment of secession. Moreover, there are some ideological and theoretical difficulties too in exercising this

right. Since it is maintained that any movement for secession must represent the proletariats, any attempt to fan the fire of national consciousness among the people of a particular Republic to secede from the Union is likely to be labelled as "bourgeoise nationalism". Both Lenin and Stalin have made it abundantly clear, in their speeches and writings, that the security of the Soviet Union as a whole must not be sacrificed to the principle of secession. The Communist Party is sure to oppose any attempt at secession for it would mean "the return to capitalism". Since, in marxist terms, a return to capitalism would be a retrogressive step, such an attempt would be opposed by Communists. "With Communist opposition assured against any effort to secede, it seems to foreigners inconceivable that any republic could exercise the right to secede successfully."¹⁸

The right to have relations with foreign countries, the right to establish independent military formations etc. etc. were extended to each of the then sixteen Republics by Stalin in 1944 with the view to claim sixteen seats in the U. N. O. However, two Republics—Byelorussian and Ukrainian Republics—secured membership in the U. N. alone with the U. S. S. R. Though these powers appear to confer sovereign authority to the Republics, they can not act as equal partners of U.S.S.R. for the federal government is charged with the obligation to represent "the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other States and the establishment of the general procedure in the mutual relations of the Union Republics".¹⁹ As for the activities of the two Republics in the U. N., it is sufficient to say that "the voting and debating records of these two Soviet Republics.....indicate that the federal government of the U. S. S. R. sets policy on

all matters, as its Constitution requires it to do".²⁰ Though the Republics are permitted to organise ministries of foreign affairs and of defence and to administer their affairs in these areas, the federal ministries of the same names were retained to co-ordinate policy!

An early official commentator on Soviet government, Andrei Vyshinsky, has listed the following economic powers of the Union Republics: to affirm their budgets and approve the national economic plan; to establish state and local tax assessments; to set out the order of using the land and other national resources; to build roads and administer local transport and communication to direct the fulfilment of the budgets of the lower governing units etc.²¹ But the centralised planning of Soviet Russia has brought the finances of the Union Republics under the complete control of the central government. The Constitution vests the power to determine "the national economic plans of the U. S. S. R."²² and also the "approval of the consolidated state budget of the U. S. S. R. and of the report on its fulfilment; determination of the taxes and revenues which go to the Union, the Republican and the local budgets"²³ along with the "general guidance of industry and construction under Union Republican jurisdiction".²⁴ In accordance with these provisions, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. adopts a budget each year for the nation as a whole and then the national budget is broken down Republic-wise. No Republic has, therefore, its own source of revenue subject to its own control and hence no Republic can spend as it desires any funds except those allocated by the federal budget. True, the federal planners draft the Union budget with the knowledge of the needs, requirements and financial potentialities of each Republic and the representatives of the

Republics in the Soviet of Nationalities play their part in discussing, approving and passing the budget. However, the fact remains that it is the federal government—controlled by the party Elite—that prepares the budget as well as the plans and the Constituent Republics simply “approve the national economic plan and the budget of the Republic, and constitutes the economic administrative areas”.²⁵

The States of the American Union, on the other hand, appear to have full control over their own resources and expenditure. The states' economic and other powers are catalogued elsewhere. But the constitutional limitations and the enormous growth in the powers of the federal government have curtailed the economic powers of the states to a considerable extent. For example it is stated that “no State shall, without the consent of the Congress lay any Imposts, or Duties or Imports or Exports etc.....No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage” etc. etc.²⁶ So also, amendments Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Nineteenth prohibit the state governments against encroaching upon individual rights. No state can lay a discriminatory tax burdening the property, lawful agencies and instrumentalities of the Federal government or franchises granted by it. Though this principle is not expressly incorporated in the Constitution, “it was derived by Chief Justice Marshall from the nature of the federal system itself”.²⁷ In inter-state commerce also the State's powers are still more severely curtailed. They cannot regulate nor can they seriously interfere with inter-state commerce. Regarding monetary control the States are “for all practical purposes powerless”.²⁸ The vagueness of State powers and the vastness of the limitations, along with other factors, have helped in enhancing the position and increasing the

powers of the federal government at the expense of the States.

Conclusion :

A study of both the Russian and American system of government indicates the complete centralisation in U. S. S. R. and the increasing concentration of powers of the federal government in the U. S. A. and this preponderant position of the central government circumscribes the status of the constituent parts of the federations to that extent.

The Soviet system of government is a unique experiment in combining two apparently contradictory but obviously desirable ends, namely, to combine the form of autonomy with the facts of complete centralisation. It is democratic in theory but centralised in practice. The democratic forms of the Union Republics are effectively counter-weighted with central controls. Though the Constituent Republics are given the reserve of powers along with some far-reaching enumerated powers, they are counter-weighted by the powers of the central government as outlined in Article 14. There is no denying the fact that since the death of Stalin and particularly after Khrushchev, a vigorous attempt had been made to effect a decentralisation of the political and especially the economic life of the country. This ‘overhauling of the administration’ increased, to a certain extent, the status of the Union Republics. Some of the agencies such as Major Transport and Highways ; Paper and Wood Products Industries, etc. have also been turned over completely to the Republic's jurisdiction.²⁹ But this gesture of decentralisation does not in any way radically alter the reality of Russian Centralism. The power of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to annul decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, if they do not conform to the law³⁰ and the position of the Procurator-General of the U. S. S. R. who

supervises the "strict observance of the law by all ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens of the U. S. S. R." are unmistakably centralistic. This centralism is fostered and strengthened by the omnipresent Communist Party and the centrally planned national economy. The Soviet system is, therefore, Democratic centralism par excellence and under this Centralised system, the glorified status of the Constituent Republics is more apparent than real.

The working of the American system of government also exhibits the tendency of concentration of powers in the central government. The intention of the framers of the Constitution was to keep the Union relatively weak and the States strong. But in practice the reverse has happened. Though the formal constitutional powers of the national government are essentially the same today as they were in 1789 "the union gathered strength at the expense of the States and for many years the major tendencies in government have been in the direction of a concentration rather than a dispersal of power, despite many strong countervailing forces in the States".³¹

The two World Wars and America's involvement in world politics; the great depression of 1930's and the resultant national regulation of economic activities; the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation; the system of federal appropriations for state functions, the federal financial aid to States along with the heavy demands of atomic and space programmes are some of the important factors that inevitably led to the concentration of powers. The Supreme Court, the Congress and the President have taken advantage of the Constitution's flexibility in strengthening the hands of the Central Government to meet emergencies and national requirements. The Union, thus expanded its functions, concentrated its powers and gathered strength "at

the expense of the States". The unprecedented concentration of powers evoked bitter criticism that "the increase of Federal activities within the States is destroying their initiative, crushing the spirit of self-government, 'regimenting' free-born citizens,.....America is being subdued to a federal bureaucracy and is on the way towards totalitarianism".³² This concentration of federal powers rendered the State 'autonomy' and State's 'inherent rights' a questionable claim, although the States of the U. S. A. are more free, democratic and real than the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R.

References

1. As amended to January 1, 1960.
2. Largely as a result of Stalin's work on the nationality problem, the federal union was set-up in 1923 with four original Republics, viz., Russia proper, the Ukraine, White Russia and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. These four Republics, which may well be compared to the original 13 states of the U. S. A., formed the nucleus of further growth. The Transcaucasian Republic was in time broken up and its 3 members duly entered U. S. S. R. as separate entities. Since 1924 the number of constituent republics has varied from 4 to 16. But, when the Karelo-Finnish Republic which had been admitted to the Union in 1940 was demoted to the status of an autonomous republic within Russia proper, the number dropped to 15, as it obtains today.
3. Article 58.
4. Article 60.
5. Article 79.
6. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U. S. S. R. voting by Union Republics, Autonomous Repub-

- lics, Autonomous Regions and national Areas on the basis of 25 deputies from each Union Republic, 11 from each Autonomous Republic, 5 from each Autonomous Region and 1 from each National Area. Art. 35.
7. The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. includes the Chairman of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics as ex-officio members. Art. 70.
8. Art. IV. Sec. 4
9. The Federalist. No. 10.
10. It is interesting to note that the U.S.S.R. Constitution prescribes unichamber legislatures to all Union Republics.
11. J. M. Burns and J. W. Peltason. Government by the People. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957, p. 58.
12. Art. 1, Sec. 3.
13. However, it is interesting to note that while the Russian Constitution describes U. S. S. R. as "a federal state" (Art. 13), the term "federal state" is conspicuous by its absence in the American Constitution.
14. Art. 17.
15. Art. 18a.
16. Art. 18b.
17. Especially Art. 1, Sec. 10.
18. John N. Hazard. The Soviet System of Government. The University of Chicago Press. 1960, p. 87.
19. Art. 14 (a)
20. J. N. Hazard. Ibid ; p. 89.
21. H. M. Glosky and J. E. Turner. The Soviet Dictatorship. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1960. p. 306-307,
22. Art. 14 (j).
23. Art. 14 (k).
24. Art. 14 (l).
25. Art. 60 (c).
26. Art. 1. Sec. 10.
27. C. A. Beard. American Government and Politics. The Macmillan Co. N. Y. 1952. p. 513.
28. C. A. Beard. Ibid. p. 515.
29. Robert G. Neumann. European and Comparative Governments. McGraw-Hill Book Co. N. Y., 1960. pp. 587-588.
30. Art. 49 (4).
31. C. A. Beard. op. cit., p. 523.
32. C. B. Beard. op. cit., p. 529.

SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS WEAKNESSES

H. D. DWARAKANATH

I. United Nations and the Security Council

As written at Sanfrancisco after a lengthy process of elaboration in which the United States Government played a leading role, the charter placed the maintenance of international peace and security on the Security Council. The charter gave assurance that no action could be taken against the permanent member or without its consent.

The Security Council was built upon the hopeful assumption that the great powers would agree and upon the fatalistic assumption that if they did not agree there was nothing the rest of the world could do. An agreement among the so called big powers was considered essential to peace and progress in international relations. There was not any kind of disagreement among the major powers at Sanfrancisco on the unanimity of great powers. But there was a disagreement as to how far the principle should be applied in disputes involving one or more of the major powers.

II. General Assembly and the Security Council

With respect to the division of powers between the Security Council and the General Assembly, there was even less disagreement among the big powers upto the time of the Sanfrancisco conference. The tentative proposals of July 18, 1944 which the United States submitted to the other participants in the Dumborton Oaks Conference gave the Security Council the primary responsibility for the peaceful settlement of international disputes for the prevention of threats to the peace.

They empowered the General Assembly to take action in matters of concern to the international organization, which are not allocated to other organs. The proposed delimitation of the respective responsibilities of the two organs was substantially accepted at Dumborton Oaks conference and incorporated into the Dumborton Oaks proposals.

At Sanfrancisco variety of pressures led to the broadening of the General Assembly, particularly by the inclusion of Articles 10 and 14. Thus the charter laid the foundation for the subsequent development of the role of the General Assembly, in the Field of action originally reserved to the Security Council. Thus the primary role of the Security Council was further jeopardized by the inclusion of Art. 51 recognizing explicitly, "the inherent" right of individual or collective self defence in case of an armed attack upon a member until such time as the Security Council has taken measures necessary to the maintenance of international peace and Security.

The most striking trend in the practice of UN since its establishment has been the increasing instability of the Security Council to serve the purposes for which it was intended, and the growing performance of members to make use of the General Assembly. This trend has been accompanied by the gradual breakdown of the lines of functional separation between the Security Council and the General Assembly drawn up at Dumborton Oaks Conference and preserved though with some important modifications at Sanfrancisco and by the gradual assumption by the General Assembly of an active role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

A quantitative measurement of the trend though obviously inadequate provides us with an indication of the changing role of the Security Council within the UN machinery. The declining frequency of the meetings of the Security Council in a world beset with conflicts together with the increasing number of political questions, considered by the General Assembly in comparison with the number considered by the Security Council under scores the diminishing role of the Council.

III. Security Council and its field

Before coming towards final judgment of the effectiveness of the Council in reforming its charter responsibilities it is necessary to examine the Council's actual role in the principal field of its activity.

Firstly, while taking of collective measures to keep or to restore international peace and in case of threat of actual violation the Security Council has achieved a considerable measure of success in dealing with those situations where its permanent members for whatever reason have had a sufficient interest in the maintenance of restoration of international peace and security to agree on a common course of action. Thus in dealing with the situation in Indonesia created by Dutch "police" action to reestablish the authority of the Netherlands in Indonesia, the Security Council was able eventually to get the parties to agree to the cessation of hostilities leading to an acceptable political settlement. In dealing with the Palestine question during the initial period of crisis the Security Council achieved considerable success. The Council also achieved a considerable measure of success in dealing with hostilities involving India and Pakistan over Kashmir only under exceptional conditions has the Council been at all effective in dealing with threats to or breaches of the peace where the vital interests of the permanent members have been directly in conflict. When

North Korean forces attacked the Republic of Korea on June 25, 1950, the Security Council was presented with a unique opportunity to take action in a situation involving the conflicting vital interests of permanent members since, the Soviet representative was absent in protest against the seating of the Chinese representative appointed by the Nationalist Government. It was this situation which led to the adoption by the Assembly of the "Uniting for peace resolution" of Nov 3, 1950 by which the Assembly asserted for itself under a liberal interpretation of charter provision the right to consider any threat to peace.

Thus the relationship between the Council and the Assembly which had been spelled out in the department of state proposals of July 18, 1944 was explicitly redefined to permit a majority of 7 members in the Council in the face of opposition by as many as 4 of the permanent members to transfer the consideration of an alleged threat to or breach of the peace to the General Assembly.

The Hungarian and Middle East crisis in October 1956 again demonstrated that the Council was incapable of acting in a situation involving the conflicting vital interests of the major powers, though in the latter case it was not the cold war that was mainly responsible. In both the cases it was General Assembly which took the action but not the Council.

Secondly while discharging the peaceful settlement or adjustments of international disputes and situations the Security Council has had very limited effectiveness. The disputes between the Arab States and Israel and between India and Pakistan over Kashmir are not completely and properly tackled by the Security Council. Here, again the Council has failed as an effective organ of peaceful settlement.

Thirdly, in the performance of its achievement of agreement on the regulation of arma-

ments, the Council has a record of complete failure. This has been due to the inability of the permanent members, the members of the military staff committee to agree on principles to be applied in the conclusion of these agreements.

Fourthly, in discharging its function relating to membership and the international organisation of the UN, the Security Council has had a minor record. Because of votes cast by the Soviet Union, a dead lock developed over the admission of new members with the result that from 1950 to 1955 for about five years not a single member was admitted.

Lastly, in performing its recommending function in connection with the appointment of the Secretary General, the Council has probably contributed to strengthening the role of that official in the work of the Organization. The Security Council proved that the Secretary General will continue on the requirement of agreement of the great powers.

IV Failure of the Security Council

The Security Council failed to discharge its charter responsibilities in the manner which the authors of the charter envisaged. This decline has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the prestige and the changing role of the General Assembly.

There are several reasons mentioned below for the failure of the Security Council.

Veto power

The most important reason for the failure of the Security Council is the veto power given to the major powers. Under Article 27 of the charter, Security Council must proceed under a unique voting rule which was advanced by the USA at the Yalta conference to satisfy USSR. Decisions on procedural matters, are made by an affirmative voting of any seven members out of eleven members. (now

the membership raised upto fifteen-five permanent and ten non permanent). Decisions on other matters require an "affirmative" voting of 7 members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. Hence a negative vote by any one of the permanent member blocks action. It is this which has been referred to as veto. The article does not make clear whether it means the concurring votes of the permanent members present and voting. When the charter was framed it was supposed that there would be sufficient harmony among the great powers to support collective action. But this has seldom proved to be the case.

Secondly, the cause of the decline of the Security Council and especially of its role in relation to General Assembly, must be sought in breakdown since 1945 of the war time alliance of the USA, USSR and UK. The rivalry among the major powers included them in many cases to use the Security Council as a tool of propaganda purposes to advance their divergent political objectives rather than to harmonize the action of nations in the attainment of common purposes as intended by the authors of the charter.

Another cause contributing to the diminishing role of the Security Council has been the post war emergence of numerous new nations in Asia and Africa and their crucial role in the World's balance of power and their general performance for the Assembly, rather than the Council for bringing their influence to bear in connection with the issue of colonialism, human rights and disarmament.

In addition to that, the advance in the use of mass media of communication and the increasing role of the public opinion in the Governmental process have tended to revolutionize traditional views on the relative merits of public discussion and participation in foreign policy.

V. Proposals to strengthen the Security Council

Proposals have been made for the strengthening of the Security Council to enable it to perform more effectively the functions assigned to it by the charter.

1. Abolition of veto completely and accord equality in voting to all members of the Security Council.
2. Substitute for the requirement of the absolute unanimity of all permanent members that of a qualified unanimity by which the favourable votes of three or four of the permanent members would be necessary for a decision.
3. Restrict the use of the veto to clearly defined areas and eliminate it from the pacific settlement of disputes and the admission of the new members.
4. Alter the fundamental nature of the Security Council by substituting powers of recommendation for its present enforcement powers.
5. Strengthen the further role of the General Assembly by giving it enforcement powers.

Suggestions, first and second seem unaccep-

table at present to any permanent members. Regarding the restriction of the veto, it has been espoused by the United States since the Vandenberg resolution of June 1948. This was confirmed by the former President Eisenhower in his letter to Premier Bulganin dated January 12 1958.

Of more importance than formal changes for the immediate future of the Security Council, would be the improvement of the Council proceedings by the use of informal techniques not requiring revision of voting procedure or composition.

Conclusion

The Security Council may indeed have an increasingly important role to play in the task of keeping the peace, provided that a discriminating choice is made by its members of the various instruments and techniques of diplomacy at its disposal. As a part of the "Evolution of emphasis and practice" of the overall United Nations machinery, it may yet become an active and vigorous guardian of the peace though it is not likely to achieve the stature envisaged by the architects of the UN charter.

SURENDRANATH AND THE CONGRESS OF 1885

SOMNATH ROY

Non-participation of Surendranath Banerjea and his close associates, such as, Anandamohan Bose and Dwarkanath Ganguli, in the first session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in December 1885, has led some scholars to believe that they were "deliberately kept out of this organization at its initial stage."¹ Bipin Chandra Pal was the first to suggest that the Congress was established to counteract the political movement launched by Surendranath and the Indian Association for national unity. As he writes, "The Congress was really in its original inception this dramatic device having for its object the capture of the leadership of our new political freedom movement from this young and intrepid and powerful orator and politician. Indeed I heard from some of those who were in close touch with Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and Mr. A. O. Hume and other Congress leaders that they actually wanted to keep Surendranath out of it at first."² It is interesting to note that Pal made this disclosure just after the demise of Surendranath. By that time almost all the stalwarts connected with the activities of the early Congress had passed away. Pal repeats his allegation against Hume and W. C. Bonnerjee in his autobiography which he wrote some years later.³ Since then, it has become a pet theory of some writers that the founders of the Congress had a dislike for Surendranath, "the *enfant terrible* in politics in India."⁴

But neither in the contemporary newspapers and journals, nor in the writings and private correspondence of these leaders, we find even the slightest hint of an estrangement

between Hume and Surendranath. Hume wrote to Dufferin in a letter, dated 4 July 1885, "No Bengali ever was rude to me in all these years. Yet he is touchy and self-conceited, and easily takes offence."⁵ It is said that Hume was displeased with Surendranath for the latter's dismissal from Government service.⁶ This is not substantiated by facts. Hume himself was not in the good-book of the diehard British bureaucrats of the Government of India. They had a strong suspicion that Hume was "the head-centre of an organization from which emanated all the Ripon demonstrations"⁷ Hume was also no less critical of the English officials. He frankly told Dufferin, "In Bombay and Madras, the Officials in externals are not so bad, it is specially in Bengal, that the Official antipathy to Natives shows itself, and the way District Officials Civil and Military (Police), in many districts do behave to Native gentlemen at times is almost incredible."⁸ Even if we accept the view that Hume and Bonnerjee had no love lost for Surendranath, it appears quite improbable that the leaders of Bombay public opinion, such as, Ranade, Telang, Mehta and others, who extended full co-operation to Surendranath during the Civil Service agitation,⁹ would silently accept Hume's mandate not to invite the undisputed leader of Bengal. The theory of Hume's hostility to Surendranath is thus nothing but a mere conjecture.

The fact is that when Surendranath and his friends received invitation to attend the Congress session at Bombay, preparations for the second National Conference had made considerable progress. It was then next

impossible for them to attend the Bombay conference. "I told him [W. C. Bonnerjee] that it was too late to suspend the Conference, and that as I had a large share in its organization it would not be possible for me to leave Calcutta and attend the Bombay Congress."¹⁰ It must not be assumed that invitation to Surendranath was delayed deliberately, because the Editor of the *Tribune* wrote a few years later that they received invitation from Bombay rather late, when they had already decided to attend the second National Conference at Calcutta.¹¹ Moreover, when the first session of the Congress was over, the Calcutta papers warmly congratulated its organisers. Surendranath's own paper, the *Bengalee* observed, "Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, has been appointed President of the Congress. We take this to be a compliment which Bombay pays to Bengal...The growth of a united political sentiment is one of the happiest signs of the times."¹² The *Indian Nation*, a Calcutta Weekly, also wrote in its issue of 4 January 1886, "The forces which have contributed to the holding of the Congress and the making it a success have been gathering for some time past, but we believe we should be wanting in ordinary gratitude if we did not acknowledge that it was Mr. A. O. Hume who, by wise plans and unremitting exertions, concentrated those forces and accomplished what others might only have dreamt of. Let us hope that the meetings which have been held in Calcutta and Bombay will bear fruit, that they will continue to be held year after year, and that they will accelerate the process now at work for the unification of the Indian people at any rate for the purposes of political action."

It was, however, felt unnecessary to have two parallel organisations "conceived on the same lines and having the same programme."¹³ The leaders of the Indian Association wholeheartedly joined the Congress when it met in Calcutta next year in the larger interest of the country. Had it been a merger of the two hostile camps, it would have been certainly hailed in the contemporary nationalist press. Their complete silence on this issue is a further proof that no such hostility really existed.

1. R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India* I, p. 394.
2. B. C. Pal, "Surendra Nath : Fifty Years of Public Life", *Bengalee*, 21 August 1925.
3. B. C. Pal, *Memoirs of My Life and Times*, II, pp. 13-14.
4. *Modern Review*, January 1936, p. 81 ; Also see Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (London, 1968), p. 267.
5. *Dufferin Papers*, Reel 528.
6. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 394.
7. Reay to Dufferin, 24 May 1885, *Dufferin Papers*, Reel 528. Lord Reay was the Governor of Bombay (1885-90).
8. Hume to Dufferin, 4 July 1885, *Dufferin Papers*, Reel 528.
9. J. C. Bagal, *History of the Indian Association*, p. 30.
10. S. N. Banerjee, *A Nation in Making* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 91.
11. Cited in the *Bengalee*, 23 June 1888.
12. *Bengalee*, 2 January 1886.
13. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 91.

CHRISTIAN VIRTUE Vs CHRISTIAN POWER

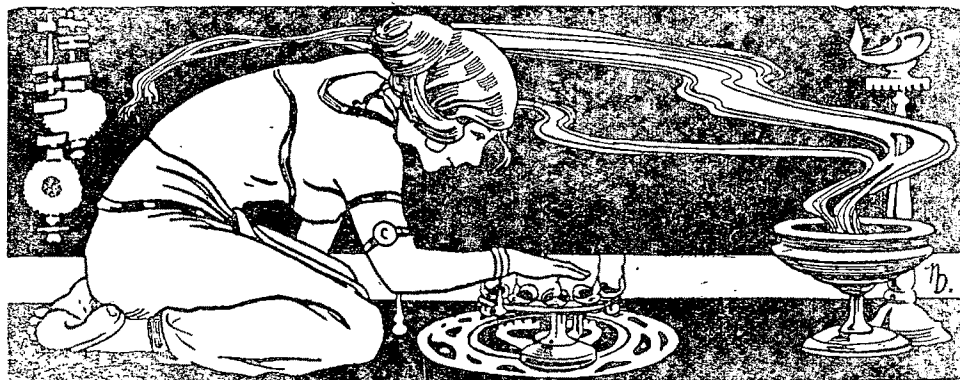
A. CHATTERJEE

The great Kings and Emperors who had accepted the Christian faith during the last two thousand years often lacked the Christian virtues as represented by the life of Jesus Christ and the lives of many saints, martyrs and dedicated men and women whose number would run into millions. But we find in the background of Christian politics of all ages men and women whose service to humanity and attachment to the high principles of Christianity brought glory to the religion of Christ. Christian missions of various denominations have always taken up the work of teaching the ignorant, assisting the poor and serving the sick, the destitute and the orphans. This type of humanitarian work however has been a sort of routine service rendered by the members of organised missions. There have been however in every age certain individuals who elevated the ideals of Christianity on to the high pedestal where it rightfully belonged. They did this through their humility, their deep sympathy for all human beings who suffered or were oppressed and persecuted. Their success was the result of their profound moral consciousness. St. Francis of Assisi who lived in the thirteenth century was an outstanding example of Christian virtue. He embraced poverty and gave up all material possessions in order to come nearer in his heart to his Lord Jesus Christ. The Franciscan order insisted on teaching simplicity as the correct way of life of a true Christian. The Franciscans lived on bread, vegetables, fruits, and oil. They had great sympathy for all animals

and human beings and devoted their lives to the service of fellow creatures of God. Of material possessions they had the barest minimum and they went forward everywhere to serve the suffering, the helpless and the destitute. In 1960 there were four million Franciscans distributed over the earth, upholding the highest principles of Christianity. In the remotest corners of the earth one could see missions where the ignorant were taught, the sick nursed and the poor assisted to earn a living. Surely, religion was also preached but through humility and by sharing the sorrow and suffering of the people served. Where the Kings and the Emperors defended the Christian faith, one found pomp, pageantry and the display of might. Meekness and unstinted human fellowship were never found in the atmosphere of the royal courts. The work of "emancipation" of the "unenlightened" that was carried out often led to the political enslavement of those granted a new freedom of the soul by royal behest. That is why some Christian missionaries broke away from the organised missions and went out alone to serve humanity in all simplicity and sincerity. The royal or the imperial purpose often contradicted the spirit of Christianity and these true followers of Christ found colonialism and the establishment of empire unsuited to the spiritual aim of their lives. Some, who discarded connections with the court found it necessary to go to the help of the politically oppressed. The martyrdom of Savonarola provides a great example of such political and social revolt by a Priest of

religion. The Benedictine, the Carthusians, the Jesuits and various other orders of monks and nuns have served humanity through the ages with a sincerity that largely compensated for the arrogance and oppressiveness of the regal and lordly organisations associated with the courts of European empire builders. The economic exploitation of the masses of Asia and Africa which often attained diabolical proportions, was toned down to some extent by the service rendered by the Christian missionaries in these lands. Some of these servants of God whose humility and brotherliness gave such solace to the oppressed, the exploited and the helpless, were truly the messengers of those profound human ideals on which Jesus Christ and the Christian saints and martyrs built their religion. A very modern example of such faith in humility and brotherly love is that of Charles Freer Andrews who came to India as a mission worker but died while fighting against the British imperialists hand in hand with Gokhale, Gandhi and Tagore. From the very beginning of his life in India, C. F.

Andrews felt that the British rulers of India were pulling down the ideals of Christianity by their wanton use of force and their interference with the freedom of the people of India to achieve political and social progress in their own way. He also felt deeply the falsehood of British assertions of racial superiority and the dishonesty behind all British promises and undertakings as affecting the political future of the Indian people. Indians could not live with their British friends without violating the false social code of imperial society in India. They also had to play a subordinate part to the British, no matter how high their intellectual attainments were. When Andrews fought to instal Prof. Susil Rudra as Principal of St. Stephens College, he found it very hard to succeed. But he did succeed. He also dissociated himself from all official connections as soon as he found his own countrymen were offensively critical of his relations with his Indian friends. C. F. Andrews served the cause of India until his death on the 5th of April, 1940.



MANIPUR—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Prof. MUKUNDABIHARI MITRA

The small territory in the south-east corner of India, now a part of the Indian Union and known as Manipur, comprises nearly 8.5 thousand square miles of which only about 650 square miles are covered by the valley and the rest by hills. It did not, however, bear that name in ancient times. It was called 'Suvarnabhu' (land of gold) and was outside the political pale of Aryavarta and Bharatvarsha of later ages. This is evident from the references to it as 'Kritadesa' in the Hindu Puranas. Subsequently, 'Suvarnabhu' became Manipur (jewel-land) and Aryan culture penetrated by slow degrees into the Meithei community, the hybrid race formed by the integration of seven of the many streams (Mongolian and Aryan) settling in the valley, while the tribals in the hill areas—mainly Kukis and Nagas—remained comparatively unaffected. The impact of the Aryan culture is supposed to have started much earlier than the age of the Mahabharata which relates the story of Arjuna and Chitrangada (Manipur in that story, according to some scholars, was on the sea coast of Kalinga or Ganjam or somewhere else, and not the land now called Manipur). Politically however the territory remained outside India practically till its annexation by the British after the 1891 Manipur war.

Culture has its roots in religion which enshrines the highest aspirations and the noblest ideals of a people. But very little is known about the history of Manipur till the eighteenth century and, as such, about the religion and culture of the people, though the picture is a bit clearer upto the eighth century

than from the eighth to the eighteenth century. During the first of these periods, the religion of the people was more or less tribal in character and consisted mainly of the worship of many gods and goddesses. Latter on, it was swamped by Hinduism which, however, could not totally wipe it out. The primitive religion still survives in a stray form by adjusting itself with the more powerful current of Hinduism. This is evidenced by the existence of the temples of Thanjing at Moirang and Senameihi at Imphal.

Traces of primitive religion, however, are clearly visible even now in some aspects of Manipuri culture—for instance, in dances and dramas representing the story of Khamba and Thoibi. The second period, that is, from the eighth to the eighteenth century, is shrouded in darkness. Since the beginning of the rule of Gharib Newas Pamheiba in or about 1714 A. D. the way was paved for quick integration of the culture of Manipur with that of the rest of India through the rapid spread of Brahmanical Vaishnavism under royal patronage. Vaishnavism, of course, has been in vogue in Manipur from very ancient times and Chitrangada and her son Vabrubahan are said to have professed this religion. But it changed successively from one form to another and Gharib Niwas tried to introduce the Ramanadi form. The present Vaishnavism of Manipur is largely Gauriya Vaishnavism of Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu and it came to be a popular religion since the time of Jai Singh.

This general background of the religion of the Manipuri people is necessary to understand

their cultural evolution because religion is the main source of cultural inspiration. . Vaishnavism has powerfully influenced the outlook of the people by its tenets of universal love, habitual tolerance and perfect equality of all men. This outlook is reflected as much in the social customs as in the cultural patterns of the people. The culture of the Manipuris, as of any other people, finds expression through religious rites and festivals, literature, dance, craft and art ; besides, one particular form of sport—polo—is a remarkable feature of it.

The Manipuris perform with due ceremony all the rites and festivals connected with Vaishnavism. The most important among them is 'Yaoshang' (Doljatra). Other Hindu festivals like Durga Puja, Dewali etc are also observed by them. In addition to these annual festivals, the worship of 'Radha Govinda' is daily performed by many in their family temples. There are also some festivals connected with the old faith like 'Lal Haraoba', 'Chairaoba' etc which are celebrated along with other festivals. Visits to places of Vaishnava pilgrimage, too, are considered as meritorious acts and part of their cultural life.

In literature, Bengali has had a noticeable influence on Manipur mainly through Gauriya Vaishnavism. Though she had her own script, language and literature in olden times, these have now undergone tremendous changes almost beyond recognition. Drama is the particular branch of literature in which the Manipuris have made remarkable progress. The Manipuri people have a special knack for histrionical art and their dramatic performances have earned appreciation everywhere they have been held. Starting with translations of Bengali dramas, Manipur has now developed indigenous dramas though they even now bear the unmistakable stamp of the original model. Besides dramas, religious literature is making steady progress in the land.

The most important and widely known aspect of Manipuri culture, however, is reflected in dance which has gained wide popularity not only in every part of India but outside, too, principally through the efforts of Rabindranath Tagore who took a special interest in it because of its intrinsic qualities and introduced Manipuri dance in Santiniketan. These dances may be divided into two categories—classical and folk. Of the classical group 'Rasa Nritya' is the most celebrated while the folk dance has a number of varieties. Both the categories have exquisite artistic features and are full of rare grace. 'Rasa' dance is an operatic and choreographic enactment of the original 'divine play' of Krishna and Radha with her retinue. So it is purely devotional in form and nature but the sentiments and emotions are expressed so wonderfully through supple movements of the musical sound of 'mridangas', 'kartals', 'mandiras' and bamboo flutes, that even those unfamiliar with the subject matter become spellbound by its magic. It requires special training which the boys and girls receive from their 'gurus'. Besides these, there are other dances like 'Thabal Chongba', 'Laiharaoba', 'Khamba and Thoibi' dances associated with old faith and tradition. Dance is a living art in Manipur. Boys and girls start dancing at an early age and it has come down by tradition through the ages.

Polo, of which Manipur is the motherland, represents another aspect of Manipuri culture. According to the mythology of the land, the game used to be played by the gods. Its local names are 'Marjing', 'Thangjing' etc and it has been regularly played in the present polo ground since almost the beginning of the seventeenth century. The game was introduced in India by the military in 1863 from Manipur and taken to England six years later by the 'Tenth Hussars'. Polo is still the national game of Manipur where it is extremely popular.

THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF SIKKIM

Dr. P. R. RAO

The Kingdom of Sikkim, situated in the Eastern Himalaya, is a protectorate of India. It is bounded on the North by Tibet, on the East by Tibet and Bhutan, on the South by the Darjeeling District of West Bengal and on the west by Nepal. It has an area of 2,818 sq. miles and a population of about 162,189.¹

The country can be divided into two geographical parts: Northern and Southern. The Southern part consists of dense forests and precipitous hills. It is sparsely populated and the villages are few and far between. The northern part is comparatively a more open and undulating country. In this region good pastures and pine forests are found.²

The climate has corresponding variations and every variety ranging from sub-tropical, temperate and arctic is encountered. The rainfall is heavy and averages 137" a year at Gangtok, the capital. The important river of Sikkim is Tista, which is formed by the confluence of the Lachen and Lachung in the North of Sikkim.³

Sikkim is noted for its floral wealth and an estimated 4,000 varieties of flowering plants and shrubs are found here.⁴ In the sub-tropical lower valleys, several varieties of bamboo, ferns and tree ferns, pandanus and orchids are found. In addition to these, valuable trees like Sal are also found. In the temperate zone and in the northern valleys, forests of oak, chestnut, maple, pine

are found. In different parts of the kingdom rice, maize, millet and buck wheat are cultivated.

The geological survey of the country is not yet completed, but it is generally believed that copper, coal, graphite, gypsum are there in large quantities.⁵

The main exports of Sikkim are cardamom, oranges, potatoes and apples. The main imports are machinery, cotton piece goods, consumer goods etc.

THE BEGINNING OF PLANNED ECONOMY.

As early as 1954, Sikkim took steps to develop its economy in a planned manner. In that year the Kingdom's seven year plan was launched. It was followed by five year plans. The third Five year plan was inaugurated in 1967.

AGRICULTURE.

Before planning began, the land under effective cultivation was as follows: 110,000 acres under maize, 29,000 acres under rice, 12,000 acres under millet and 10,000 acres under wheat and barley. After the first two plans the area under maize has gone upto 140,000 acres. But the position with regards to other cereals remains more or less the same. Though the original name of Sikkim was Drend Zong or the land of rice, it does not produce enough paddy to feed its people. It is deficient in rice by about 30%. The other important agricul-

tural products like potatoes, oranges and apples are grown on a total area of 40,000 acres.

The two plans are great disappointments so far as agriculture is concerned. As noted, the additional area brought under cultivation was very insignificant. As a matter of fact there is no scope to increase the area of cultivation. At best another 6,000 acres can be brought under the plough. Sikkim must resort to intensive cultivation to increase its agricultural yield. In the first two plans improvements in per acre yields have been marginal... Officials believe that with intensive cultivation an additional 50,000 maunds of food grains and 30,000 maunds of potatoes a year can be grown at the end of the third five year plan.⁶

The third five year plan which provided for an overall expenditure of 10 crores of rupees has not neglected the agricultural sector. A number of what are called "Impact programmes" are being implemented. A 2,000 acre tea-estate is also envisaged. The authorities, however, are aware that Sikkim cannot attain self-sufficiency in food. The Chogyal (the ruler of Sikkim) is therefore keen that the economy of his country should be complimentary to that of India and not competitive.⁷ By this he meant that Sikkim should import rice and other cereals from India and export oranges and cardamom.

ORANGES, CARDAMOM, SEED POTATOES.

Sikkim is famous for its sweet oranges. They command an all India market. The Sikkim Industrial corporation is running a fruit preservation factory at Singtam.⁸ After oranges, cardamom is the main item of Sikkim's export. The price of cardamom

has shot up from Rs. 65 a maund in 1963 to Rs. 350 in 1967. The other important item of export is seed potatoes which are being sold in India at Rs. 70 to 80 per maund.⁹

SHEEP REARING.

Originally Sikkim had lot of sheep and the woolen industry was thriving. But with the Chinese take-over of Tibet, its woolen industry is hard hit. Its barter trade with Tibet was snapped. Further it is unable to send its sheep to higher altitudes in Tibet in summer. A number of sheep have died of heat. Sikkim wants to get experts from India to develop special feed for the sheep. This would enable them to keep their sheep at one place throughout the year.

INDUSTRIES.

Sikkim is very rich in mineral wealth and has great potentialities for the development of hydro-electric power. But as it is there is very little industrial development. In the current plan provision is made for the setting up of number of industries and also to build hydro-electric stations. Regarding the plans for industrial development the Chogyal has said "ours is a small state and we are not interested in putting up a steel plant. Our interest is limited to setting up small industries like fruit juice industries and handicrafts."¹⁰

There are plans to set up a synthetic gum plant as well as a small tanning factory. There is sufficient raw material for a 60,000 ton paper pulp plant.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECTS.

A 25,000 K. W. hydro-electric plant is under construction. Another big project on

the Tista is under consideration. It could ultimately be developed to yield one million K. W.

Though considerable progress has been achieved under the first two plans, still a great deal remains to be done. Industrialisation has not followed a coherent plan. No systematic attempt has been made to develop forest wealth.

The techno-economic survey of Sikkim was undertaken by the Indian Council of Applied Economic Research. It will be well for Sikkim to give serious attention to the recommendations of the council and also develop technical education which has lagged behind.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The need for developing communications in a strategically important region like Sikkim is obvious. The main emphasis in the First plan was on communications. The current plan lays equal stress on communications, agriculture and education.

Communications in Sikkim are a stupendous challenge to the engineers. Maintenance of communications i. e. roads, Post and Telegraph, entails a heavy expenditure year after year without proportionate return; under the India-Sikkim peace treaty of 1950, communications in Sikkim are the responsibility of the government of India.

The Border Roads organisation is almost working round the clock in laying new roads throughout Sikkim. Border roads have brought big benefits to Sikkim in matters of trade and development, though primarily they were meant to meet the vital defence needs. In the past much of the output of cardamom, potato and orange could not be

sold for want of adequate transport. Today the produce can be picked up at the farmer's doorsteps and delivered to any place in India. Children are now using this transport for attending the schools. Besides, the border roads are providing employment to thousands of Tibetan refugees. Till now an amount of about 20 crores was spent on the border roads. This amount has been well spent.

EDUCATION.

The three numerically important languages in Sikkim are Nepali, Sikkim is Bhutia and Lepcha spoken respectively by 74,357, 36,577, and 14,847 people.¹¹ English is used extensively and officially for internal and external correspondence and communications.¹²

Under the first two plans the emphasis was on the setting up of country wide network of elementary schools and high schools. In 1967 a text book committee was appointed to prepare standard text books for school children.

The guiding principle in Sikkim's educational policy is that no child should walk more than two miles to reach a school and this has been achieved. The medium of instruction is English from VI standard and upwards. But there is difficulty in getting teachers to teach English. Sikkim is now recruiting more and more teachers from India, especially Kerala.

The Government of Sikkim has decided to set up a college before the end of the current plan period. The Chogyal hopes that in due course of time Sikkim would have the "world's smallest university" to provide higher education to its people.

THE NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY.

The present Chogyal of Sikkim His Highness Palden Thondup Namgyal is the founder of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. The institute located at Gangtok is the centre for Mahayana Tibetan studies and Research. It has the largest collection of Tibetan books outside China and Russia.

CONCLUSION

Sikkim has made significant development in all spheres ever since the First plan was inaugurated in 1954. The progress has been more balanced when compared to the other Himalayan Kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan. India is generous in its aid to Sikkim.

It has underwritten all expenditure under the first two plans. In the current plan India's help is not insignificant. Barring the loan amount the rest is grant-in-aid by India. In recent years there is criticism in Sikkim that Indian Financial Aid is more than off set by the Indian excise duty on all goods exported to Sikkim which amounted to about Rs. one crore a year.¹³ But the fact remains that the Indian aid has helped Sikkim to raise its revenue from about Rs. 12 lakhs in 1950 to more than one crore at present. Further it has helped to increase the per capita income in Sikkim to over Rs. 750 i. e. more than double that in India.

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SHOULD THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR BE ABOLISHED ?

B. C. ROUT

The action of Dharma Vira, the Governor of West Bengal on the 21st November 1967 in dismissing the United Front Ministry which had been formed under the Chief-ministership of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee after the Fourth General Election and appointing Dr. P. C. Ghosh as the new Chief Minister had brought an unprecedented controversy as to the exact role of the Governor. Mr. Dharma Vira wanted an early Assembly Session of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in order to ascertain whether the United Front Ministry had real majority support after the resignation of Dr. P. C. Ghosh who was the Minister of Food in the United Front Government. Dr. P. C. Ghosh resigned on 5th November, 1967 because of his differences with the United Front Ministry. After this incident Mr. Dharma Vira wrote a letter to Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee with a request to call an Assembly Session towards the last week of November. But the Mukherjee Cabinet fixed December, 18th for the meeting of the Assembly Session. Assuming that the United Front Ministry had lost the confidence of the majority and as such avoided the early Assembly Session, the Governor dismissed it and appointed Dr. P. C. Ghosh the Chief Minister.

Different Constitutional experts and politicians appear to have been divided in their opinion as to the propriety and legality of the action of Dharma Vira. A few politicians go to the extent of suggesting the abolition of the office of the Governor in India.¹ There

are two contradictory views on this issue. One school maintains the view that Governor is a mere figure head, a rubber stamp of his Cabinet, or post office between the Cabinet and the President or between his Cabinet and the Official Gazette. Speaking on the nature of the gubernatorial position, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said that the Governor would have "no functions which he is required (to perform) either in his discretion or in his individual judgement." According to the principles of the Constitution, he is required to follow the advice of the Council of Ministers in all matters. Interpreting the scope of the provision that "the Ministers, shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor" Dr. B. R. Ambedkar further said—

I have no doubt that it is the intention of this Constitution that the Ministry shall hold office during such time as it holds the confidence of the majority. It is on this principle that the Constitution will work. The reason why we have not so expressly stated it is because it has not been stated in that fashion or in those terms in any of the Constitutions which lay down a Parliamentary System of Government. 'During pleasure' is always understood to mean that the 'pleasure' shall not continue notwithstanding the fact that the Ministry has lost the confidence of the majority, it is presumed that the Governor will exercise his "pleasure" in dismissing the Ministry and, therefore, it is unnecessary to differ from what I may say the stereotyped

phraseology which is used in all responsible Governments"²

Thus the Governor as conceived by the Constituent Assembly is to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, M. P. and a leading Constitutional Lawyer maintains the view that the Governor is a mere nominal head and we should look to the British precedent for guidance regarding circumstances of evidentiary materials on which a Governor can dismiss a Council of Ministers." Mr. Chatterjee expressed this view on Governor's actions in West Bengal. He cited the fact that in England since 1832 the Monarch has never dismissed or removed a Prime Minister. The Governor therefore, should not dismiss a Ministry. Mr. H. V. Kamath also argued in a similar line. It is assessed that the Governorships have been treated as "old age pensions to weary politicians" or "Consolation prizes for the Congressmen defeated at polls." Mr. H. V. Kamath argued for the abolition of the Governorship as it is expensive and unnecessary. Others consider it as mischievous and superfluous office. The D. M. K. party in Madras has also repeatedly demanded the abolition of the office of Governorship. One Governor has reported to have complained that he is like "a qualified hotel keeper." Sorojini Naidu when she was the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, described herself as "a bird in a golden cage." Some times few senior and reputed Statesmen are reluctant to accept this office. Mr. V. V. Giri was unwilling to accept Governorship in the beginning and Dr. H. K. Mahtab relinquished Governorship to become Chief Minister of Orissa in 1956. Ajit

Prasad Jain first grudgingly accepted Governorship of Kerala and subsequently resigned to canvas for the candidature of Ms. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister. He described the office of Governor as "an air-conditioned glass-panelled office." In the Governors conference of 1965, some Governors complained that they were "prisoners in Raj Bhavans and that their functions were merely ornamental."³ Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit resigned Governorship of Bombay to become a Member of the Parliament in 1964, and when she was asked to comment on this change she said humourously, "The Governor's wife is more useful to the State than a Governor, and you know I have no wife." Mr. Hiren Mukherjee described the Governor of West Bengal as "a white elephant" and "a rat gnawing at the vitals of the Parliamentary System."⁴

NOT A SUPERFICIAL OFFICE

The other school maintains the view that it is incorrect to say that the office of the Governor is a superfluous and mischievous one. True, his functions are largely formal and are expected to be performed at the advice of the Ministers. Theoretically all executive powers are vested in the Governor. He is not always expected to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers. According to M. M. Munshi, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, the Governor is "the watch dog of Constitutional propriety and the link which binds the Centre to the States, thus securing the Constitutional Unity of India." He is required by oath of his office. "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution." In Constitutional crisis he is expected to act

wisely. Mr. Sri Prakash, one time Governor in three States of India, feels that the Governor has a positive role to act in crises. He writes, "it is clear that a Governor if he is worth of his salt, must come very prominently in the picture whenever there is any serious situation that might threaten the safety of the State and its Government. I do not know what else he is there for, however constitutional he may be. It is no use always going up to the Centre for advice and guidance in all great and small matters. That would be putting too much of a strain on the Centre for one thing and it would also mean abdicating functions and responsibilities that must be borne by persons in local charge." (5)

Thus the school which views that the Governor is not a mere Constitutional ruler has cited the following occasions where the Governor can act in his behalf without seeking advice of the Council of Ministers.

Those occasions are—

- (1) the selection of a Chief Minister prior to the formation of the Council of Ministers
- (i) Dismissal of a Ministry
- (iii) Dissolution of the Legislative Assembly
- (iv) Asking information from the Chief Minister relating to Legislative and Administrative matters ;
- (v) Refusing to give assent to a bill passed by the State Legislature and sending it back for reconsideration ;
- (vi) Reserving bills passed by the State Legislature for the assent of the President ;
- (vii) Advising the President for the proclamation of an Emergency under Article 356 of the Constitution.

(viii) Asking the Chief Minister to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister, which has not been considered by the Council of Ministers.

(ix) Seeking instructions from the President before promulgating an ordinance dealing with certain matters ;

(x) In case of The Governor of Assam certain administrative matters connected with the Tribal areas of the State.

If one analyses these occasions described above, one may come to the conclusion that the Governor is not a mere figure head. The appointment of the Chief Minister is a prerogative of the Governor. After the General Elections the Governor is to invite the leader of the majority party to form the ministry. In case no party forms the majority, the Governor may exercise his discretion. Another prerogative of the Governor is to dismiss the Ministry which has lost the support of the majority in the legislature. Mr. M. V. Pylee writes on this issue, "The discretionary power of the Governor to dismiss a Ministry also seems to exist if the Governor has reasons to believe that the Ministry is engaged in activities which are likely to endanger national security or solidarity. After a party has come into office with avowed professions of allegiance to the Constitution and after joining office makes use of the privileged position of power to undermine the unity of the nation and establish an independent State or enter into secret negotiations with a foreign power with a view to

breaking away from the federal union, the Governor may justifiably dismiss such a Ministry even if it enjoys a majority in the legislature." (6) The power of dissolution of the Legislative Assembly is vested in the Governor. He may not be properly advised by the Ministry to dissolve the Assembly. In such a case he is fully entitled to act according to his discretion.

So far as advising the President for the proclamation of an Emergency is concerned, the Governor has a free hand to report the matter to the President. The Governor may exercise his discretionary power in refusing assent to a bill passed by the legislature in the first instant and reserving certain bills of the State Legislature for the assent of the President. The Governor has also power to protect the interests of the minorities in the State. While acting as the Chancellor of the University in the State, he may not be always guided by the advice of the Ministers.⁷ Thus it is incorrect to assume that the office of the Governorship is a mere superfluous one. Yuvraj Karan Singh rightly observes, "the Governor even in normal times, has an important role to play. Because of his non-party position, it is possible for him to take more detached and impartial view of affairs in the State. As such, his advice can be of considerable value to the Ministry. Not being saddled with detailed day to day administration, he can take a long range view of problems." Thus the Governor as the non-partisan adviser to the Council of Ministers of the State, has the right to be consulted, right to encourage and right to warn". He is a detached observer of State politics and not an active politician. He is expected to act in case

of constitutional crisis. Like the President of India he will be a "safety valve" of the Constitution and his function is "to lubricate the machine of the Government and to see that its wheels are going well by reason not of his interference but of friendly action."⁸

The Governor serves as a federal link between the Centre and the States. He is thus an essential part in the federal structure of our country. Mr. D. D. Basu, writes, "the Governor is not going to be a mere figure head. If the Governor is an active and good Governor he could by means of getting in touch with the opponents of the party in power reconcile them to a good number of measures and generally make the administration run smoothly". Thus the Governor is an essential part of the constitutional machinery, fulfilling an essential purpose and rendering an essential service. In words of late B. G. Kher (Ex-Chief Minister of Bombay), "A Governor can do a great deal of good, if he is a good Governor and he can do a great deal of mischief, if he is a bad Governor, in spite of the very little power given to him under the Constitution we are framing."

We may sum up the role of the Governor in our Constitution by stating that he is not a mere constitutional ruler, that he is expected to exercise his discretionary powers under the Constitution, that he is to serve as a federal link between the Centre and the State, that he is a non-partisan adviser to the Council of Ministers and that his office is to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution in crisis." Thus it will be a short-sighted action if we abolish the office of the Governor in India. Neither the suggestion as recently made by Mr.

Namboodripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala that the Governor should be elected by the people or by the State Legislature is acceptable. In fact there were the following four alternatives before the Constituent Assembly when the appointment of the Governor was discussed. They were —

- (i) Election by adult suffrage ;
- (ii) Election by members of the Lower House or by both the Houses of the State Legislature ;
- (iii) Selection by the President with a panel of four names submitted by the Lower House of the State Legislature ;
- (iv) Nomination by the President.

Out of these four alternatives the Constituent Assembly decided in favour of the nomination of the Governor by the President. It considered the system of nomination as the best possible method to ensure the impartiality and dignity of the high gubernatorial office. A directly elected Governor may create a problem of political leadership. He may some-times quarrel with the Chief Minister by claiming that he is also the popular leader of the people. The suggestion that the Governor should be directly elected by the State Legislature is not a healthy one. In this case he will be a pawn in the hands of the State Legislature. The scheme of appointment of the Governor by the President out of a panel of four names submitted to him by the State Legislature of the Concerned State was also rejected as unsound. In such a case the Governor may be a party to a particular group in the Legislature and this group—affinity may affect his impartiality and non-partisan behaviour. Thus an appointed Governor would suit the requirements of

our federal system. This is a Canadian practice which the makers of our Constitution wanted to follow. The Constituent Assembly therefore, rightly decided that it would be worse than useless in making the Governor's office an elected one.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Unfortunately the high office of the Governor has lost its halo and dignity in recent times. It has now become a "devalued" office. Often Governors are not shown proper respect and honour which they deserve as the Head of the State. Often they are embarrassed in the State Legislative Assemblies. The office of the Governor is not held in high esteem in the eyes of the politicians and public. As Sri Prakash writes that the Governors are considered to be "selfish hankers after office and have been appointed because they are mere flatterers of those who are in authority at the Centre. Every body comes to feel that a Governor is a powerless person meant for exhibition in places of festivity and amusement." Often people feel that the Governor's office is unjust and undesirable. This notion of gubernatorial office is partly responsible for the deterioration and devaluation of the office. This office is now considered to be a rendezvous of second rate politicians and statesmen. Some lament over the lost glory of the Governors who have become the agents of the Congress Party at the Centre. Often retired Governors are given party tickets to contest in the General Election. Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, Ex-Governor of Madras was given a party ticket by the Congress party to contest in the Fourth General Election in Assam. Moving from pillar to post, from one ministry to another

from Governorship to Ambassadorship, the office of the Governor is greatly losing its halo and dignity. This deterioration of the office does not imply that the office could be abolished. An attempt should be made to improve this office and bring back its old glory that was expected by the framers of our Constitution. After the fourth General Election there is a great change in the political map of India. In the new situation created by multi-party rule, the office of the Governor has acquired a new importance. It is to serve as an effective link between the Centre and the State and to become an active and dynamic office. Its role was obscure as long as the same party presided over the destiny of the nation. As the situation is different now it has to play a different role in the changing circumstance. Its status and dignity need to be improved. The following suggestions may be made to improve the Governor's office and restore the glory which the office has lost.

(1) Merit should be taken into consideration in the appointment of the Governor. Respected and dignified persons should be attracted towards it.

(2) Governorship. A retired Governor should not join politics. Once a person is appointed as a Governor his political career must come to an end. Neither during his term of office nor after his retirement should he have any connection with active politics. The practice of appointing Governors as Ambassadors, or any other lucrative posts should be given up. This will enhance the dignity of the office and make a Governor free and impartial in the discharge of his function.

(3) Negotiation between Centre and the State should take place through the Governor. The practice of the Centre keeping direct relation with the State should be given up. In this connection Sri Prakash writes, "By slow degrees the Centre started keeping direct relations with the State Government. It forgot the Governor whom it had itself created."

(4) Consultation with the Chief Minister in case of appointment of the Governor of

the State should be insisted upon. This convention seems to have been developed in India. If necessary the leaders of the opposition should be consulted regarding the appointment of the Governors in different States.

(5) Governors should be regarded as the best judges of the situation in the State and that they should not always function under the instructions of the Centre. To be free from criticism they should try to avoid frequent pilgrimage to New Delhi for consultation with the Centre.⁹

(6) The practice of renewing the terms of Governorship should as far as possible, be given up. No Governor should usually hold office for more than one term. The possibility of renewal of the term of the office may lure its incumbent to be loyal to the Centre.

REFERENCES

- (1) Mr. H. V. Kamath argued for the abolition of the Office of the Governor. Mr. Rabi Ray, a leading S. S. P. member expressed similar views while discussing the West Bengal affairs in the Lok Sabha.
- (2) Vide C. A. D. Vol. VIII P. 520
- (3) Statesman dated 5th December, 1967
- (4) Ibid 28th December, 1965
- (5) Vide Sri Prakash—State Governors in India. Page 44
- (6) M. V. Pylee—Constitutional Government in India P. 521
- (7) Vide an article by N. Y. Dole—"The position of the Chancellor—Governor in India" in the Indian Journal of Political Science. Vol. XXII No 4 (Oct.-Nov. '61)
- (8) C. A. D. Vol. VIII page 446
- (9) Vide my article, "the Gubernatorial office in India A Devalued one" in the vol. XXIX of No 1 of the Indian Journal of Political Science, January—March 1968. I have included lots of materials in this article from the said article.

SOME THOUGHTS OF GURU NANAK IN THE LIGHT OF THE UPANISADS

Dr. (Miss) APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

It is interesting to note that some of the main ideas of Guru Nanak are very much similar to some major ideas of the Upanisadic literature. In describing the nature of God, Guru Nanak says, God is Light.

He says

The Light which is everything
is Thine

O Lord of Light

From its brilliancy everything
is brilliant.

(Macauliff, Sikh Religion, 25-9)

In Mundakopanisad (ch. III, sec. 1, 5), God is light. He is 'jyotirmayah'; He is the light of all that shines. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other planets, everything shines reflecting His glory¹. Here we also notice that God is "purity" (Subhrah). When the impurities diminish the ascetics behold Him who is stainless resplendant-antahsarire jyotir mayo hi subhroyam pasyanti yatayah Ksina dosah.

Mundakopanisad, Ch, III, see I, 5.

The same is noticed in Isavasyopanisad, He is stainless radiant, pure (Isav. Up., 8). And Gurn Nanak says the same about God. He says "The Pure One becometh not Impure". The Pure One is Brahma (Katha. Up., VI, 1.). And He is 'Perfection'. He is called the most Perfect And Guru Nanak says, My Lord is perfect and His throne is

1. Tacchubhram jyotisam jyotis...na tatra suryo bhati na candra tarakam tameva bhantamanubhati sarvam tasya bhāsa sarva-midam bibhati

immovable. (mere thakura puro takhati adolu Sri Rag., First Guru, 2). Perfect of the perfect the Lord is called, He reposes on the perfect throne (puro puro akhio puro ukhati nivasa) He looks beautiful on His perfect seat.....Nanak, if man obtains the Perfect Master how can his virtues decrease?

Pure thani suhavano

Nanak pura je milo

Kin ghate gun tasa

(Sri Rag, First Guru, 4; Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Tr. by M. M. Singh, p. 56).

God is Truth, according to Guru Nanak and everything connected with Him is truth (Macauliff. Vol. I, p. 219). And Nanak says, True are they who meditate on the True one, Those who are born and die, are the falsest of the false. He, says Nanak, know the True one alone as true, By serving Him man obtaineth happiness.....The true wine is that which containeth True name. Bathe in the water of virtues, apply the perfume of truth to thy body.....Then shall thy face become bright (Macauliff. p. 261).

In the Upanisads we find that the Supreme Being is attained by Truth and that Truth triumphs, not the Falsehood.

Satyena labhyasthapasa hyesa atma

Mand. Up. III, I, 5.

Satyameva jayate nanrtam

Satyena pantha vitato devayanah

Ibid. 6.

Saca khedi...niramkaru Guru Granth Sahib, Tr. By M. M. Singh, p. 26.

And Nanak says the same. How to obtain God? By truth and not by falsehood (Mac., p. 262). Another quality of God according to Guru Nanak is wisdom (Mac. p. 262). According to Upanisadic philosophy, attainment of knowledge is the way to immortality. In the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, it is made clear, that it is self-realisation which is the realisation of Brahma and which would give one immortality in this mortal world. The 'Self knowledge' is immortality. (Brhad. II, 4, 2-5; IV, 5, 1-19). In Kenopanisad, Brahma is knowledge and through knowledge one attains immortality

atmana Vindate Viryam
Vidyaya vindate amrtam.

Keno., II, 4.

Guru Nanak emphasizes upon the all-pervading character of God. In a beautiful poetical language he says "Thou art the lake and thou art the swan : Thou art the lotus and the water lily.

Thou art pleased on beholding them". Again he says, "He is the net and fish both, He is the Spouse and the Couch,

He is the Relisher and the relish"
(Mac. p. 264.)

In Isavasyopanisad, He, the self-existent, is everywhere.....seeing all, knowing all and encompassing all.....Kavir manisi paribhuh svayambhur yathatattthyato arthan vyadadhacchasvatibhyah...

In Kenopanisad we get further details about the all pervading character of God. "It is Atman, the spirit by whose power the ear hears, the eye sees, the tongue speaks, the mind understands and the life functions, srotrosya srotram manaso mano yat vaco ha vacam sa u pranasya pranah

Keno, 1, 2.

The eye cannot approach It, neither speech nor mind. We do not therefore know It, nor can we teach it...na tatra caksur gacchati na vag gacchati no mano na vidma na vijanimo yathaitadanusis yat...Keno, I, 3. What speech cannot reveal, but what reveals speech, what sight fails to see, but what perceives sight, what Learning fails to grasp but what perceives Learning, what life does not enliven but what directs Life—Keno that alone is Brahma...and not the deities that people worship. Yadvacanbhyuditam yena vagabhyudyate tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupasate yanmanasa na manute yenabur mano matam yat caksusa na pasyati yena caksumsi pasyati...yacchretrena na srnoti yena srotramidam srutam yat pranena na praniti...Keno, I, 4-8.

God is the creator and he finds delight in his created beings says Nanak.—

Vekho vigaso Kari vicaru

Kari kar vekho nadari nihala

The same we find in the Upanisads. The Aitareyopanisad begins with this thought. Here we are told that in the beginning 'all this was Atman alone'. He then thought to Himself, Let me create the worlds. Thus he created-atma va idameka evagra asinnyatkin can misat; sa iksat lokannu srja iti sa imanillokanasrjat.

Ait. Up. I, 1.

The same idea is noticed in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, (ch. I, 4 :) Here we find that in the beginning the universe was the self. He pondered and beheld nothing but himself. atmaivedamagra asitpurusavidhah so anviksya nanyadatmanoapasyat, so-ahamas-mityagre vyaharat, tato ahamnamabhavat...

This led to the creation and He knows 'I

am indeed creation ; because I created all these". Hence He became known as the Creation. (Brhad. Up. I, 4, 1-5). The idea is noticed in Nanak's thoughts. He says "moon and sun are thy lamps, perfume of sandal wood is thy incense, wind is thy fan... thou hast a thousand eyes, yet not one, thousand feet yet not one, thousand organs of smell, yet not one". (Sohila, Rag dhanasari ; Macauliff Vol. I, p. 259).

In Isavasyopanisad, we are further enlightened on the omnipresent character of God. The Self is One, unmoving. It is faster than the mind. Having preceded the mind, It is beyond the reach of the senses. Ever steady, It outstips all that runs. By Its mere presence, it enables the cosmic energy to sustain the activities of living beings. It moves and it moves not. It is far and It is near. It is within all this and it is also outside all this. (Isav. 4-6).

Nanak forbids to covet what is transient and he points out to a Mulla and a Qazi that no matter how learned a Qazi or a Mulla is, he has to die one day. It is the creator alone who is Eternal Everlasting, who has no birth and no death. (Mac. p. 263-265).

In Isavasyopanisad we find that everything is ephemeral in the world. So, "support yourself by renouncing the world. Do not covet the wealth". One is to seek bliss in renunciation, not in wealth, which is the means of the satisfaction of worldly desires.

tena tyaktena bhunjitha ma grdhah kasya
swid dhanam...

Isav. I

In Brhad. Up. Maitreyi says to her philosopher husband Yajnavalkya, "Even if this whole earth replete with wealth be mine, venerable Sir, will it make me immortal?"

"No" said Yajnavalkya.

This leads to the final point of the discussion that the realisation of Brahma alone would give one immortality in this mortal world.

In the Kathopanisad yama offers all the worldly objects of enjoyment, sovereignty of this wide earth with all its enjoyments, to Naciketas. He says to Naciketas, "Choose sons and grandsons who will live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, horses and gold ; choose a vast territory on earth and live thyself as many years as thou desirest. Be a king of the wide earth. I shall make thee enjoyer of all desires. (I, 23, 24, 25). He offers to Naciketa, fair damsels, chariots, musical instruments. But Naciketa says, "All these are most transient, O Death, They wear out the vigour of all the senses of man. And the whole span of life is but short". So Naciketa only asked for the knowledge of the Imperishable Eternal one, from Yama, the God of Death, In Kathopanisad, we are told that 'the Fools or those who are childish pursue the external pleasures and so they fall into the snare of the wide-spread Death. But the wise do not desire anything in this world, having known what is eternally immortal in the midst of all non-eternals.

paracah Kamananuyanti balaste

mrtoryanti vitatasya pasam.

atha dhira amrtatvami viditva

dhruvamadhruvesviha na prarthayante

(Katha, IV, 2).

Gura Nanak, in his own poetic and picturesque style says the same. He tells a man addicted to drinking, The Giver gave man a pill of the intoxicant illusion, In his intoxication he forgot death and enjoyed pleasure for four days... The true wine is that which containeth the true Name, Man

is known as properly intoxicated when he obtaineth a place in God's court (Mac.p. 261).

So in the Upanisads, immortality (amrtam) is obtained by realising Brahma and according to Guru Nanak the real joy, the real intoxication, lies in obtaining God. Now how to obtain God? Guru Nanak gives a glorious and gorgeous description of God's dwelling place. It is a splendid palace, wrought with gems and pearls, diamonds and rubies. But it is surrounded with a golden wall, It is very difficult to scale that wall.

Prabhu hari mandaru

Sohana tisa mahi

manak lal

moti hira...

kancana koti...

(Sri Rag, First Guru ; Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Eng. Tr. by M. M. Singh, p. 55.)

In the Upanisads too we find that the path is not only thorny but most dangerous. Like the sharp edge of a razor is that path, difficult to cross and hard to tread...

Ksurasya dhara nisita duratyaya

dnrgam pathastat kavayo vadanti

Katha, III, 14.

Now Nanak says that it is with the help of the 'Guru', by meditating on God one shall behold God. The guru will give one the ladder to scale the wall. And the ladder is God's Name on which one has to meditate. guru paudi...

(Sri Rag, First Guru, 3, Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Tr. by M. M. Singh, pp. 55 56.)

It is noteworthy that this importance of Guru is noticed in the Upanisads too. In Kathopanisad the following is noticed Uttisthata jagrata prapya varan nibodhata.

Arise, Awake, (O man) Realise that

Atman having approached the excellent teachers (Katha, III, 14).

In Mundakopanisad, it is laid down that to know, to realise Brahma one should become a pupil under a preceptor who is well versed in the knowledge of Brahma tadvijnanartham sa Guru mevabhigacchet srotriyam brahmanistham.

Mundakopanisad, Ch. I, Sec. II, 12.

To such a seeker, whose mind is tranquil and senses are controlled, and who approaches him in proper form, let the wise teacher impart the science of Brahman in its very essence, the science by which one knows the true, imperishable Being.

Tasmai sa vidvanupasannaya samyak prasantacittaya samanvitaya, yenaksaram purusam veda satyam provaca tam...Mund., I, Sec. II, 13.

The theory of Guru Nanak that God is obtained by Love is again noticed in Upanisads too. Thus we are told—

Nayamatma pravacanena labhyo, na

medhaya na bahuna srutena

yamevaisa vrnute tena labhya stasaisa

atma vivrnute tarum svam.

The self is not attained through discourses, nor through intellectuality nor through much learning. It is gained only by him who longs for It, with the whole heart. For to such a one the Self reveals its own Nature. (Mund., III, II, 2-3). In Kathopanisad, we are told that the Atman cannot be attained by the study of the Vedas, nor by intellect, nor even by much learning, by him it is attained whom It chooses (Katha, II, 23).

Guru Nanak did not attach any spiritual significance or value to the performance of rituals, or sacrifices. In Upanisadic litera-

ture, utter futility of performing sacrifices, is noticed. The deluded man fancies sacrifices to be the highest and know nothing better. But having enjoyed the fruits of their virtuous deeds, they fall into their old human life or into what is lower still. So one is advised to seek knowledge of Brahma with the help of a Guru. (Mund., Ch. I, Sec. 2, 10-12)

Further Guru Nanak lays emphasis on extreme devotion to God. "Persuade thy heart to sing God's name with every breath thou drawest" says Guru Nanak. (Mac. p. 266). And in Upanisadic literature we are told that the Self is not gained by man of weak spirit, nor by the careless nor by improper austerities. But wise men who strive with vigour, attention and propriety, attain union with Brahma.

Nayamalma valahinena labhyo.....

Mund., III, Sec. 2, 4.

In Guru Nanak's thoughts, the Catholic spirit of Hinduism is reflected. Thus He says—As there is one sun but many seasons ... So there is but one God though His forms are many (Mac., p. 258).

So Guru Nanak points out that there are different names and different conceptions of God, but all forms and names are for the one and the only one, the God. Nanak, here, refers to the existence of six different schools of philosophy and different faiths and different teachers; but he says "The Guru of gurus is but one, though He hath various forms". (Mac., p. 258). Here Guru Nanak

differs from Upanisadic philosophy because in Kenopanisad there is explicit denial of Godhood for deities of popular worship in the observation repeatedly emphasized upon that "That alone is Brahma which speech cannot reveal, which mind does not comprehend, which sight fails to see, which hearing fails to grasp, which life does not enliven but which reveals speech, which perceives sight which perceives hearing and which directs life and not that which people on earth worship." It, no doubt, refers to the deities and symbols which ignorant people worshipped. But Guru Nanak echoes the views of Shri Rama Krishna that all faiths lead to God, God is the common goal of all faiths and doctrines. He has many different forms and many different names. He is both formless and with form, said Sri Rama Krishna.

Finally it is interesting that in Guru Nanak's thoughts we find the Christian belief of the last day of Judgement. He says that one will die one day. The ministers of Death will take him away and there an account of his acts is read; the Judge on his seat taketh the account and passeth the sentence.

jivan marna jai

Kou ithou Khajoukali

jidho bahi samjhai

ai tisau Koi na caliu nali

Guru Granth Sahib, Tr. by M. M. Singh

p. 47

It seems Guru Nanak found this Christian idea suitable to make common people God-fearing and righteous.

Current Affairs

WEST BENGAL COALFIELDS

The situation in the West Bengal Coalfields has been going from bad to worse since the last several months. The following excerpt from the COAL FIELD TRIBUNE will give the reader a good idea about the situation in the area.

Asansol coalfield has been turned into, as it were, a battlefield.

In the name of democracy, complete mobocracy prevails in this coalfield and defiance of law has been the order of the day. In the name of trade union movement, politically motivated mob rule has been let loose throughout the coalbelt. This open defiance of law is the resultant effect of inducting the miners into indiscipline and fratricidal fight. In the name of class struggle, miners are being pushed to fight one another and the mining industry as a whole, have gone panicky.

Within a fortnight's time from Patmohna Colliery incident on February 10 to Benali Colliery incident via Sripur on February 25, ten persons lost their lives and several others were injured in fratricidal fight. It is a suicidal policy adopted by a section of power-intoxicated labour leaders and politicians who being in advantageous position are after creation of their political base and coalfield has been selected as the suitable arena.

Horrible happenings are taking place in coalfield since the past several months and

it transpires, as if, there is no law. Complete reign of terror has gripped the coalfield and nobody feels secure of their lives and property. The disquieting trend in the mining industry has put a full-stop to its growth and expansions, and employment potentialities are scuttled.

Bloody encounters between the followers of different ruling U. F. constituents in the coalbelt has been almost a daily occurrence, some one attacks and some one defends. In Patmohna Colliery on February 10, about 1000 persons armed with lethal weapons attacked the colliery dhawrahs and as a result of clash 6 persons died. Just after a fortnight, on February 25, a mob of more than 3000 persons armed with lethal weapons stormed the Benali Colliery and clash ensued. 4 persons died as a result of clash. On the same day, Sripur Colliery dhawrahs were attacked by a violent mob of about 2000 persons and this attack and repulse are still going on when we are writing these columns for the press on Saturday, the 28th February. The situation in Sripur is so much explosive that curfew had to be clamped for 3 times from 25th to 28th February to control the violence.

The industrialists in the mining industry here have gone nervous equally with the section of law-abiding working class. Production of coal has gone down to much lower level than productive capacity and its impact is felt on the economic sphere.

But the militant leadership feels scanty regard for its repercussion. Mine Managers and other mining officials have little say over their day-to-day administration on the workers and as a result accidents are on the increase. Defiance of mining authority and their orders have been the regular practice by most of the mine workers.

RUSSIAN DISAPPROVAL OF ISRAELI

AIR ATTACKS

It is well known that just as America supplies arms to Israel the Egyptians obtain military implements from the Russians. There should therefore be some American and Russian involvement in the sphere of the strategy of the Arab-Israeli conflict. No doubt the Russians are not participating in the planning of Arab terrorism nor perhaps are the Israeli acts of retaliation planned by American experts. But the Russians certainly began by giving some superior weapons to the Arabs who failed to make proper use of the same, and, quite often, enabled the Israelis to get hold of these top secret weapons, which they dutifully handed to the Americans. The Russians lost enthusiasm, after some such incidents, to assist the Arabs by giving them their latest weapons. The Russians rather made use of their influence to induce the Israelis not to make too many air raids on Egypt. But so long as the Arabs continue to indulge in acts of terrorism the Israelis would hardly stop retaliating. The Arabs began their terroristic activities in 1968. The first attack was only a hijacking of a plane but in the second they attacked a plane in Athens Airport and a passenger was killed. In 1969 a plane was attacked in Zurich and a pilot was fatally wounded.

In other attacks in Brussels and Athens a Greek boy was killed and some persons injured. In 1970 an attack on a bus carrying air passengers in Munich, one Israeli passenger was killed and eleven passengers were injured. In another attack on an old age home in Munich seven persons were killed and nine were injured. The Arab outrages did not make them popular and public opinion did not condemn Israeli retaliations to the extent that they should have been. The present position is one of mutual attacks which quite often involve foreigners in so far as the terrorists never have any scruples about launching attacks on foreign planes even when such planes are in foreign air fields or are air borne. If Russia and America really meant to put a stop to all this fighting and the public nuisance raids, they could have managed it somehow. But the only thing these super powers do is giving arms to the warring parties and issue threats at times. That is hardly an effective method of stopping wars. When India defeated Pakistan as spectacularly as the Israelis defeated the Arabs; the great powers rushed up to save Pakistan. Why cannot they do the same in this case too? They cannot, because the Israelis are not so peace loving as the Indians. The Arabs also are quite unreasonable in so far as they want to abolish the state of Israel. But surely the powers can guarantee the permanence of the Jewish state as well as prevent it from grabbing more Arab territory by force of arms. The real trouble is that the powers have divided the world into opposite military camps and have undertaken to keep alive the enmities that have been created by this evil arrangement.

DAILY JOURNALISM IN TELUGU

P. RAJESWARA RAO

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest and the fourth most populous State in India with a literacy of about 30%. Telugu speaking people within the State number over four crores. Andhras domiciled in Mysore, Maharashtra, Orissa and Tamilnadu number nearly a crore. Every where they are politically conscious, socially active and culturally enlightened. They are the largest single linguistic group in India. Hindi with its numerous dialects like Magadhi, Maithili with a separate script, Bhojapuri, Vrajabhasha, Khandiboli, Rajastani and Marwari etc., logically speaking, cannot stand in the way of Telugu in occupying the place of primacy.

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane held the view that Telugu alone deserved to be the official language of India. He described it as the Northernmost member of southern languages and the southernmost member of the Northern languages with the advantages of both and with none of their defects. It is nearer to Sanskrit than any other language of the Dravidian group. It is capable of serving as a bridge between the North and the South. Besides it is adaptable, dynamic, absorptive, grammatically simple, euphonically beautiful even when using foreign words. It is capable of being the vehicle for science, engineering, medicine and various branches of technology and humanities. For its level

of literature, sheer beauty and sweetness it is acclaimed as the Italian of the East. Its words are vowel ending. The sound generated by them is harmonious. Grouping of syllables and avoidance of harsh combinations of consonants is a special feature of Telugu. Since every sound with the several shades can conveniently and correctly be expressed in Telugu, it is the nearest approach to phonetic perfection. It is the only regional language of India that has a secure place among the Ashta Bhashas of antiquity. Its script is artistic, round and beautiful like that of the Burmese.

But in Daily Journalism its record is poor when compared to Marathi, Bengali, Tamil or Malayalam. In Pre-independent India Journalism was full of risks of every variety. It was a mission and not a profession much less an industry as it is today. Yet it fascinated the romantic idealist and attracted the elite. Though a number of Dailies were started from time to time they did not survive for long till 'Andhra Patrika' as a fullfledged Daily came on the scene. But the vision, the spirit and the high idealism of our forbears should be taken into consideration in judging their achievements as the brunt of the struggle was borne by them. When idealism is giving way to commercialism it is very necessary to

remember and recall the selfless services of the pioneers with gratitude,

In or about 1908 Srigada Krishna Murty Sastri who became the Poet Laureate of Andhra Pradesh in the evening of his life published 'Gowtami' as a Daily for some time. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu a staunch congressman and a follower of Lokamanya Tilak, founded 'Andhra Prakasika' in 1885 and edited it as a Weekly, Bi-Weekly and Daily and reverted it to a weekly. This Journal espoused the public cause frankly and fearlessly for over forty five years. 'Sasilekha' of Gattupalli Seshacharyulu established in 1893 as a weekly which became bi-weekly, then a tri-weekly and ultimately a Daily, and served the public for over thirty years. The first full-fledged Daily 'Andhra Patrika' was founded only in 1914 by the late Desodharaka K. Nageswara Rao who successfully combined ancient tradition with modern temper. For him it was a labour of love. He ran it in a spirit of service and sacrifice. On his own admission its circulation was about five thousand till 1930. During the "Salt Satyagraha" public interest in day-to-day developments increased and its sales doubled. He displayed wisdom and vision in utilising the services of stalwarts like G. Harisarvothama Rao, the first to court imprisonment for sedition in Andhra area during the 'Vandemataram' movement of 1906, K. Siva Ramakrishna Rao and Challa Seshagiri Rao who were closely associated with the Andhra movement. He encouraged every Telugu writer be he a poet, Pandit, reformer, revolutionary or a non-conformist in any walk of life. In the fitness of things his birth Centenary was celebrated with

popular enthusiasm and the Government of India thought it fit to issue a postage stamp to commemorate the same.

In the early thirties, S. G. Acharya a real innovator in Journalism came on the scene with a popular one-pice paper in Janmabhoomi copies of which sold like hot cakes on the Madras beach. On the eve of elections in 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935 the Maharaja of Pithapuram founded the People's Party to contest elections. He needed a Daily to reach the masses. Thus "Janavani" came into existence under the editorship of Tapi Dharma Rao, a powerful writer who is still happily in our midst. With the helpless defeat of the people's party at the polls, the paper came to a close. "Samadarsani" ran as the Daily organ of the justice party for a brief period during the general elections of 1937.

The only Telugu Daily of consequence that successfully challenged the sway of 'Andhra Patrika' is the "Andhra Prabha" which is still growing strong in volume, value and circulation. It was started in 1938 with Kaza Subba Rao (the joint Editor of the Indian Express) as the editor. He was succeeded by N. Narayana Murty still remembered for his brilliant feature 'Pan Supari'. He was followed in 1942 by N. Venkateswara Rao a master of lively and living prose in the line of Avutapalli Narayana Rao and Mutnuru Krishna Rao. He streamlined and vitalised it. It became a first rate Daily. On account of prolonged labour strike at Madras 'Andhra Prabha' with its English counterpart in the chain, the 'Indian Express' moved to Vijayawada the nerve centre of Andhra and

re-established its position. It brought out another edition from Chittoor to cater to the needs of Rayalaseema and Mysore. The second edition of 'Andhra Prabha' is now brought out from Bangalore. Thus 'Andhra Prabha' is the first Telugu Daily to be published simultaneously from two places. The 'Andhra Patrika' followed suit by bringing out a second edition from Vijayawada in addition to the one at Madras. But 'Andhra Prabha' stole a march over 'Andhra Patrika' and consolidated its position and became unassailable. Further 'Andhra Prabha' as a link in the chain encircling the country has tremendous resources in men money and material at its disposal. While 'Andhra Patrika' is edited by S. Sambhu Prasad, the son-in-law of founder editor, 'Andhra Prabha' is edited by N. V. Seshayya, a balanced and level headed gentleman with abiding faith in the higher values of life.

The 'Visalandhra' originally known as 'Praja Sakti' was successfully edited by K. Rajagopala Rao as a Daily since its inception in 1952 upto November 1968 in spite of the bifurcation and trifurcation of the communist party. Since November 1968, V. Srikrishna has taken over as its editor. Its publishing wing is informative, impressive and useful in spite of the Party bias. It represents the Pink among communists. The left Communist (Marxists) published a Daily called 'Jana Sakti' for some months with M. Hanumantha Rao as the Editor.

During the second World War P. V. Krishnayya Chowdary founded a weekly 'Desabhimani' as an organ of the National War Front with Challa Seshagiri Rao as

Editor, and it also functioned as a daily for some months. 'Andhra Bharati,' 'Andhra Varta' and 'Andhra Praja' also functioned as Dailies for a short span. When the indomitable Andhra Kesari Prakasam founded the Praja Party in opposition to the ruling Congress Party, he started the daily "Vijaya Prabha" with all the fanfare and it survived only for six months. With the blessings of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and under the editorship of M. Krishna Murty another Daily "Janmabhoomi", issued from Vijayawada soon became defunct. Under the auspices of the 'Swatantra Party; "Vahini" ran as a Daily for a few months on the eve of the general elections in 1962 with P. Srihari Rao as the Editor.

N. Venkateswara Rao a born Journalist, could not remain silent for long. He succeeded in founding the Daily, "Andhra Jyothi" in 1960 at Vijayawada with the assistance of some of his friends and admirers who were prepared to loose good money for his sake. In spite of his ability and efforts it is sandwiched between the two giants Andhra Prabha and Andhra Patrika. His partiality to atheism, tirade against tradition and caricature of the cherished values over shadowed his erudition, rational approach and scientific temper. His iconoclastic zeal and crusading temperament often disturb harmonious thinking and understanding. While the literary supplement and the reviews are admirable and original, objectivity and tolerance do not receive the attention they deserve. Trenchant and pungent views cannot hold the public attention or sympathy for long. With a dose of moderation and caution and open alliance with the Swatantra

party for which it has a soft corner, coupled with dignity and decorum it can be assured of a better future. It owes its stature to its editor who recently celebrated his Shashtyabdapoorthi.

Besides these big Dailies with State wide circulation there are in coastal Andhra local Dailies with limited circulation. They are Aruna (1947) from Kakinada, Mundadugu (1958) also from Kakinada, Samacharam (1959) from Rajahmundry and Ratna Garbha (1967) from Eluru.

Linguistic consciousness in Telangana region was under a cloud during the regime of successive, Nizams when Urdu was imposed and even inflicted on the sons of the soil at all levels in administration and education. Yet stalwarts such as M. Hanumantha Rao and S. Pratapa Reddy with the support of Raja of Munagala, Raja Bahadur Venkatrama Reddy popularly known as Kotwal Venkatarama Reddy, and Vaman Naik kindled and kept up the Andhra spirit against heavy odds and official frowns. 'Golconda Patrika' was their mouth piece. It was converted into a Daily and was successfully edited by N. Narothama Reddy for some time. It was unfortunately closed down in 1946.

During the forties, Calcuttawala a Muslim millionaire founded the Telugu Daily under an Arabic title 'Meezan' to echo the voice of his Exalted Highness and installed the premier-poet, painter and patriot Adivi Bapi Raju as its editor. When it was sought to be converted into the mouth piece of the Razakars, self-respecting and nationalist that Bapi Raju was, he left the place. 'Telangana', another Daily founded in 1945

by Rajagopal Mudaliar, founder of "Deccan Chronicle" was edited by Bukkapatnam Ramanujachari.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh a number of Dailies were founded at Hyderabad. Ch. V. P. Murty Raju (now chief of the State Bharat Sevak Samaj) conducted the daily "Andhra Ratna" with M. Krishna Murty as the editor for some time. The "Andhra Bhoomi" another Daily founded in 1960 by the proprietors of the "Deccan Chronicle" is edited by Gora Sastry who had his earlier training in the "Swatantra" (Telugu) under Khaza Subba Rao. The Daily "Andhra Janata" founded by V. B. Raju which was edited by P. Nageswara Rao now joint Editor of 'Andhra Prabha' has been acquired by the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. Out of the above mentioned short lived and long lived Dailies that were ushered into existence only one big Daily with 38.5% in total circulation then dailies in category medium and 8 in small category are in existence to day. Total number of all types of journals is 328 with a grand total circulation of eight lakhs forty thousand occupying seventh place language wise. Vijayawada has become the Fleet Street of Andhra Pradesh. The policy of all these Dailies is Nationalist. They are free from yellow journalism and sensationalism.

Since Andhras dedicated their best men such as C. Y. Chintamani, Kotamraju brothers (Punnayya and Rama Rao) Khaza Subba Rao, G.V. Krupanidhi, K. Iswara Dutta, K. Ramakoteswara Rao, C. V. H. Rao, A. S. Raman and M. Chalapathi Rao to English Journalism, Telugu Dailies have been and

are comparatively poorer. Even the prosperous Indian language dailies do not pay decently to the Editors or contributors. None of our Dailies, so far reached the coveted figure of one lakh circulation though a number of Indian language Dailies in other States far exceeded that limit. Besides, they are faced with newsprint shortage. The 'Ananda Bazar Patrika' of West Bengal, the 'Dinamani' of Tamil Nadu, and the 'Monorama' and 'Matrubhoomi' of Kerala have more than twice the circulation of the

"Andhra Prabha", not to speak of other Telugu Dailies.

The reading public is growing. Their tastes have to be studied, moulded and catered for. There are plenty of writers with calibre and capacity. The future belongs to Indian language Dailies. The leeway can only be made up with colossal strides. It is hoped that Telugu Dailies will improve in quality, in number and in circulation more quickly than most of us think and occupy a place of honour in the galaxy of the great Indian language Dailies of our country at the earliest.

IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(11)

We finished our breakfast in a hurry and soon after, twin bells began ringing in unison, calling all of us to the festival grounds. Men, women and children flocked towards the mango-grove. The night-train from Calcutta had brought many more guests to the ashram. After a while, Rabindranath arrived. He sat on a raised earthen seat, decorated with lotus leaves and flowers. Some ashram boys sang a Vedic hymn, under Dinendranath's guidance. Kshitimohan babu read out from the Upanishads and Nepalbabu explained it to us in Bengali. Later, Pandit Bidhusekhar Shastri and Sri Bhim Rao Shastri chanted some Sanskrit slokas together and

also gave the commentary. Three boys came up to the poet, offering him sandal paste, a flower garland and a string of fresh, green grass. Later Rabindranath spoke briefly, but there was no concluding song. The poet got up to leave, but could not avoid an eager crowd of students and guests waiting to touch his feet. They followed him upto his door steps.

A little later we went to his upstairs room, as he had wished to teach a few songs to the girls. The room was almost full and the singing lessons had already begun, when we arrived. The small room was overflowing with people and the late comers had to sit

on the steps outside. Several songs were sung.

Rabindranath was to leave for Darjeeling a couple of days later. While the songs went on, Kshitimohan babu came to bid the poet 'good-bye'—as he was also setting out for his vacations that day. Rabindranath wanted to know if he would also visit Darjeeling. Kshitimohan babu said, "We may travel upto Kalimpong—not farther than that." Rabindranath said, "then why not come also to Darjeeling?" Kshitimohan babu answered "Would the 'simple cowherds of Braja be able to meet the king of Mathura over there?" The poet laughed aloud and said, "But of course! you just have to go there." Kshitimohan babu left the room soon after.

One of the ladies present, wished to hear the song, "Dhirey bandhu go, dhirey, dhirey." The poet began to sing it for her.

The meeting ended as it was getting late. Bathing and lunching took up all of the afternoon. A tiny five-year-old girl kept cashing out every few minutes to have a look at the poet. Rabindranath had not noticed her when then they had first met—she was quite disappointed because of this. When the poet came to know of this, he quickly made her happy by a shower of attention.

When the sun went down, we came out of our rooms to walk about the ashram. The newcomers went all over the fields, the woods and the red-soiled dunes. Some of us went near the Bhubandanga lake and sat down there. The lake was lovely, with tall palm trees around it. Now all those areas look bare. After returning we got ready for a performance of 'Achalayatan'. While we hurried through our meal, a light shower of rain passed over the ashram.

The play this time, did not come up to the standards of the first performance.

Rabindranath and Dinendranath took the roles of Adinpunya and Panchak, as before. Sri Jagadananda Ray played Dadathakur. The poet's costume was different this time—he entered the stage in an ordinary ochre robe. As the singing was rather listless, he joined in the chorus singing of 'O akuler kool O agatir gati'. The audience were startled into attention—as if, the ringing strains from a golden Vina filled the entire hall. The newcomers glanced at each other, awestruck. "Amader Santiniketan" was sung after the performance.

As we came out, we noticed that the clouds had cleared and there was a flood of bright moonlight. The evening meals were over long before—none of us wished to go to bed right then. A big throng of us went out for a stroll. A few had started off towards the station to catch the night train—but were persuaded to return. We walked a long way across the fields near Surul. We sat down for a brief song session, where newly learnt songs were tried out. Dark clouds again covered a part of the night sky, while moonlight glistened on the other side. It was exceedingly beautiful. But none wished to be drenched by a shower, and so, the scattered crowd was summoned together when we marched hastily back to the ashram. The rains came rushing, just we stepped inside. It was very late, so we went to bed without any further delay. Many of the women had already left, therefore there was no crowding in the bed rooms.

The 26th of Baisakh started quietly.

The vacations had begun and most of the boys had gone home in the night-train. There was no singing in the morning. As we came out of the house, all seemed so quiet. We felt sad to think of our approaching departure.

It was a Wednesday, the day of prayer

n the ashram. There were no songs. Rabindranath chanted a few mantras and explained them to us and spoke a few words to the remaining students. Some of the Calcuttans left by the 9 o'clock train. As we had some more time left, we went to meet Meera Devi. Rabindranath came down to her verandah to talk to us. "After all these troublesome leave takings we shall sit together and chat at Santiniketan. I have spoken to your father", he said.

We 'sat and watched' the students and teachers leave for their vacation; finally our much-depleted group returned to Santiniketan. The poet came down soon after and read out the English rendering of his *Raja O Rani*. There was a discussion about the play afterwards. The poet said that the normal relationship between man and woman had been repressed by human society itself and often exaggeration and emotionalism have burdened and warped its development. Nothing good results from a love that is driven only by desire. The age of chivalry had given rise to many of these problems, he thought.

Some one wished to hear him read his essay on the *Cult of Nationalism* but it was too long to be read that day. The meeting was over and the poet left us. We were told that he might be travelling to Calcutta with us, but later we heard that he was leaving the next day.

We took our time over bathing and lunch-

ing, as there was nothing to urge us on. The few boys that were still there had a very late lunch—Nepal babu had forgotten to order their meals!

From sometime back we had been planning to bring Mulu to Santiniketan. He was rather frail and we did not, therefore, wish to keep him in the Boarding house there. We had all wanted him to study there and so finally, we decided to come over and stay in the ashram. There was a mud hut near the cottage then known as Pearson Sahib's bungalow. Some one had built it as his family quarters, but had moved after a domestic tragedy. We were fixing up this tiny cottage as our living quarters. I still remember the thrill I felt—thinking of our stay there.

Rabindranath came down again to talk to me. "I hear that we are going to be neighbours? I shall make good use of you then," he said." I asked him, "Of what use can we be? He answered, "you shall see, you can do a lot." He went upstairs soon after. We touched his feet and returned to Santiniketan. Kamala Devi came to chat with us while we packed our things. The carriages came near the gate and after a round of farewells, we started off. The bullock-carts performed their usual antics all the way and Sukumar babu kept us amused throughout the journey. The train was not crowded and we returned in comfort to the city.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Indian Periodicals

ANTI-RUSSIAN FEELING IN EGYPTIAN ARMY

We take the following from NEWS FROM ISRAEL of January 1, 1970

"Relations between Egyptian officers and their Russian advisers" have reached a new low as a result of disciplinary action being taken against four Egyptian Navy captains and on army commander, according to a clandestine leaflet being circulated in Cairo.

"A secret 'Free Egypt' organisation is trying to mobilise military opinion to prevent the five men being made scapegoats for the death of a Russian Colonel.

The writer J. Bulloch goes on :

"According to the leaflet, which was smuggled out to me, Col. Kononov, senior Russian adviser on the west bank of the Gulf of Suez, was killed during the Israeli sea-borne attack on September 9.

"He died when he went to the top of an underground command bunker at the instance of Egyptian officers. They were urging him to allow them to use SA 2 (SAM) ground-to-air missiles to beat off Israeli planes.

"Kononov is said to have refused to authorise the use of missiles. Missile fuses are kept under Russian control.

"He reportedly said to the Egyptians : 'It is a loss to waste expensive equipment we have supplied. You have not yet reached the standard of operations.'"

"The Egyptian officers insisted he go out to study the situation at first hand. He did so and was killed

"Then other Russian advisers on the spot blamed the Egyptians for their colleagues' death.

"The Egyptian commander in the region and four captains from a missile base were arrested and taken to Cairo for questioning before Judge Farouq Farag of Sheikh. Nothing has been heard of them since.

CRITICISM OF THE CONGRESS

THE MYSORE ECONOMIC REVIEW of December 1969 published the following notes regarding the Congress party which has now split up into two distinct groups.

Neither of the two branches into which the Indian National Congress has split can boast of leaders who have made a mark on the public mind in respect of any of the purposes essential to the well-being of the nation—either honesty in administration or economy in public expenditure. There are many in both camps who have had opportunities—ample opportunities—to prove their worth as Ministers, Chief Ministers and Prime Minister. Their record is one of unspeakable mess. For instance, Mr. G. L. Nanda, promised to rid the country of corruption in administration within two years. Did he succeed—at least partially ?

It is sheer bogeyism to cry that if Congress goes all hope of Government goes with it. Let us remember that the Constitution gives the country a President. The President can assume responsibility for a time

and, in the amplitude of his discretion, may find a way of giving the country good Government—whether through the parliamentary mechanism or of some other kind. If the President falls, it will no doubt be a bad day; but the country may well then look to its men of goodness and good sense for giving it a good Government. They, in the last resort, are the hope of the nation. In any case, the public should not be frightened by the prospect of a deluge painted by Congressmen and pro-Congressmen to follow their exit from the scene, which they have converted into such a miserable mess.

Export of Cashewnuts

The Journal of Industry and Trade publishes the following figures of Cashewnut exports:

Exports of Cashew Kernels during January to August 1969 amounted to 43,600 tonnes valued at Rs 40.6 crores as compared to 42,750 tonnes valued at Rs 40.3 crores exported during the same months of 1968. U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. are the main buyers and these two countries together account for nearly 80 per cent of India's total cashew exports.

There has been a marked increase in the exports of Cashew Kernels especially to the U.S.S.R. From 12,200 tonnes in January to August 1968, the exports have gone up to

17,660 tonnes in January to August 1969. Exports to U.S.A. during this period, have fallen from 20,800 to 16,500 tonnes.

The comparative figures of shipments to important destinations are as follows:-

Countries	Exports in Tonnes during January to August	
	1968	1969
U.S.S.R.	12,200	17,660
U.S.A.	20,800	16,500
U.K.	2,200	1,600
Australia	1,300	1,500
Canada	1,440	1,400
East Germany	1,750	1,200
Hong Kong	380	520
West Germany	440	420
Netherlands	400	420
Yugoslavia	60	420
Japan	230	350
France	220	330
Spain	60	210
Lebanon	220	110
Czechoslovakia	290	150
Bulgaria	5	100
Belgium	110	80
New Zealand	130	50
Kuwait	50	40
Total including other countries	42,750	43,600
value in Rs. (crores)	40.3	40.6



Foreign Periodicals

President Kennedy's Defence of Liberty

President Kennedy in his inaugural speech delivered nine years ago said: (As quoted in the *Guardian Weekly*)

"Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty"; "I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation; 'Ask not what your country will do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.'" The *Guardian Weekly* commented on this speech on the 10th of January 1970 in the following manner. "This was Kennedy on the threshold of his presidency, more naive than he was later to become, with the lessons of the Bay of Pigs still in front of him, and a world that seemed fuller of blacks and whites than of greys. Those who have survived him have learned since then that the world is a grayer place: in South America where Kennedy's Alliance for Progress is part engulfed in tyrannies other than communism; in Vietnam, where the supposed whites keep turning grey; in Southern Africa, where capitalism has proved no guarantee of human freedom or decency; in Greece, where the ideals for which President-Truman and Earnest Bevin founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation have been betrayed..."

Shmuel Yosef Agnon

Misha Louvish writes in *News from Israel*: Shmuel Yosef Agnon has passed away in his eighty-second year, after a life rich in achieve-

ment and recognition, with over 60 years of writing behind him. He was universally acknowledged as the greatest living figure in Hebrew literature, and the Nobel Prize, the first to be awarded to a Hebrew author, set the seal on his international reputation.

And yet, paradoxically, we can apply to him the epitaph that Bialik wrote for himself "The song of his life was cut short midway" Until the moment he was struck down suddenly last year, "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated". His files were full of work in progress, and he was always revising his writings, even after publication. He once illustrated this in his own inimitable way with the story of a scribe who had made a mistake in a single letter of a Scroll of the Law, and came back from the grave in the dead of night to correct it.

In addition to the eight volumes of his collected stories, there may be as much again that has still to see light, including the many tales that have appeared in the Press but which he had not yet found time to revise for publication in book form. Two generations of critics and scholars have been trying to evaluate his work, but it is so complex, despite its surface simplicity, that it will be many years before the task is well on the way to completion.

He was a bundle of paradoxes: traditionalist and modernist; profoundly devoted to the Jewish religious heritage, but as profoundly conscious of the tragic dilemmas of the human condition and profoundly sceptical of the capacity of men to live up to the demands of the Creator.

I had the privilege of sitting with him often, in his modest home in Talpiot, to clear up points that arose in connection with my translations of one of his major novel and several of his short stories. He was the kindest and most hospitable of men, always bubbling over with humour, always ready to tell a story. Everyone who knew him will remember him with affection, not only as one of the great Jews of our time, but as an unforgettable friend

Dutch Roads

The following facts are taken from *The Netherlands* :

In the period between 1930 and 1967, the number of motor cars per 1000 inhabitants in the Netherlands increased from 14 to 134 or from 108,000 cars to 1,655,000. The population, however, increased also, from 7.6 million (1930) to its present 12.5 million.

To carry this traffic, Holland has a so-called "National Road Plan", while secondary and tertiary Road Plans also exist on the provincial level. All these road plans must be reviewed at least once every ten years.

The construction and extension of the national roads are financed out of the National Road Fund, which in its turn draws its money from general revenue and from the yield of the 134 per cent surcharge on vehicle road tax.

According to the statutes, the contribution to the fund drawn from general revenue, shall increase each year proportionally to the increase in the number of registered motor vehicles in the Netherlands.

The 11 provinces receive an annual grant which is also increased proportionally to the increase in registered motor cars. The sum of these allowances is divided among the provinces according to population, surface, and the total of road tax revenue.

Plans are ready, and partly implemented, for various ring roads and by-passes around the larger towns. Amsterdam, the capital, and Rotterdam, Holland's (and the world's), main harbour, have progressed quickest in this respect. Both towns have new facilities for crossing water, such as the Benelux tunnel and the Brienenoord bridge in Rotterdam and the Coen tunnel and Schellingerwouder bridge in Amsterdam.

Like anywhere else in the world, the big problem also in Holland is to construct urban motor roads in town centres. Dutch town development plans are based on the principle that the centres usually of historical interest should be left in peace as much as possible. This means that new roads must be built as near the perimeter of the town as possible, with parking facilities close by. Therefore frequent passenger services to and from the town centres to these parking places is a necessity. It has top priority in today's city planning.

But the Dutch planners are looking further ahead at the national level: a memorandum on Physical Planning was published (1969), which not only outlined the location of living and industrial areas, but also gave a structural survey of the inter-urban highway network in the year 2000.

Less in the future and closer to the present is the Dutch Highway network structural plan including the new roads to be built within the next 15 years.

Within the framework of these plans, road safety is a first, so that the steadily increasing human population and the steadily increasing car population will be well matched.

Polish Youth in Front Line

Krystyna Jagieto writing in *Polish Facts on File* says :

NEVER before in Polish history has the youth played such an important and universal part in the life of the country as it has

been doing in the past twenty-five years. It would be difficult to imagine the daily life of People's Poland without the thousands of young boys and girls who attend the schools and universities, work in all branches of the national economy, and hold responsible posts in the state administration and other fields of life.

The youth of Poland has given innumerable examples of bravery and selflessness, both in battle and at work in times of peace. Youth's knowledge, ambitions and energy are harnessed in the service of the country. This can easily be seen if one goes back in one's mind to 30 years ago.

A Tragic Generation

The youth of pre-war Poland called itself a "tragic generation". Limited in its political fights, cut off from the possibility of acquiring education and a profession, harassed by unemployment, its possibilities of development were very limited. In the towns 43% of the young people able to work could not find jobs, and in the rural districts this percentage was considerably higher.

Rebellion against injustice was a uniting force, a source of the beginning of the revolutionary youth movement. The secret Communist Union of Polish Youth was founded in 1922. Under its banners young people gathered to fight for revolutionary changes.

Twenty years later, in 1942, the Union of Fighting Youth was founded. The years of the underground activities of the Union are a succession of heroic and stubborn conflicts with the Nazi invader.

New tasks faced the Union of Fighting Youth after the liberation of the country: co-participation in the introduction of revolutionary transformations, struggle against the counter-revolutionary underground, reconstruction of the economic life, development of the recovered territories in the West and the North. Young people played an important role in the implementation of these tasks.

...Today a Hammer and a Trowel

Rebuilt from the ruins of war People's Poland opened wide the doors of schools, institutions of higher learning and factories to the younger generation of workers, peasants and working intelligentsia.

The Youth Labour Race which is an irrefutable proof of the great patriotism of Polish youth and its contribution to the construction of a socialist Poland has become a wonderful page in the history of the youth movement in Poland. Originating at the initiative of members of the Union of Fighting Youth from Lodz, taken up the Silesian miners, by the Warsaw youth, and later by other young workers from all industrial branches and regions of the country, it marked the beginning in Poland.

Many young people have made spectacular careers in Poland in the course of the last twenty-five years. One of them is a Warsaw bricklayer, Zdzislaw Skorzynski, at one time a famous shock worker. Today he is working as a foreman in Libya. In recognition of his merits the inhabitants of Warsaw elected him to the Sejm (Parliament) in 1952.

Stanislawa Szarlinska, the first woman bricklayer in Poland, gained a trade as well as fame on the Warsaw scaffoldings. At the 1951 youth festival in Berlin she was decorated with a gold dove of peace, together with a Korean guerilla girl and a Vietnamese woman worker.

Many former youth organization activists have become outstanding designers, scientists, specialists. A graduate of the Gdansk Polytechnical Institute, Stanislaw Paszkowski is today the chief designer of the Gdansk Shipyard.

In the subsequent years Polish youth took an active part in the construction of the big investment schemes which transformed the economic structure of Poland.

The implementation of this task became the work of over three million boys and girls from all parts of the country and the value of the additional work carried out by those boys and girls amounted to hundreds of millions of zlotys.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

EDUCATION THE UNFOLDING NEW LIFE : By J. W. Airan Published by the Christian Literature Society, P. B. 501, Madras-3 PP 76 Price Rs 1.50. The booklet contains some articles written by the author on problems of higher education in India. The articles provide interesting reading for persons dealing with matters of higher education in developing countries.

THE LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS AND THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA : By Dr. G. D. Patel, M. A., Ph. D., I. E. S. (Ret.) published by Gujrat University, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad-9 Demy Oct. pp 524 XX Cloth Bound, Jacket, Price Rs. 12.00 Dr. Patel has written several books on Land Reform. He held important positions in the Bombay Government and the Government of India, Indian Economic service (Planning Commission) from which he recently retired. The book is Dr. Patel's thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the Bombay University (1947) The book has been brought up-to-date by Dr. Patel in point of important changes in the land system since then. The book is very clearly written and is well documented. It should be found useful by students as well as by lawyers and administrators.

THE GOLD-MONEY RIFT : By P. R. Brahmananda published by Popular Prakashan, 35c Tardeo Road, Bombay 34 WB. Demy Oct pp 352 XVI cloth gilt, illust Jacket Price Rs. 36.00. There is no exchange of goods without the use of money in organised trade and commerce which move easily when money becomes available when

and where required for genuine movement of commodities from producers to consumers. Money, within a national area has a liquidity or smooth availability which cannot be compared to the liquidity of money for international exchanges of goods or services. The reason is that there is no international currency. Various types of assets are used by the nations for the purpose of effecting exchange of saleable goods and services internationally. The liquidity of these assets is comparable to the liquidity of money within the national zones.

"A time has now come," say the publishers "for a fresh and fundamental look at the whole issue of international liquidity. This book is an effort in that direction". The various economic factors affecting international trade are examined critically in order to discover to what extent these improve the liquidity that the world of trade and commerce requires.

Students of economics and general readers will find the book highly interesting and instructive.

FROM RAINDROPS TO VOLCANOS : By Duncan C. Blanchard ; **BUGS OR PEOPLE ;** by Wheeler Mc Millan ; **LUCKY ACCIDENTS IN SCIENCE :** by Daniel Stephen Halacy, Jr. ; and **THE GREAT EXPERIMENT :** by Frank Thistlethwaite. All the above books are of the Ladder Edition, published by the New American Library Inc ; 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019 U. S. A. Price 15c (U. S.) each, The Ladder Edition of well known American

books are specially re-written for persons with a limited knowledge of English. The first book can be read by anyone who has learned 3000 words of English, the other three are for those who can understand 2000 words. "From Raindrops, to Volcanos" deals with the history of the study of raindrops, the surface of the sea, bubbles, electricity, volcanos etc. and is profusely illustrated. "Bugs or People" describes the $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 million kinds of insects not all of which are enemies of man. "More than 3000 different types of major insects still ruin crops". Some insects "bring disease and death to man". Man therefore has to study insects for his own survival. "Lucky Accidents in Science is a reprint within the 2000 word limit of the original book "Science and serendipity or great discoveries by accident. Friedrich Woehler, Alexander Fleming, Luigi Galvani, Nobel, Edison, Good-year and many others who made great discoveries by accident provide subject matter for this interesting book. "The great Experiment is not a political history of the U. S. A. but describes "the growth of American Society in general". Two facts of American social history must be taken special notice of. Migration and the rapid and continuous change that one finds in that country. The author therefore deals with the steadier factors of American history to make clear the true meaning thereof.

A SUMPTUOUSLY ILLUSTRATED BOOK ON

- ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE

AND THE ART OF HIS TIMES

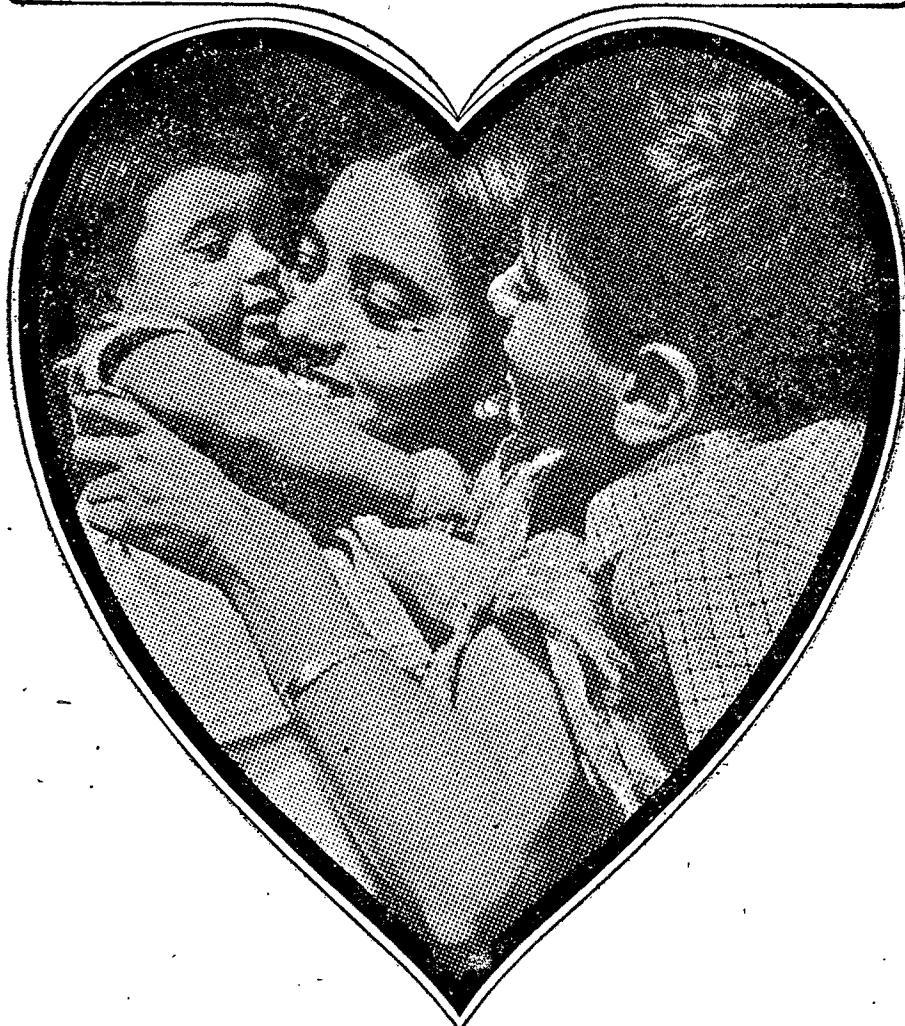
Abanindranath the greatest Asiatic master of the century is not remembered by the present day artist and on the other hand the modernists are making a deliberate attempt to dethrone him from his elevated position in

the Art of Asia. This volume will present to modern readers the great achievements of Abanindranath and of his disciples. The book is very well printed and contains 43 illustrations, of which 14 plates are in colour. Without meaning any disrespect to Jaya Appasamy and her excellent presentation we propose to point out some minor defects which do not detract from the great value of the volume. It was not proper to include the work of Rabindranath Tagore. It should not have been included as great as the great poet-artist stands on his own pedestal; it is quite different from the National Art of Abanindranath and his disciples. If the latter is of national significance, the art of Rabindranath is of International importance and beyond the narrow limits of Nationalism. Another serious imperfection is the inclusion of the works of Amrita Sher-Gil who does not occupy any place in Indian National Art. It is unfortunate that no new colour plates have been made for inclusion in this volume. They are all borrowed from sources whose name are not indicated. The artists represented are not always presented in their best masterpieces.

This remark particularly applies to the works of Nandalal Bose and Kshitindranath Mazumdar. His "RADHIKA" (Fig-23) appears to be the finest colour plate in the book. The Bibliography though not complete will be of great use. Another excellent chapter is Background and the Chronology. The book should be in the library of all schools and colleges and will educate the present generation to appreciate and honour the great masterpieces of Modern Indian painting. Having regard to the number of illustrations the price of Rs. 35/- is quite moderate. We expect a Second Edition will soon be called for, when the minor imperfections may be eliminated.

Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

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APRIL 1970

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Centre-State Relations Since 1967—
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Seminar on speech rehabilitation of deaf and
hard-of-hearing children



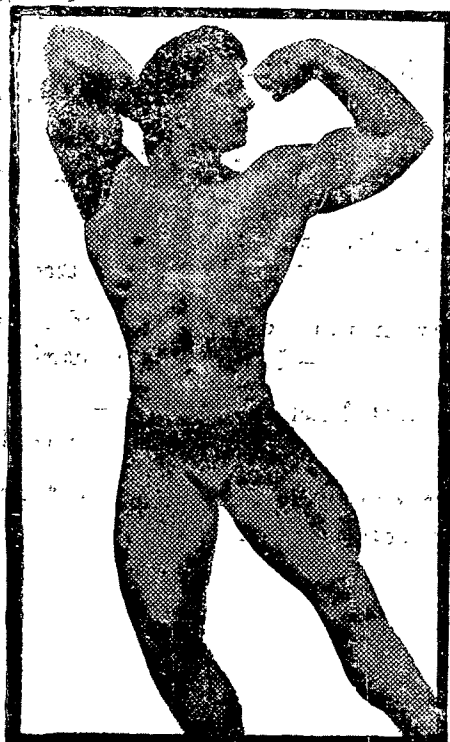
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FOR WORN-OUT ENERGY

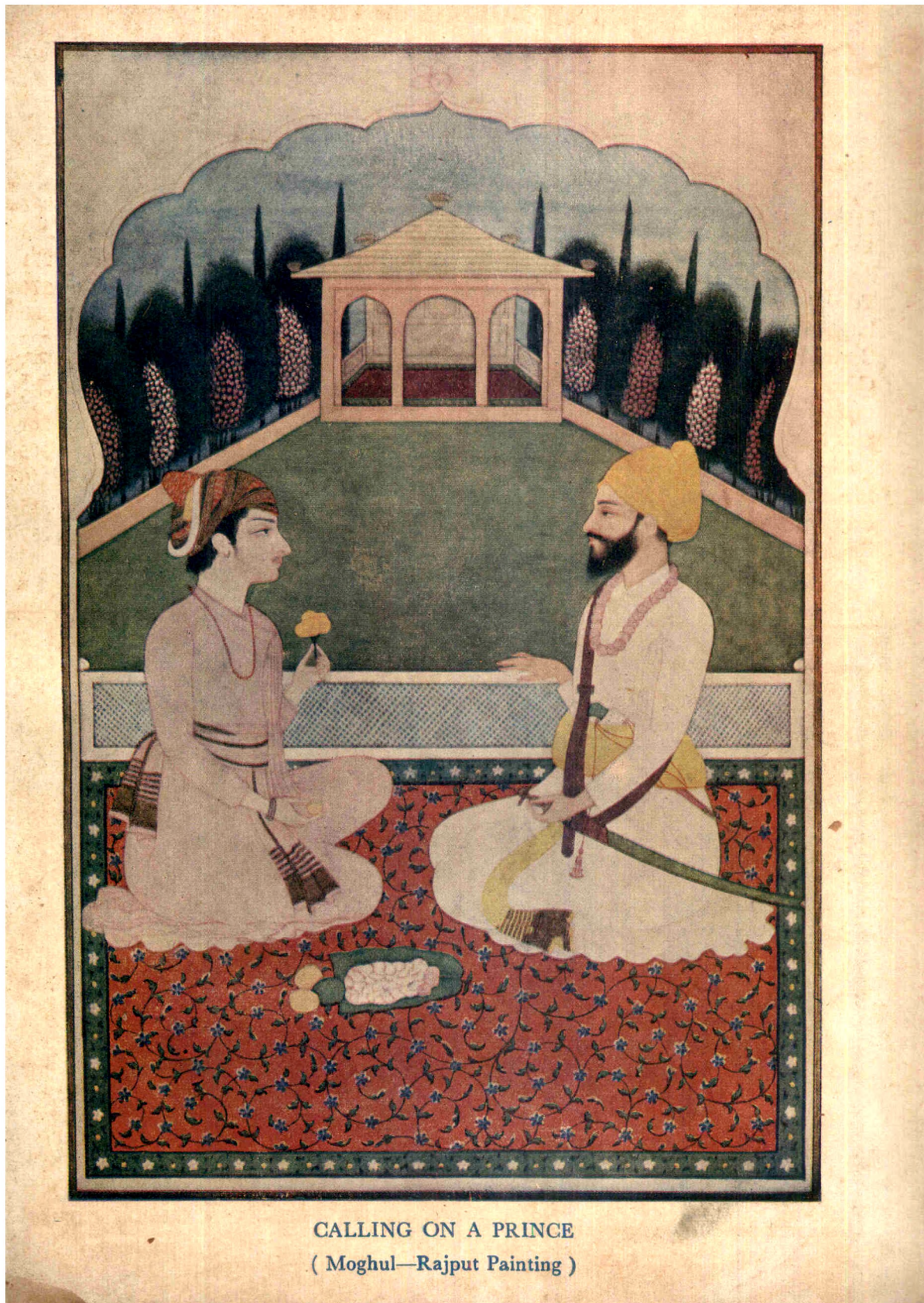
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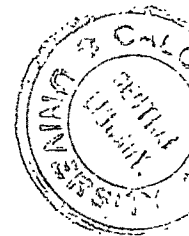
BENGAL CHEMICAL

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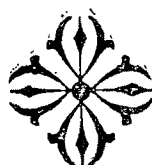
CALLING ON A PRINCE
(Moghul—Rajput Painting)

Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



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NOTES

The Fall of a Government

A government usually goes out of office in a democracy by the passing of a vote of no-confidence in it in the legislature or if an officially sponsored legislature move is defeated by the opposition. In West Bengal the United Front Coalition Government went out of office as the Chief Minister Sri Ajoy Mukherjee resigned on the ground that he could not tolerate the activities of some of his colleagues led by the Deputy Chief Minister Sri Jyoti Basu who belongs to the Communist Party Marxist group. According to Sri Ajoy Mukherjee Sri Jyoti Basu's group have deliberately brought law and order to a stand still condition in West Bengal. They have made various active moves or indulged in planned inaction in the sphere of education, industrial relations, land reforms, etc. etc. by which they have created a wide spread sense

of insecurity, instability and anarchy in the minds of the people of West Bengal. With the police refusing to maintain law and order and with organised bands of miscreants rampaging everywhere, freely and under the protection of Ministers, no one felt in West Bengal that one's life or property was safe. Land was snatched away by force, crops were cut and removed by agricultural labourers, houses and granaries were looted by "party men", shops were plundered, residential houses gutted, people beaten up and occasionally murdered, school and college teachers insulted and assaulted, industrial managers attacked or forced to stay in detention for days under "gherao" (surrounded), police parties defied by bomb throwing volunteers, trains stopped, communications disrupted and civic life brought to a state of total stoppage. The streets of Calcutta were deserted during the early hours of the evening, ladies dared not go

about for fear of molestation or bag and ornament snatching and shops were closed very early by salesmen who wanted to go back home during the safe hours. In the day time, in the city of Calcutta and the District Towns, processions of slogan shouting persons interfered with the normal flow of traffic at all hours. People found it difficult to reach their destinations in time and usually had to start for office, court or the railway station a couple of hours in advance. Even then the burning of a tram car or a bus would lead to immediate stoppage of all traffic for hours or create an almighty jam which will upset all plans and programs for the rest of the day. The Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal, who, according to Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, the Chief Minister was responsible for the state of affairs prevailing in the province; did not agree with this interpretation of the conditions described by Sri Mukherjee and by various other neutral observers and sufferers. His supporters made propaganda against the Congress, the CPI, the CIA (of America) or anybody else other than the actual perpetrators of the lawless acts; in order to prove that the inner circle of the leftists of the United Front Coalition were the victims of a false campaign of lies spread by interested bourgeoisie, profiteers; black marketers, imperialists and reactionaries. This total denial of responsibility and of the facts of the situation, did not, however prove to be easily acceptable by the public. There were too many incidents of an appallingly lawless and barbarous kind to make things easy of achievement by counter-propagandists. Public opinion in India was inclined to favour Sri Ajoy Mukherjee's reading of the situation and his decision to resign and dissolve the United Front Coalition. The followers of the Sino-phil group of ultra radicals no doubt feel that Sri Ajoy Mukherjee has acted contrary to the spirit of the collaboration that the

fourteen political parties undertook to practise when they joined forces to drive the Congress out of political power in West Bengal.

Actually the only useful thing that the United Front could do was to show to the West Bedgal branch of the Indian National Congress that they had to be Indian and National too. If they thought that they could have some limited objectives which concerned no one in India excepting a particular coterie of Congress members and force West Bengal or any other state to follow their aims and objects devotedly and displaying an ardent slavishness; the people of West Bengal gave them a convincing lesson in developing a fully practical national outlook. With unemployment and want overtaking the majority of the people nobody could feel satisfied with the political program of the Congress which included nothing that would give the people of West Bengal any workable objective in life. The people wanted gainful occupation and not Hindi as a state language. They required food, clothing, medicine, housing, education, better and more roads; and all those other provisions of social existence which made socialism a reality rather than a mere recitation of theoretical connotations of a political organisation and plans which were infructuous. A state had its own problems which had to be clearly unstood by study and analytical enquiry. Mere chanting of home made or imported slogans did not bring about any realistic developments of any substance. The All India Congress Committee did not seek any orientation of a statewide kind and the Congressmen of the states were just imitators of the All India leaders who loved to hear their own words according to the tradition of reproducing "his master's voice". The failure of the All India Congress Committee to develop an all-India

outlook has been ominous in so far as it has forced the people of the states to seek other paths of progress and fulfilment of social desires. Had the Congress leaders sought out local talent and mobilised it for the national purpose rather than remained satisfied with the discovery of a few mediocre sycophants; the landslide defeats of the Congress candidates would never have occurred in the States. But the formation of non-Congress governments did not lead to any gains for the peoples of the Provinces. Instead of listening to tales of the glory that was India under Gandhi and Nehru they were given doses of what greatness India would achieve if she took up other "isms" of Indian or foreign origin. Governments were no doubt set up; but all greatness was declared to be attainable only through revolution. A government cannot, naturally, operate for the achievement of a revolution, which is the negation of a government. So what happened was the introduction of conditions which contradicted all the characteristics and functions of good and stable governments. The reason was a steady attempt at creating conditions favourable to a revolution. But as the state governments had no army, navy and air force, nor could they declare a revolution, there was just a fake government with a fake revolution in the offing. The government could not function as it desired to bring off a revolution and the revolution could not be brought off as the major outward features, limbs and organs of government were present there in a reasonably powerful manner. So, in West Bengal, President's Rule was established as representative government could no longer function there. Mr. Dhawan, the Governor, whose job it is to run the government in the name of the President of India; has so far spent a lot of energy in clearing his moral position in the State. In

fact his personal outlook has no importance at all when he has undertaken to manage the affairs of West Bengal as a proxy of the President. We hope he will not make his government a fake too. It will be too bad if that happened.

Who Are these Law breakers

There are certain persons in West Bengal who apparently do not belong to any of the established political parties, but have a strong antipathy towards some parties. These men, mostly young in years, are fond of destruction of other peoples property, particularly property belonging to universities, educational institutions, public transport organisations, shops, cinemas and other establishments. A review of their activities will point to their dislike for India's political leaders, the existing political order and most ideas that are held in respect by the general public. They are inclined to show their disrespect for persons, ideas and opinions by tearing up books, burning portraits, making bonfire of furniture and by shouting slogans. At times, these persons read out Mao t'se Tung's thoughts and use the Chinese leader's name as a battle cry. This of course does not prove that they belong to a pro-Chinese group or that they are anti-American or enemies of Russia. They may belong to any group and their actions may be genuine expressions of their faith or may be just a display to misguide the people of the country about Sino-phils.

Many people refer to all youngmen who indulge in lawlessness as Naxalites. The original Naxalites were peasants who wanted to own the lands which they cultivated as labourers. The youngmen who break into University offices and destroy books, furniture and portraits are hardly agricultural workers.

Moreover those who had been forcibly occupying the lands that they had been engaged to cultivate on behalf of owners were members of the CPM group, which the Naxalites are definitely not. The attacks on book shops dealing in Gandhian literature and the burning of Gandhi's and Nehru's portraits also point to a special dislike for the Congress party. The Naxalites were particularly inimical to the CPM rather than to the Congress. One therefore finds it difficult to believe that these lawless youngmen are anti-CPM Naxalites. Everything points to their being in sympathy with the CPM. The attachment to Mao t'se Tung's thoughts can be found in members of the CPM; for that party has always been well known for their love of the Chinese.

There are some youngmen in West Bengal who think the CPM are not uncompromising enough in their desire to bring off a revolution. These youngmen have at times come out with very strong criticism of the leaders of the CPM. But they have not found it necessary to burn library books or furniture to start a revolution. Those who are now acting lawlessly are therefore unlikely to be genuine Naxalite revolutionaries. They may be persons who want to stimulate anti-Congress feelings in order to make it difficult for the Congress to do better in any elections that may now take place in West Bengal. They may also be persons who will try their best to make the law and order position as bad under President's Rule as it was under the U. F.

Vladimir Ilyich (Ulyanov) Lenin

Lenin was a great revolutionary. All those who believe in revolutions for effecting social and political progress should accept Lenin as their preceptor; for it was Lenin

who first put revolutionaries on a professional footing. Amateurs seldom achieve such effectiveness in technique and organisational precision and perfection as professionals do. That is why Lenin advocated that revolutionaries should be full time and whole hearted seekers after the disestablishment of governments in power. Since his days there has been many revolutions in several countries and the persons who have organised these revolutions have proved to be more tenacious, thorough going and well equipped than those who tried to overthrow governments in the past by launching sporadic attacks on government forces in a haphazard manner. The cult of revolutions has developed and the arts of infiltration and organisation of fifth columns have been perfected by the professional destroyers of governments. In Russia the establishment of the Communist regime showed that a dictatorship of the proletariat can be as efficient and can control as forcefully the farthest and the innermost corners of the territories captured by it; as could any imperial power with its vast armies, trained politicians, spies, agents provocateurs and secret allies. Russia under the Tsars was a vast empire. Russia under the Communists led by Lenin retained its wide spread territories and controlled the numerous races and tribes constituting the USSR with powerful hands and by enforcing loyalty and discipline in a manner which compared well in point of effectiveness, with the methods adopted by the imperialists of by gone days. Historians differ in their estimation of the growth of human freedom under these new types of overlordship established by the soldiers, workers and peasants of a great central state over the peoples of many other smaller states. This sort of central control has developed in Russia and China by which Moskow or Peking have become

the Romes of modern times. Equal individual rights and opportunities have been established throughout these great political organisations; but the central parties working from their central offices have controlled all matters of fundamental political policy. The central control has also commanded the army, navy and air force, retained all powers over armaments, major financial resources, the greater industries and the formation of political doctrines. Whether the common man is better off in these great communist states is something about which opinions will differ. Minority communities often express their dissatisfaction in a round about fashion against these mighty Party Overlordships. Active disobedience is never tolerated by the Party and any noticeable moves to achieve greater freedom are put down ruthlessly by the central authorities.

In India we had no dealings with Lenin and he naturally, did nothing to help India in her struggle against British imperialism. Our effusiveness in celebrating the Lenin Centenary, therefore, is largely a mere political gesture. We shall name roads after the great revolutionary, erect his statues here and there and issue postage stamps with his picture, but in our heart of hearts he will never be established as a great friend and well wisher of the Indian masses. We have a strong tendency to forget our own great men. National heroes are neglected in India. We should not therefore undertake to build a pantheon for the great men of other nations.

A British View of Calcutta's plight

Geoffrey Moorehouse, a British journalist, was in Calcutta some time ago. He may still be here for all we know. Writing in the Guardian weekly about life in Calcutta during the worst days of the United Front government in West Bengal, Mr. Moorehouse describes

Calcutta as "a city tottering on the brink". He also feels that Calcutta "has been tottering for the best part of a generation now, but it hasn't yet fallen. According to him the great contrasts that have been a part of Calcutta life for long years are all there as before." The top barristers in Town are still making 50000 rupees a month and the general practitioners are still exacting 128 rupees for a house visit." The revellers of Calcutta who have fun by "swishing into the Moulin Rouge and the Blue Fox, where they can enjoy soft lights, deafening music, and scented whisky with their food for as little as 30 rupees per head", provide an obscene contrast to the way the jute mill workers live on 200 rupees a month. These latter unfortunates of Calcutta live three in a room measuring 10ft. x 6ft in slums where 1500 people share one latrine and get their supply of unfiltered water from pumps each of which serve 200 persons. Mr. Moorehouse perhaps does not know that there are people in India who live on 20 rupees a month. His description of a jute workers bustee is also romantically unrealistic as are his scented whisky and the 10 x 6 rooms occupied by 3 allotees. Top barristers in London earn very large incomes compared to those who work for a minimum wage; but that does not drive Londoners into the Communist Camp. All British businessmen of Calcutta, according to Mr. Moorehouse believe that Calcutta will be ruled by Marxists by 1972. The reason for this can be found in the fact that Calcutta University turns out 150000 graduates annually who scramble for 8000 jobs between them. Actually there are too many unemployed graduates in Calcutta but nothing like what Mr. Moorehouse felt. He could have discovered the actual numbers had he consulted the figures published by the Employment Exchanges.

Calcutta would have gone over the brink into total disaster but for the sword swinging mounted cavalry of the Indian army and the Gurkhas who are preventing this utterly terrifying plunge. Here again Mr. Moorehouse has given his imagination greater freedom than he should have. There are a few mounted policemen in Calcutta who don't carry swords and the truck load of "Gurkhas" too must have been members of our armed police force.

When President's Rule was proclaimed in West Bengal some army units were sent to Calcutta but as nobody challenged the dissolution of the United Front government the army units were not called upon to do anything. The change over from UF to President's rule was quite smooth and uneventful. There was a noticeable fall in the number of processions, gharaos; inter party fights and strikes after the introduction of the new form of government. As for the fear of the British businessmen that by 1972 West Bengal will have a Communist government, that will not mean any great change so long as the powers of the Central Government remain the same. Defence, foreign relations, customs duties, income tax, planning, railways, airways, post telegraph (and telephones) ship building, state trading, life insurance, nationalised banking, major national industries, national highways etc. etc. are all under the central government. The states cannot hope to do much if the central government obstructs their ideas of effecting great and fundamental socio-economic changes. British businessmen have shown to the world how they can carry on trade with Communist countries. If Calcutta went Communist in a limited sense by electing a majority of Communists in the State Assembly, we don't think foreign business will suffer very greatly. The general public would no doubt have to

face difficulties and harassment; but, then, they would be asking for it if they voted for the Communist candidates in very large numbers.

Inter Party Fights

The United Front Coalition in West Bengal broke up because the parties belonging to it could not remain united. Many parties subscribed to ideologies and policies which were mutually antagonistic and the party members openly criticised each other's doctrines which caused ill feelings. As no efforts were made to prevent these uncalled for criticisms the quarrels grew in size and frequency until mere words no longer sufficed and exchanges of blows began to take place. From blows to bombs was a short step and soon numerous inter party fights began to be fought with a variety of weapons and missiles. Among the parties which used violence as a method of upholding their point of view the CPM, the FB, the CPI, the SUC and the SSP were quite prominent. Many of the fights that took place had a background of personal animosity and family disputes. The main thing that poisoned the political atmosphere very badly was lack of discipline. Party members never considered the solidarity, prestige and position of the parties but allowed their personal feelings to determine what action they would take. There were also divisions within the parties. These were based on questions of leadership. Intrigues would be going on to replace accepted leaders by their own trusted assistants. The top leaders too would be trying to get rid of these treacherous assistants.

The United Front has broken up; but the inter party fights are continuing. Attempts have been made to form new groups in order to investigate possibilities of setting up a smaller United Front government. But no

successful settlement could be made. The idea that early elections would give a majority to a certain group of parties is also hopeful thinking. Chances are that no group of similarly minded parties will secure anything like a majority. That is why most parties want to carry on propaganda before the elections. The general public also are in no mood to go in for fresh elections now. They want to rest on their oars for some time before they go in for a fresh spurt.

Nuclear Weapons for India

Recent announcements by the Prime Minister of India relating to nuclear weapons have a somewhat different tone from the customary expression of decided unwillingness to make or use these instruments of mass destruction. We can make them, we have the necessary technical knowledge and the resources required for the manufacture of the bombs and the rocket war heads. Such admissions by people high up in the government of India no doubt means that we have become conscious of the military necessity for the possession of nuclear weapons. We are against manufacturing and using these weapons; but knowing that our potential enemies are developing them we are also proceeding to find out discreetly, how soon and how effectively we can put our nuclear knowledge to military use. The use of nuclear power for peaceful purpose makes it easy for any government to mobilise nuclear resources. The peaceful purposes, which are medical, industrial or for the furtherance of scientific research, exist in all countries. So, all progressive countries have a good deal of information and substantial resources, which can be put to use for developing an arsenal of the nuclear variety. India has progressed quite noticeably in this field and she can manufacture "the bomb" when she likes. China

now has quite a number of short and middle range ballistic missiles with nuclear war heads. Launched from pads in various parts of Tibet these rockets can blast Delhi, Kanpur or Calcutta off the face of the earth. India therefore requires a retaliatory stock of ICBMs or a few score delivery planes to present a nuclear counter threat to the Chinese.

Destruction of Air-liners

The mid-air bomb attacks on air-liners flying to Israel and the consequent death and destruction involving nationals of totally neutral countries should be condemned by all clear thinking persons. In the 1914—18 World War the Germans made a cult of "schrecklichkeit or frightfulness" and they expected to terrorise their enemies by acts of great cruelty and barbarousness in order to subdue them. But the policy did not yield the expected result; for the reason that the normal reaction to ferocity is an unyielding desire to fight back. Most human beings are brave enough to stand up to enemy attacks of great intensity. The only instances where people think of surrendering are when they are vastly outnumbered, utterly decimated by the superior weapons of the attackers (as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki) or rendered totally defenceless due to lack of weapons, finances, internal disorder or other circumstances which cannot be controlled. We do not know what the Arab secret societies expect to achieve by their terroristic activities against non-Israelis; but we can see that world opinion is condemning their actions. If the Arabs continue to follow this policy they are likely to make some new enemies and to lose a few old friends. A nation at war can declare a blockade of an enemy country, when all people will know that they may be attacked if they tried to go to that blockaded country. But the Arabs

have not done any such thing in the case of Israel. The attacks directed against airliners going to Israel are by non-official terrorist members of secret societies who have no political status. At the same time the world knows that the terrorists are Arabs belonging to a secret organisation which perhaps has many supporters among important members of Arab society. In the circumstances, the activities of these terrorists are held against Arabs as a nation ; although everybody knows these activities have no official support or approval. The U. A. R. therefore should make a special effort to put a stop to this sort of terrorism.

Poland Offers Scholarships of Indians

The following press notice will be found interesting by our readers :

The Government of Poland has offered 50 scholarships of one-year duration to Indian nationals and subjects of Sikkim for practical training in the following subjects : mechanical engineering, machine tools, foundry engineering, electrical engineering, pulp and paper technology, ceramics and glass technology, coal mining, mining machinery, metallurgy, earth-moving equipment, manufacture of heavy chemicals, chemical plant manufacture, electronic (television), manufacture textile industry, ship building, agricultural machinery and jute industry.

Candidates for these scholarships should have at least a second class bachelor's degree in the subject concerned with five years' practical experience in the line.

Governor of West Bengal Criticised

The Radical Humanist, is, as its name suggests, a journal which is neither conservative nor against progressiveness in any sphere of life. We are quoting below what this journal said after the imposition of President's rule in West Bengal :

At long last President's rule has been imposed on West Bengal. The United Front having broken to pieces and no constituent party being able to form a new government, no alternative was left to Governor S. S. Dhavan but to recommend to the President to take over the administration until normalcy returned to the State once again.

It is disconcerting that the Governor who expected to remain above party politics, should in his first broadcast statement after the change, have declared that he would try to revive the unity in the United Front which is none of his responsibility under the constitution. The declaration smacks of partisanship, not befitting a constitutional head of a state.

The dire need of the State is restoration of law and order, ensuring complete security of life and property to the suffering people of Bengal. Considering the near-anarchy that had been produced by the Marxists during the past months, it may take a long time to achieve this modest aim.

The Governor and his Advisors must therefore pay their undivided attention and bend their energies in this direction, rather than help any party or parties to come out of the mess created by themselves.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND DEENABANDHU ANDREWS

J. L. DAS

Charles Freer Andrews, a brilliant alumnus of Pembroke College, Cambridge University, came out to India in 1904 as a member of the Cambridge Mission and joined St. Stephen's College, Delhi, as a Professor of Literature. Since then till his death in a Calcutta nursing home on April 5, 1940, i.e. for a period of more than three decades and a half, this dedicated soul completely identified himself with the Indians and India's cause. The poverty stricken and exploited Indians at home and abroad affectionately bestowed on him the title of "Deenabandhu" (Friend of the poor) because of his selfless and tireless work for the alleviation of their sufferings.

His keen interest in the problems facing the Indians in South Africa, which country he visited in 1913-14, first brought Andrews into close touch with Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma was then waging his Passive Resistance Movement there against the injustices and indignities meted out to the Indian community by the arrogant white racialists. The association of Andrews with his arduous mission and difficult days in South Africa, however, proved a source of great pleasure and inspiration to Mahatmaji.

Mention should now be made of Andrews' connection with Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. He first met Tagore in 1912 in England at a gathering where the poet recited from Gitanjali. The two instinctively felt drawn towards each other, and Andrews joined Santiniketan in 1914 and became a full-fledged "ashramite." To welcome his permanent guest the poet composed a poem

(in Bengali), which later he himself translated into English as follows :

From the shrine of the West
You have brought us living water
We welcome you, friend
The East has offered you
Her garland of love,
Accept it and welcome, friend
Your love has opened
The door of our heart.
Enter and welcome, friend.
You have come to us
As a gift of the Lord,
We bow to Him, friend."

Between Gandhiji and Rabindranath, Charles F. Andrews served as a link, a "hyphen" as Dwijendranath, the most lovable elder brother of the Poet used to call him. Gandhiji first visited Santiniketan in 1915 on the advice of G. K. Gokhale for knowing and gaining experience of Indian conditions and also with the object of settling down with his "Phoenix family" i.e. those who had come over from Phoenix in South Africa. At first they were put in the Gurukul, Kangri, under the loving care of Swami Shraddhanand. They were then transferred to the Santiniketan Ashram, "where the Poet and his people showered similar love upon them." In spite of differences, in some cases these were fundamental and radical,—in outlook on several issues, Gurudev and Mahatmaji forged a deep bond of love and respect for each other which lasted till Gurudev's death in 1941. And for this life long rapport between two great minds, C. F. Andrews was largely responsible. Incidentally, it might be mentioned that the Poet, Swami Shraddhanand and

Principal Sushil Rudra of St. Stephens College exerted great influence on Andrews for which Mahatmaji used to tease him by saying that they "composed his trinity,"

When the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh was perpetrated, Andrews, head bowed down in shame at the barbarous act of some of his own countrymen. He did not hesitate to characterize it as "a cold and calculated massacre" and "an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable." It produced a wave of grief and indignation all over India. As Gandhiji himself remarked: ".....Mr. C. F. Andrews had now reached the Punjab. His letters gave a heart rending description of the state of things there, and I formed the impression that the martial law atrocities were in fact even worse than the press reports had showed. He pressed me urgently to come and join him..."

Andrews did not take a direct plunge in the struggle for India's freedom from bondage. But whenever and wherever Gandhiji needed his presence, whether within India or in England, South Africa, Malaya, or Fiji, to stand by the oppressed emigrants and help them in their struggle against injustice, Andrews readily rushed there as a disciplined follower. When Gandhiji fell ill or undertook fasts, Tagore would send Andrews to nurse him and give him comfort and company. Following his fast in the Yervada-jail on the issue of carrying on Harijan work from prison, Gandhiji's life was at stake. ".....He lost the will to live (which he had during his previous fasts) and allowed himself to go down hill. The end seemed to be near. He said good-bye and even made dispositions about the few personal articles that were lying about him, giving some to the nurses. But the Government had no intention of allowing him to die on their hands, and that evening he was suddenly discharged. It was just in time to save him.

Another day and perhaps it would have been too late. Probably a great deal of the credit for saving him should go to C. F. Andrews who had rushed to India, contrary to Gandhiji's advice." [Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*]

Though in the earlier phases of the freedom movement C. F. Andrews proved a persona non grata with the British Government, yet by virtue of his solid constructive work and also because of the great esteem in which he was held by Mahatma Gandhi and other Indians of all shades of opinion, he gradually gained their confidence to some extent. On several occasions he acted as Gandhiji's emissary during the latter's parleys with the Viceroy and the "Home Government."

It would, however, be wrong to surmise that a man of C. F. Andrews calibre, intellectual attainments and strong convictions would see eye to eye with Gandhiji on all matters and follow him blindly. There were honest differences of opinion, but these never stood in the way of their mutual admiration and respect. Following the termination of Gandhiji's "fast unto death" in 1932 Andrews wrote to him as follows from London, where he was then working for the Mahatma: "Whole of my religious upbringing has been such as to make any thought of suicide on my part impossible. It was, therefore, a very great shock to me at first to realise that you contemplated nothing less than this. But that was only a momentary thing and when your call came that it was God's will I bowed my head to His guidance....." Though like Gandhiji Andrews was also interested in the eradication of untouchability, yet he did not like the technique of the Mahatma, who, therefore, once wrote to him as follows: "I look at the problem as an Indian and a Hindu

you as an Englishman and a Christian. You look at it with the eye of an observer as an affected and afflicted' party. You can be patient, I cannot, or you as a disinterested reformer can afford to be impatient whereas as a sinner must be appreciated if I would get rid of the sin....."

Mahatma Gandhi saw Charles F. Andrews last on February 17, 1940 at the Presidency General Hospital, where Deenabandhu was lying critically ill. Subsequently he was removed to the Riordan Nursing Home, where he was operated upon for the second time on March 31. On the eve of his second operation, he dictated the following message to Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, who was by his bed side: "During these days of waiting, since the decision was taken that I should have this operation my thoughts have all the while been with God and I know that whatever happens, His will will be done. Every day I have been praying the prayer: 'Thy will be done.' I have been wonderfully helped in thus keeping Santi by thoughts of Gurudeva (Dr. Tagore) and all I have learnt at Santiniketan: also of Mahatma Gandhi and what I have learnt from him all these past years....." Thus even in his death bed this devout missionary remembered Gandhiji and Rabindranath along with his Saviour.

Deenabandhu Andrews expired on Friday, the 5th April, 1940. Mahatma Gandhi sent his secretary, Shri Mahadev Desai, to represent him at the funeral. "Charlie Andrews", remarked Gandhiji, "was one of the greatest and best Englishmen, and because he was a good son of England, he became also a son of India. When we met in South Africa, we simply met as brothers, and we remained as such to the end. There was no distance between us. It was not a friendship between an Englishman and an Indian. It was an unbreakable bond between two seekers and servants. I want Englishmen and Indians, whilst the memory of the death of this servant of England and India is still fresh, to give a thought to the legacy he has left for us both. He said on his bed from which he was never to rise, 'Mohan, swaraj is coming!' Both Englishmen and Indians can make swaraj come. It is possible and quite possible, for the best Englishmen and the best Indians to meet together and never to separate until they have evolved a formula acceptable to both. The legacy left by Charlie Andrews is worth the effort. That is the thought that rules me, whilst I contemplate the benign face of Andrews and what innumerable deeds of love he performed so that India may take her independent place among the nations of the earth,"

FROM SERVITUDE TO FREEDOM—THE HIMACHAL CASE

K. D. GUPTA

Ruled by the feudal lords, Rajas and Ranas, for centuries, the people of Himachal Pradesh were brought into the main stream of the Indian democracy in the year 1948 with the integration of twentyone hill states.¹ Prior to that, the ruler concentrated in his hands the rule-making, the rule application and the rule adjudication powers. There was no constitutional machinery to express a will opposed to his own. The flow of social and political influence was a "one-way street", from top to bottom, with very little feedback in the upward direction. A leap from this feudal system to a modern democratic order is the story of movement from servitude to freedom, slowly beginning, slowly gathering momentum, until at last it becomes irresistible. It involves also an account of the system which governed the relationship between the paramount power and the feudal lord.

The System.

In ancient times, as the tradition goes², the Simla Hill States or the 'protected' hill states (as they were originally called), were ruled by petty chiefs bearing the title of 'Rana' or 'Thakur'. The domain of the Rana was called 'Ranhun' and that of a Thakur, 'Thakuri' or 'Thakurai'. The duration of their rule was spoken of as the 'Apthakurai'. The Simla Hill States were collectively called the 'Thakuraian' and the rulers of all

but four³ bore the ancient title of Rana or Thakur⁴. The political organisation was patriarchal very much like the clan system of the highlands of Scotland, down to the eighteenth century. "When this organisation came into existence, we cannot say; but its primitive character suggests the possibility of its having been the earliest form of government in force in the hills".⁴

Ethnologically, Thakurs are all indigenous to the hills or more likely, indigenous by half-blood to the aboriginal races, and it is more than probable that the ancient Thakur rulers rose to power from among them. These tribes were settled in the hills long before the Ranas (who were Kshatriyas, that is Rajputs) appeared on the scene. The title of Thakur must, therefore, have been older than that of Rana, and was probably in use even in primitive times. The Rana came in at a later period and conquered the territory of the Thakurs, just as, at a still later time, the ancestors of the hill Rajas established their rule over both the Thakurs and the Ranas. This interpretation given by Hutchison and Vogel⁵ to the sequence of historical events in the hills appears to be more probable. The petty chiefs simply acknowledged the supremacy of the Raja while they continued as before to rule their own baronies, wage war on one another and generally to act as if they were quite independent. Tradition holds that for centuries,

the Rajas were not able to establish anything like a real supremacy over them.⁶

After their subjection, the Ranas and Thakurs ranked as feudal barons under the Rajas. They held prominent positions in the administration.⁷ In the order of precedence, the Ranas were mentioned after the Raja and above all the state officials. "It thus appears", write Hutchison & Vogel,⁸ "that like their contemporaneous Princes in Europe, the Rajas sought to attach the feudal barons to their court, and from turbulent chieftains to convert them into assiduous officials".

The authority of the Raja was three-fold religious, feudal and personal. Its nature was largely analogous to that of the Ranas and Thakurs, who, within their limited sphere, were invested with the same attributes of primitive kingship. Tradition has it that the Raja of Keonthal was identified with and worshipped as the national deity but the more common relationship makes God the rightful ruler and the Chief, his vice-regent.⁹ The recognition of the King's divinity by the people is proved by the fact that the King enjoyed the power of ordering ex-communication from caste and could similarly direct the restoration of an ex-communicated person to the brotherhood.¹⁰ The King's divinity is further proved by an oath 'Raja-Ki-Darohi' (revolt against the ruler) which was common throughout the hill states, disobedience of oath was regarded as treason.¹¹ The Rajas frequently had to resort to the oath as a means of constraining the action of their subjects and, when pronounced publicly, it provided a simple means of ensuring obedience to executive orders.¹²

The Raja was the supreme and sole owner¹³ of the land, the fountain from which issued the right of the cultivator to a share

of the produce. Each principality formed a separate and independent domain of which the Raja was regarded as the sole proprietor. All the subjects of the state were his servants and held their lands under obligation of military and other service according to the terms of their tenure.¹⁴ On the death of the Jagirdar without an heir, his jagir lapsed to the state. The heir could get it back only after he had obtained a 'Pattah' (i.e. Charter) from the Raja.

Besides being the head of the state religion and the sole owner of the land, the Raja was the "master, of his subjects",¹⁵ who owed him "personal allegiance and service". The nobles, locally known as 'Ahalkars', were his personal servants and no one, regardless of station, was exempt from showing servitude towards the 'divine' person. This was particularly so because the Raja was the "manorial lord of his whole country".¹⁶ The nature of the feudal system in the Simla Hill States has been explained thus:

"All land belongs to the state, and individual ownership does not exist. Thus the holder is possessed of a WARISI rather than of a MALIKI. He has a hereditary right to cultivate land allotted to him or his ancestors by the Raja himself; and alludes to his holding as his pattah is not transferable at will, and that sales and mortgages require the Raja's sanction. Waste land can be acquired and broken up, only on payment of nazrana, though the pattahs conveying a holding (which includes a portion of grass land) gave an indefinite right of user in adjoining unenclosed grazing lands and jungle. The right is permanent so long as the holder discharges the duties connected with it, in default of which the land is granted to the bidder of the highest nazrana".¹⁷

The Mughal Period

Due to their isolated position and the inaccessible character of the Pradesh, the Simla Hill States maintained their independent political status for hundreds of years. With the advent of the Mughals, however, they were compelled to bow to a foreign yoke. Each Chief, on his accession, had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor by the payment of the fee of investiture, which entitled him to receive a 'Kharitsh' (or patent of installation) with a 'Khilat' (or dress of honour or other gifts), from the Imperial Court.¹⁸ A yearly tribute, called 'Nazarana' or 'Peshkash', had also to be paid to the Mughal Emperor.¹⁹ Subject to these conditions the hill chiefs were left to themselves and were allowed to exercise the functions and wield the powers of independent rulers.

On the decline of the Mughal power on the cession of the Punjab to Ahmed Shah Durani, by his namesake, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi in 1752, the Raja of Kangra, namely, Sansar Chand, assumed independence and recovered all the territories of which his ancestors had been deprived.²⁰ He "overawed the hill chiefs, made them tributary and compelled them to attend his court on fixed occasions and to accompany him with their contingents on his military expeditions²¹. He also claimed from the hill chiefs the surrender to himself, as superior, of all the fertile tracts included in the Imperial demesne in the time of the Mughals.²² In this way, he completely established his power in the hills, won for himself a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors and ruled despotically, none daring to resist his will.²³

Raja Sansar Chand turned his arms, inter alia, against the State of Kehlur (Bilaspur) in 1805, and annexed a portion thereof on the right bank of the Satluj.²⁴ His action aroused

keen resentment among the hill chiefs, and smarting under the many wrongs they had endured at his hands, they formed a coalition against him and sent a united invitation, through the Raja of Bilaspur, to Amar Singh Thapa, the Commander of the Gurkha forces, to invade Kangra.²⁵ "All of these Rajas", writes Vigne.²⁶ "took an oath of fidelity to Amar Singh, the Ghorkha Chief...on the understanding that he was to retain possession of Kot Kangra, and they were to be unmolested in their own territories".²⁷ The Siege, had lasted four years when Sansar Chand, in despair, appealed to Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help.²⁸ The latter advanced into the hills with a large army in May 1809 and compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj.²⁹

The British Period :

Having been driven from the Kangra Valley, Amar Singh Thapa, Commander of the Gurkha forces, steadily advanced through the cis-Sutlej hills and by the middle of the year 1814, he had "overrun virtually the whole area". To the invading Gurkha forces the hill chiefs and their people seem to have offered little or no resistance as is clear from a letter dated August 29, 1814, written by Ochterlony, the then Political Agent at Ludhiana, to the Governor-General at Fort William. The letter reads :—

"The history of the conquest of the country between the Jumna and the Sutlej from Kalsee to Rampoor in Bishahr exhibits a most singular want of energy, of courage, of common activity and of every quality which are generally the characteristics of a highland people: Whatever, therefore, is said to be expected from them is under the impression that a formidable protector stepping forward in their favour will inspire different sentiments and excite a

different conduct from what they have shown in the defence of their country against the late invaders, who seem to have created such a terror of their prior conquests that all opposition was considered hopeless."³⁰

It was at this stage that the English appeared on the scene. Colonel Ochterlony was directed by his government to start military operations against the Gurkhas after the issue of a proclamation assuring the hill chiefs of a "perpetual guarantee against the Gurkha power" and a "scrupulous regard for all their ancient rights and privileges" in return for their "zealous and cordial co-operation during the continuance of hostilities against the Gurkhas".³¹

The Nepal War of 1814 followed. Amar Singh Thappa, the Commander of the Gurkha forces, was completely defeated and made to sign a Convention on May 15, 1815, by which he agreed to withdraw his army from the cis-Sutlej hills and to surrender all the possessions and forts which he had seized between the Sutlej and the Jumna.³² With the eclipse of the Gurkhas, the English were left in possession of the whole tract of hills from the Gogra to the Sutlej.³³ The hill chiefs were brought under the general protection of the East India Company, reinstated in their former hereditary domains and were placed with respect to each other as nearly as possible in the position they had occupied before their subjection.³⁴ However, they were subjected to the "vigorous control" of the East India Company to prevent "the revival of ancient feuds and animosities leading to commotion and disorder" and to avoid "the inconvenience and embarrassment of arbitrating and settling their disputes and mutual claims"³⁵

States under the British Crown :

With the transfer of power from the hands

of the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858, the Simla Hill States (like other states of India) came under the protection of the Crown of England, who "stood forward the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India and was for the first time brought face to face with the feudatories..."³⁶ The theory of Crown as the sole link between the central government and the states was systematically developed by British statesmen so that the whole of India came to be considered as a single charge. Paramountcy of the British Crown thus became "the coping-stone of the imperial edifice in India".³⁷ This implied the subordination of Indian rulers and the denial of their sovereign rights. The sovereignty of the smaller princelings like the Simla Hill States "vanished almost to the point of nothingness",³⁸ particularly because they held their territories not by virtue of direct treaties with the East India Company or the Crown but subject to the conditions stipulated in the Sunnuds (or Deeds of Allegiance), which bound them to strict obedience, loyalty and attachment to the British Government. However, so long as they adhered to the stipulations scrupulously or remained within the bounds set by the Paramount Power, they were the "masters" of their subjects, who did not possess any democratic rights and, in some cases, were treated merely as goods and chattels. The social life of the elite (Jagirdar, Ahlakar, etc.) was entirely centred around the feudal lord, Raja or Rana, and his court. Social activities beyond the arena of official contacts and court were considered suspect until the late thirties when the nationalist movement in India and the Praja Mandal Movement in Himachal Pradesh began to affect the social life outside the Royal palace. In such a society, the salient behavioural characteristics included, inter alia, respect for and deference to those

with higher status and its concomitant 'vertical orientation' within the pattern of superior-subordinate relationship. While the ruler showed the necessary measure of deference to those above (the Paramount Power), he extracted every last measure of deference from those below.

However, the British contact with the Simla Hill Chiefs extending over a period of one century and a quarter left behind the impress, of western ideas and ideals of democracy and liberty. Rationalised administrative practices, standardised taxation, codified legal systems, liberal economic policies and westernised educational system introduced in the Indian provinces which were under the direct British rule tended to produce an environment conducive to a gradual change even in the Simla Hill States, which were under the indirect British rule. The progressive changes in the formal structure of government in the British Indian provinces could not but produce their effect, even though mild, in the neighbouring states. They tended to introduce radically new standards for the behaviour of authority so that the people began to adopt quite new images as to the proper role of those in power. Conscious indoctrination as well as unconscious imitation stimulated political interest among the educated elite, fanned the nationalist aspirations and gradually led to a substantial erosion of old values and institutions. The growing nationalistic activities in the country coupled with the change in the British attitude towards small principalities³⁹ and the declaration of the British Government to relinquish power latest by June 1948⁴⁰ (the actual date was later on advanced to August 15, 1947) had all their natural repercussions in the Simla Hill States also. The socio-economic forces generated by the influx of western political ideas of liberty,

equality and fraternity led to the stirrings of the mind and produced their mild effects on the people of this Pradesh, especially the educated elite. The waves of political consciousness starting somewhere in the great metropolitan centres of India, and nearer home, Simla, beat across the length and breadth of the country touching the remote hill people living at the periphery. Part of the same country and linked economically, socially and culturally with the rest of India, the stirrings of political life in British India reached out as an imponderable catalytic agent even in the rugged terrain of the Simla Hill States, and led to a demand for responsible government on March 10, 1946.⁴¹

Ferment & Repression :

The demand for responsible government could hardly find favour with the rulers, wedded to the traditions of autocracy. On the other hand, they smelt a revolt against their thrones in the demand for responsible government and their heavy jackboot fell riding rough-shod on the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people. Protagonists and upholders of 'demos' were harassed and hounded, punished and victimised. Referring to the princely autocracy in the Punjab and Simla Hill States, the newspaper commented⁴² that quite often, its manner is cavalier and its method draconian" and that the 'state authorities' reply to the Praja Mandal's direct action is naked repression". In some cases, it was reported⁴³, a reign of terror was let loose against the political workers. A few heart-rending instances reported in the newspapers will illustrate the fact. The ruler of Bilaspur, for instance, let loose bands of 'hooligans', organised raids on the houses of innocent people and whipped and humiliated their leaders in public.⁴⁴ Again, for raising their voice for the release of Praja Mandal

workers in the State of Balsan, the Manager is reported to have opened fire on the peaceful demonstrators.⁴⁵ In the State of Sirmur, the army is stated to have been sent round the countryside to over-awe the people and to dissuade them from joining the Praja Mandal movement.⁴⁶ The other small states like Mehlog, Kunihar, Baija and Darkoti were reported to have followed the example of their bigger brethren.⁴⁷

Despite repression, the popular urge for freedom could not be held back. It spread like a wild fire from one state to the other. While the bigger states were temporarily able to deal with the popular movement, the smaller states were not able even to maintain law and order, with limited resources and with the people in opposition to the administration. What was spasmodic and sporadic earlier became a mass upheaval now. The popular urge for freedom in the Simla Hill States was in conformity with the general trend in the rest of the country. This trend, coupled with the rising tide of nationalism in the Simle Hill States, appears to have caused re-thinking among the rulers to unify their strength as a means to successfully meeting the growing agitation for responsible government. The Princes of the Simla Hill States accordingly decided⁴⁸ to organise a CONFEDERATION in collaboration with the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Tehri-Garhwal.⁴⁹ The popular leaders appear to have realised that such a Confederation, if formed, would become a barrier in the realization of responsible government and so they decided to prevent its formation as would appear from the happenings that follow. At a meeting of the Praja Mandal workers held at Simla on January 1, 1948, a demand for the absorption of the Simla Hill States in the Indian Union and the creation of a Himalayan Province comprising the territories between Almora to Chamba and Kalka to Tibet, was

made. The Resolution passed at the meeting reads as follows :

"This Conference is of the opinion that (a) since the Punjab Hill States cannot maintain modern and progressive standards of administration and have failed to keep pace with the progressive forces of independent India, these states should be absorbed into the Indian Union. This Conference, therefore, requests the Ministry of States to amalgamate these States with the Indian Union without any loss of time :

b) in view of the geographic continuity and cultural and linguistic affinity of the people of these hills and their educational and economic backwardness, a measure of autonomy be granted to them within the Union to enable them to come up to the standards of their neighbours ;

c) in view of the declared policy of the Congress that territorial areas or provinces should be reconstituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis, this Conference requests the Indian Union to reconstitute on a linguistic and cultural basis, as soon as possible, a Himalayan Province comprising the territories between Almora to Chamba and Kalka to Tibet".⁵⁰

In opposition to the people's demand for responsible government, the princes and their supporters held a meeting at Solan on January 26, 1948, under the Presidentship of the Raja of Baghat and put forward a counter proposal⁵¹ for the creation of the Simla Hill States Union. The idea behind the Union sponsored by the rulers was to maintain the status quo by creating a facade of democratic institutions and, as transpired later on,⁵² to "resist any scheme of merger of the Simla Hill States with either a province or to become a centrally-administered area". The Praja Mandal workers could easily see through this game. They could not be hoodwinked any more.

At a secret meeting of the Praja Mandal workers held at Suni (capital of the then Bhajji State) on February 8, 1948, it was resolved⁵³ to launch a SATYAGRAHA with a view to securing the merger of the Himalayan States with the Indian Union and setting up a full-fledged province under the centre with all the appurtenances of a modern democratic state. With this object in view, a Provisional Interim Government of the Himalayan Prant was formed⁵⁴ with a view to securing the merger of the Himalayan states with the Indian Union. It was planned⁵⁵ to launch a struggle in each state and thus defeat the designs hatched at Solan by the rulers and their supporters just to maintain their stranglehold for some time more. Suket—one of the bigger states of Himachal Pradesh—was chosen to be the first target of direct action. On February 16, 1948, a forty-eight hour notice was served on the ruler to hand over the administration to the people so that the state might be merged with the Indian Union.⁵⁶ Not hearing anything from the ruler, the 'Satyagrahis' marched into the state on February 18, 1948.⁵⁷ The ruler of Suket, finding himself unable to face the situation, handed over the administration to the Government of India.⁵⁸ Writing on the success of the 'Satyagrahis', Dr. Y. S. Parmar said thus :

"What the comparatively backward and resourceless people of Suket have accomplished in just seven days in exploding a social order which had the sanction of centuries behind it, will always remain a source of inspiration to the toiling millions in India in their struggle against feudalism and autocracy".⁵⁹

The Suket episode encouraged the Praja Mandal workers and led to agitation elsewhere. The ruler of Balsan, finding himself unable to meet the rising tide of freedom also handed over the administration to the govern-

ment of India.⁶⁰ The Chief of Mandi (neighbouring state of Suket) lost all hopes of maintaining his independent rule and yielded to the peoples' demand for responsible government.⁶¹ In Chamba, the ruler had to requisition police and military assistance from the Government of India to meet the situation.⁶²

Finding themselves unable to stand up to popular agitation, the Princes of the Simla Hill States ultimately agreed to the integration of their states with the Indian Union. They accordingly signed a Covenant on March 8, 1948, ceding to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and power for and in relation to the governance of their states.⁶³ Thus ended the personal rule of the Rajas and Ranas in the Simla Hill States. The elimination of the centuries-old princely autocracies may be said to constitute a victory for the Himachal people not only because it swept away a tradition which was as old as the Himachal history itself but because it set Himachal Pradesh upon the threshold of a new political epoch in progress towards democracy.

1. Baghal, Baghat, Balsan, Bhajji, Baija, Bushahr, Chamba, Darkoti, Dhami, Jubbal, Keonthal, Kumarsain, Kunihar, Kuthar, Mehlog, Mandi, Mangal, Sangri, Sirmur, Suket and Tharoch. (See White Paper on Indian States, Manager of Publications Delhi, 1950, p.295).
2. Punjab District Gazetteers, 1924-25 Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, Lahore, 1926, VII-A, p.45.
3. The Chiefs of Bilaspur, Bushahr, Nalagarh and Sirmur bore the title of Raja. (See Hyde, H. Montgomery, Simla and the Simla Hill States under British Protection 1815-35, University of the Punjab, Lahore 1961, p.53).

4. Hutchison & Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, Superintendent, Government Printing; Punjab, Lahore, 1933, Vol.I, Chapter II, p.16.
5. Hutchison & Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, op. cit., Vol. I, p.40.
6. *ibid.*, p.19.
7. The old copper plants and slab inscriptions of Chamba read with the old records of other states prove that down to the twelfth century, and even later, the Thakurs and Ranas had lost nothing of their ancient prestige. From the thirteenth century, however, the petty chiefs all through the hills began to decline in influence, and lapse into the condition of obscurity. (Hutchison & Vogel, op. cit., pp.25-26).
8. *ibid.*, p.21.
9. Punjab Gazetteers : Mandi State, Lahore, 1920, Vol. XII-A, p.61.
10. *ibid.*, pp.63-64.
11. Punjab Gazetteers : Mandi State, 1920, op. cit., Vol. XII-A, p.64.
12. *ibid.*
13. Gazetteers of the Simla Hill States, Lahore, 1935, Vol. VIII, Part A, Chapter III, p.1; Also Amar Singh, Rai Sahib, Settlement Report, Bilaspur, 1907, Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh & Sons, Lahore, 1913, Chapter II, para.29.
14. The Jagirdars owed the state service as horsemen in attendance on the Raja, providing their own horses, and were bound to accompany him with their retainers on military expeditions or for other service. The obligation to retain a horse was later on commuted into a money payment, called GHORIANA. (For details, see Hutchison & Vogel, op. cit., pp.68-69).
15. Gazetteers of the Simla Hill States, op. cit., Chapter III, pp.1-2.
16. Punjab District Gazetteers : Kangra District, Civil Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1906, X-A, pp. 191-92.
17. Gazetteers of the Simla Hill States, loc. cit.; Also see Settlement Report of the Ghund State, 1908, in file No. P. 1-257 available in the H.P. Govt. Records Room, Simla.
18. Punjab District Gazetteers, 1924-25, op. cit., 48.
19. To ensure their fidelity, the Hill Chiefs had to keep as hostage at the Mughal Court, a Prince or near relative. This practice was started by Akbar. (See Hutchison & Vogel, History of the Punjab Hill States, op. cit., p.74).
20. Hutchison & Vogel, op. cit., II, p.393.
21. Punjab District Gazetteers, 1924-25, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
22. *ibid.*, p.70.
23. *ibid.*
24. Hutchison & Vogel, op. cit., Vol. II, p.394.
25. Punjab District Gazetteers, 1924-25, op. cit., p.71.
26. Vigne, G.T., Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain course of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab, London, 1842, Vol.I, pp.138-39.
27. *ibid.*, pp. 139-140; Also Moorcroft, William, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan etc. from 1819-25, London, 1841, Vol.I, pp. 127-30,
28. Hutchison & Vogel, op. cit., II, p.395.
29. Hyde, H. Montgomery, Simla and the Simla Hill States under British Protection, 1815-35, op. cit., p.1.
30. Letter No. 198 dated August 29, 1814, from Colonel D. Ochterlony, Agent, Governor-General, Ludhiana, to J. Adam, Esq., Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department in the Punjab Government Records, Ludhiana Agency, 1808-15, Superintendent, Punjab

- Government Press, Lahore, 1911, Vol. II, p.406.
31. Adam to Ochterlony, September 30, 1814 Punjab Government Records, loc. cit., Vol.II, p.419.
 32. Ochterlony to Adam, May 15, 1815 : Punjab Government Records, op. cit., Vol.II, pp. 435-38. The Treaty of Sagouli, which confirmed this Convention, was signed on December 2, 1815.
 33. Aitchison, C.U., compiled, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1892, IX, p.111.
 34. *ibid.* The Sunnuds granted to the Simla Hill Chiefs are given at pp. 126-60.
 35. Adam to Ochterlony, May 28, 1815 ; Punjab Government Records, op. cit., Vol. II., pp.443-44. Details at pp.442-55.
 36. Quoted by Raghubir Singh in Indian States and the New Regime, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay, 1938, Chapter I, p. 34.
 37. White Paper on Indian States, 1950, p.13. For an interesting study of relationship between the Paramount Power and the Native States, see Lee—Warner, William, the Native States of India, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1910.
 38. Panikkar, K.M., Indian States and the Government of India, London, 1932, Chapter X, p. 114. The Simla Hill States had little in common with the independent states like Hyderabad, Mysore, etc. though they also enjoyed rights and privileges which belonged to the feudal lords of medieval Europe.
 39. For details see Mitra, N.N., ed., The Indian Annual Register, 1939, Vol.I, pp.422-24 ; Also Srinivasan, N., Democratic Government in India, World Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1954, p.99 and White Paper on Indian States, 1950, p.38.
 40. Statement made by the then British Prime Minister on February 20, 1947, in the House of Commons. (Full text given in Menon, V.P., The Transfer of Power in India, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1957, Appendix IX, pp.506-9).
 41. Resolution No.III passed at the Annual Conference of the Himalayan Hill States Regional Conference held at Mandi from March 8 to March 10, 1946, available in the Office of the District Congress Committee Bilaspur (Himachal Pradesh) : File No. 7 on the subject "Correspondence with the Himalayan Hill States' Regional and Sub-Regional Council, 1946-48", p.3.
 42. The Tribune, Lahore, December, 3, 1946 Editorial.
 43. See Article entitled "Political Department and the States" in the National Herald Lucknow, January 9, 1947.
 44. *ibid.*
 45. The Indian News Chronicle, Bombay July 9, 1947, News Report.
 46. *ibid.*
 47. *ibid.*
 48. The Free Press Journal, Bombay; November 15, 1947 ; Also the National Herald Lucknow, December 1, 1947.
 49. A hill State in the erstwhile United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh)
 50. Resolution dated January 1, 1948, quoted in a statement issued by Dr. Y. S. Parmar from Simla on February 21, 1948. The Statement is to be found in File No. 7 "Correspondence with the Himalayan Hill States Regional and Sub-Regional Council 1946-1948", op. cit., pp. 63-64,
 51. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi January 30, 1948.
 52. Proceedings of a Joint Meeting of the rulers of the Simla Hill States, members of the Negotiating Committee, the Drafting Committee and such other members of the

- Constitution—making body of Himachal Pradesh, who were present in Delhi on Sunday, the 29th February, 1948, at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi. These proceedings are available in the Office of the District Congress Committee, Bilaspur, in File No. 7, loc. cit., p.76.
53. Parmar, Y. S., "Seven Days that shook the Himalayas" in the Tribune, Ambala Cantt., March 7, 1948. (Dr. Parmar is the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh).
54. *ibid.* The Provisional Government was composed of Messrs. Shiva Nand Ramaul (President), Sada Nand Chandel, Padam Dev and Mukond Lal (members). These persons belonged to Sirmur, Bilaspur, Bushahar and Suket states respectively. The Provisional Government was thus fairly representative of the various regions of Himachal Pradesh.
55. *ibid.*
56. Parmar, Y.S., "Seven days that shook the Himalayas", op. cit., March 7, 1948.
57. *ibid.*
58. Menon, V. P., The Story of the Integration of the Indian States, Calcutta, 1956, XVI, p.298.
59. Parmar, Y. S., loc. cit.
60. Menon, V. P., loc. cit.
61. The Responsible Government is stated to have functioned for a period of forty days only. (See "Debates on the States Reorganisation Commission's Report"; Manager, Government of India Press, Simla, 1955, p. 63).
62. Menon, V. p., loc. cit.
63. Text of the Agreement is given in the White Paper on Indian States, 1950, Appendix XXVII, pp. 219-20. The ruler of Sirmur signed the Agreement on March 14, 1948 ; the ruler of Mandi, in the first week of April 1948 ; and the ruler of Bilaspur on August 15, 1948. (See Menon, V. P., The Story of the Integration of the Indian States, op. cit., p. 300 ; Also White Paper on Indian States, 1950, p.221).

ECONOMICS OF BIHAR POLITICS

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

The first decision taken by a representative ministry, after the termination of the second spell of President's rule in Bihar, provides the clue to the factors that dominate Bihar politics. The Daroga Rai Ministry took office on 16 February afternoon. Next day (on 17 February) at its first meeting the Cabinet took the decision to stay the operation of agricultural income-tax in the State¹. Before we examine in detail the implications of this decision let us see how this decision compares with the suggestion of the Planning Commission. The draft Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-1974 published by the Government of India says, "As a result largely of public investment in the agricultural sector since the inception of planning, agricultural incomes have increased substantially. But the contributions of the agricultural sector to the public exchequer have not risen commensurately. There is, therefore, need for raising more resources from the agricultural sector for financing its development by imposing an additional burden on the well-to-do farmers. This can be done by developing agricultural income tax in States where it is in force, introducing the tax where it has been imposed so far and attaining parity of rates not only in all States but also with the Union tax on non-agricultural incomes. Alternatively, surcharge at progressive rates can be levied on land revenue, by size of land-holding or type of crops according to the circumstances prevailing in different States."²

Low Incidence of Land Revenue

What is the incidence of land revenue in Bihar? Except for Nagaland and Orissa land revenue per hectare in this State (Bihar) is the

lowest in India. In nearby Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal land revenue per hectare was Rs. 14.61 and Rs. 10.05 respectively, while in Bihar it was Rs. 3.89³. Indeed even in Bihar land revenue used to be imposed at a higher rate in the past when agricultural prices were much lower than at present. Yet this moderate land revenue in Bihar is not collected. The percentage of arrears was 29.13 in 1964-65; 31.22 in 1965-66; 66.77 in 1966-67 and 85.44 in 1967-68.

During the twenty years 1950-1969 a sum of Rs. 374.28 crores was invested in agriculture and irrigation projects in Bihar⁴. If part of the outlay on power is added, which ought to be done since agriculturists in Bihar have been using power for pumps and other purposes, the investment on agriculture would be higher and more accurate. And what has been the collection in Bihar on account of agricultural income-tax? The proceeds from agricultural income-tax in Bihar are insignificant. According to a Reserve Bank study the proceeds from agricultural income-tax in Bihar during the six years 1950-51 to 1955-56 totalled Rs. 2.55 crores⁵ against an actual outlay of nearly fifty crores of rupees on agriculture during the same period. The per capita tax revenue in Bihar in 1967-68 was 4.55 per cent of the per capita income. Taxes on land came to a mere 0.24 percent. In other words the entire taxation was non-agricultural. Indeed the taxes on land in Bihar did not amount to more than mere 0.52 percent of the agricultural income of Bihar⁷. The decision of the Daroga Rai Cabinet would imply that the agriculturists in Bihar are

unable to pay even as little as 0.52 percent of their income as tax while others are paying a quarter, or even more, of their income as tax! The conclusion is obvious. The following table⁸ provides a comparative statement of the burden of agricultural income-tax in the different States in 1958-59.

State	Total revenue	Per capita tax (Rs)	Per capita tax as percentage of per capita income
Andhra Pradesh	0.50	0.020	0.10
Assam	14.40	1.653	0.64
Bihar	0.90	0.027	0.20
Bombay	—	—	—
Kerala	23.10	1.958	1.58
Madhya Pradesh	0.30	0.014	0.01
Madras	17.70	0.843	0.48
Mysore	8.00	0.544	0.35
Orissa	0.40	0.030	0.02
Punjab	—	—	—
Rajasthan	0.40	0.030	0.02
Uttar Pradesh	6.80	0.130	0.06
West Bengal	7.30	0.336	0.16
INDIA	84.20	0.288	0.13

Sharp Rural Inequality

However the real incidence of taxation cannot be judged from the average figures. If a person has to pay one rupee out of a total income of rupees hundred he makes a much greater sacrifice than a person who pays ten rupees out of an income of a thousand rupees. The extreme inequality in the ownership of land in Bihar further distorts the burden of agricultural taxation. In Bihar 0.4 percent of the holdings accounted for six percent of the agricultural area. On the other hand 71.6 percent of the holdings accounted for only thirty percent of the agricultural area. The extent of inequality is given by the fact that

71.6 percent of the holdings had an area of less than five acres each. At the other end 11.1 percent of the households had more than ten acres each and accounted for as much as fortyfive percent of the agricultural area⁹. Whereas the average income per household was Rs. 616 over seventyone percent of the households had an income of Rs. 258 only. There is no question of realising any tax from them. Indeed 98.6 percent of the holdings had an income of less than Rs. 3000 per year. They also cannot be expected to pay income tax. However the rest 1.4 percent was quite affluent enough to pay tax since their average earning was over Rs. 4000 per household. It is interesting that this 1.4 percent of the households having an income of over Rs. 4000 each were appropriating thirteen percent of the income and thirteen percent of the agricultural lands. There is no reason why they should not be asked to pay taxes. The following table¹⁰ summarises the situation :

(see table in page 264)

Evasion of Tax in Bihar

Unfortunately there is a lot of evasion of income-tax in Bihar. It is worthwhile to quote the observation of Professor S. R. Bose, who has made a special study of the income and its distribution in Bihar. "The interesting thing to notice", Professor Bose writes¹¹, "is that although according to our estimate 14.5 percent of the total households have incomes of Rs.3000 and above and were thus liable to the payment of income tax (except the receivers of agricultural income), yet as we have seen, only 3.8 per cent were actually subjected to the tax. In other words, without making any allowance for agricultural incomes and the fact that some of the receivers of income may have been assessed to the tax outside Bihar, 10.7 per cent of the households evaded the payment of the tax; and presuming that most of the tax

Size of holding	Percentage of holdings	Estimated number of holdings	Percentage of agricultural area comprised within the holdings	Income at two-thirds of the value of gross produce (Rs.)	Income per house hold (Rs.).
0-5 acres	71.6	41,58,973	30	10,726 lakhs	258
5-10 „	17.3	10,03,376	25	8,938 „	891
10-15 „	5.5	3,19,765	14	6,006 „	1,565
15-30 „	4.2	2,45,606	18	6,436 „	2,621
30-50 „	1.0	59,549	7	2,503 „	4,207
50 „	0.4	25,289	6	2,145 „	8,580
Total	100.0	58,12,558	100	35,754	616

dodgers were in the income group Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 15,900, the aggregate income which evaded the payment of tax in Bihar would amount to about Rs. 50 crores which were actually brought under the tax.”

Finance Commission's Observations

The decision of the new ministry to stop realization of agricultural tax from all cultivators, irrespective of their income, is thus a great blow to the principles of equity and progressive taxation. If persons who are liable to be taxed, and are also able to pay, can escape taxation it cannot but bring about an all-round degeneration. That is exactly what has happened in Bihar. This anomalous situation was commented upon by the fifth Finance Commission which noted that the “agricultural sector naturally pays less *per capita* as indirect taxes than the non-agricultural sector, in which *per capita* incomes are relatively higher, but the same expenditure groups in the rural sector also pay less than their counterparts in urban areas... But the more important difference between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors is regarding the different systems of direct taxation to which they are subject. All non-agricultural incomes are subject to a highly progressive

personal income-tax. On the other hand, the agricultural sector is, by and large, subject to relatively fixed land taxes levied at proportional rates... Whether or not the agricultural sector should be more highly taxed than the non-agricultural sector may be a matter of opinion, but it is a fact that the prosperous part of the agricultural sector is now definitely under-taxed. And, as agricultural incomes grow, the disparity will grow even more pronounced. The urgent need for devising an appropriate progressive tax policy for Indian agriculture is obvious. . . .”¹²

“Developing Agriculture”

The central political task is the modernization of Bihar. Such modernization requires industrialization which calls for the transfer of rural surplus to build up industries. The reverse process is in operation in Bihar where new investments are being made in the rural areas, not out of the surplus of the rural areas but out of resources generated elsewhere. It has given rise to a peculiar situation in which practically all the investment on agriculture is done by the public (government) while all the appropriation is private (by the owner of the land). Irrigation facilities, land development

work, fertilizer production, electrification and supply of pumps etc. are all done by the government and the owner of the land contributes very little by way of investment or payment of agricultural income-taxes. In such a situation the demand for agricultural development assumes a sinister connotation of pampering the idle rural rich at the cost of the risk-bearing entrepreneurs on whose success the future of the nation depends. Agriculture in Bihar seems only to receive everything from the community (government) giving back nothing in return. This is unnatural economics and cannot last long. Because, as in the physical sciences, in the economic science also the law of complementarity operates. Unless there is a balance between supply and demand there is bound to be grave economic, consequently social, consequently political disturbances. Agriculture is undoubtedly important but not for its own sake alone. It is important as social activity. The moment there is refusal to pay taxes there is a breach in this social activity and the conduct becomes anti-social. Any political force that sincerely wishes to see Bihar progress must therefore seek to tax agriculture.

Landless Labourers in Agriculture

What the Bihar government headed by Mr. Daroga Rai has done, is just the opposite of what is necessary to be done. Instead of "devising an appropriate progressive tax policy" for agriculture, as suggested by the Finance Commission, it has suspended realization of the already lowly-rated taxes from agriculture. In view of the extreme inequality in the size of holdings and income in the rural areas this extraordinary pampering of the rural rich has tended to create an atmosphere of great strife and violence in the rural areas. In 1961 out of a total population of 46,455,610 in Bihar, agricultural labourers numbered as many as 4,418,475. In other words, more than one-

tenth of the rural population was landless agricultural workers.¹³ Between 1950-51 and 1956-57 the percentage of landless agricultural labourers had gone up from 35.89 to 38.78.¹⁴ There is no doubt that during the last fifteen years since the second agricultural labour enquiry the percentage of landless agricultural labourers in Bihar has gone up further.

This sharp inequality, which is sought to be reinforced by the latest decision of the representative government in Bihar, has had one inevitable result: the growth of strife and rural violence. The Union Home Ministry recently circulated a note to the State governments in which a warning was uttered that unless land reforms were thoroughly implemented there would be grave unrest. The Union Home Ministry's warning contained only part of the truth. If the ministry's note took a wider view of the situation in the countryside it could not fail to point to the dangerous potentialities of the economic inequality in the rural areas. Undoubtedly Bihar is very badly off in this respect and something is urgently needed to be done in this regard. The true character of the violence afflicting the rural society came to the fore during the mid-term election in Bihar in February 1969 when, for the first time since Independence, all parties contested the election on a more or less equal basis. In all other previous elections the Congress had fought it while remaining in government. It was in 1969 that for the first time the party fought the election without being in government. In other words, overlooking the fact that the Congress leaders during their long years in government had created friends among top officials, for the first time there was formal equality of all the parties vis-a-vis the government and the voters. Since the official machinery was largely neutral it was impossible for candidates belonging to any one

party to create a position of dominance in all the places. On the other hand since the police force was not sufficiently large to provide equal protection to all the thousands of villages at the same time there was violence in places where police supervision was weak. The resort to violence cut across all political parties. The Chief Election Commissioner had expressed his grave concern over the widespread violence in Bihar during the mid-term election. One Congress M. L. A, Mr. Nitishwar Prasad Sinha from Muzaffarpur gave a vivid description of this violence during election time.¹⁵

Economic Overtones of Violence

The qualitative change in this resort to violence is that it is no longer one-sided. As long as violence in the rural areas was one-sided it hardly figured in public discussions and in the press. The very fact that the incidents of violence are being increasingly reported is proof of the fact of its spread to newer sections causing further sharpening of the strife and accentuating insecurity. It is perhaps not without significance that the breaches of law and order in the rural areas have been occurring more and more in relation to economic disputes including disputes over occupancy rights and harvesting rights. This unmistakable economic overtone of violence underlines the importance of the role of correct economic decisions in forestalling and curbing such violence.

This—the growing economic inequality in the rural areas (and Bihar is over ninety percent rural)—then, is the framework within which the political processes in Bihar work. Caste, religious and linguistic divisions are all both defined and limited by this framework. The economic predominance of the four upper castes in Bihar gave them a dominating position in Congress politics as well as in the legislature. In 1934 the upper caste (Brahman, Bhumihar, Rajput and Kayastha) members

constituted 76.92 percent of the total membership of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee in 1962 the percentage was still as high as 61.92.¹⁶ In the latter year (1962) those four upper castes provided more than fortythree percent of the Congress members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly.¹⁷ The dual economic political domination of these castes created a virtual dictatorship in the State which terrorized the people into silence. The fright among even the educated persons is easily seen in discussions. They are hardly, if ever, willing to come out into the open except in support of the dominant politicians. The objective expression of this fear is in the virtual silence of the educated class over the shocking disclosures of the Aiyar Commission and the Mudholkar Commission. Newspapers have found little in public reaction worth publication. Normally there should be a spate of letters commenting on such authoritative findings. Undoubtedly the fear was not wholly inexplicable even if it would not be justified. If even an editor of a leading daily could be put to jail (as was the case with Mr. T. J. S. George, the then editor of the Searchlight) for publishing a report it was natural that others would be more circumspect in giving expression to their thoughts.

Rationalization of Bihar Politics

It was not until the upper caste leaders of the Congress quarrelled among themselves in late 1966 that the reign of terror ended. This quarrel also provided an opportunity to the leaders of the backward classes to press forward their claims. Perhaps it is not devoid of some significance that four governments in Bihar were headed by a backward caste leader since the last general election in 1967. The loosening of the hold of the landed gentry over the political life of the State has widened the scope of the operation of democracy and the economically weaker sections of the upper castes can

also speak out now. An illusion was sought to be created, by the opportunistic alliance of politicians before the limelight, about caste solidarity which was never present in real life. Field studies have indicated sharp intra-caste differences in the rural areas in Bihar. With the elimination of one-party dominance in the State the economic factors are pressing themselves for recognition. Undoubtedly economic factors are not the only factors; but they are unmistakably the central ones. This is best illustrated in tribal politics. Most of the slogans of the tribal leaders in the State have got an economic content. To the extent that economic demands are basically rational demands (although they may sometimes be stated in unreasonable terms) the growing use of economic demands in Bihar's political stage may be taken as a sign towards the growth of rational politics in the State which all well-meaning persons must help to remain peaceful and constructive.

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ANCIENT INDIAN PRACTICE OF EATING PEA-COCK'S FLESH

Dr. (Miss) APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

Introduction :

The Caraka Samhita throws important light on the practice of eating the flesh of peacocks which obtained among the ancient Indians. The data found in Asokan edicts and in the Ramayana, if studied with reference to the relevant data found in the Caraka Samhita and Susruta Samhita, with reference to Dharmasastric rules and regulations regarding flesh-eating, will establish the hypothesis that peacock's flesh was one of the common types of flesh eaten by the ancient Indians.

Asoka's love for peacock's flesh :

Peacock's flesh was the favourite dish of emperor Asoka. So even after his conversion to Buddhism, when killing of animals for the royal kitchen was stopped, three living creatures, two peacocks and one deer, were slaughtered for the royal table.¹ It is preserved in the rocks that though formerly many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered for the royal kitchen, it was totally stopped afterwards, but Asoka continued to eat the flesh of peacocks. The emperor's frantic zeal for his new faith could not prevent him from having a dish of peacock's flesh daily.

Prevalence of the practice of eating peacock's flesh :

That peacock's flesh was generally eaten in society can be inferred from the books on medicine, Caraka Samhita and Susruta Samhita. Both Caraka and Susruta in the chapters on Food and Drinks, discuss the quality and value of peacock's flesh. The fact that it is discussed in the general chapters on food

and drinks, and not in the chapter on medicine, value of food articles suggests that it was generally eaten in society. This hypothesis gains support in the fact that for a patient of consumption various kinds of meat diet are prescribed for speedy recovery. But the patient would not like to eat the flesh of such an animal which he is not used to eat. In that case he may vomit it even if he is forced to eat it.² S Caraka advises that the patient should be given the flesh of vultures, etc., in the name of peacock's flesh and similarly flesh of crows was to be given in the name of the flesh of 'tittira' bird and flesh of snake in the name of the flesh of fish.³

The Ramayana offers valuable data to establish the hypothesis that peacock's flesh was the usual type of meat for ancient Indians. In the feast given in honour of Bharata by sage Bharadvaja, we find peacock's flesh mentioned along with flesh of cocks, deer, goat, etc.⁴ Again, we find it mentioned along with the flesh of cocks in the description of Ravana's banquet hall.⁵ These two descriptions in the Ramayana, lead one to the conclusion that among the birds the flesh of cock and peacock were delicacies for the ancient Indians.

We have already noticed that Caraka advises peacock's flesh to be named when a patient is to be given the flesh of such birds which were not usually eaten by people. So it was expected that a patient would neither hesitate nor would feel any kind of nausea or abhorrence to eat a preparation of flesh given in the name of peacock's flesh. All these facts suggest that peacock's flesh was a common item of meat in ancient times. So emperor Asoka

love for peacock's flesh was neither unusual nor abnormal. It was in perfect conformity with general practice of the country.

Efficacy and value of peacock's flesh :

According to Caraka, peacock's flesh is the most efficacious for eyesight, ears, brain, appetite, complexion, voice and for longevity⁶. According to Susruta it is astringent and saline in taste and is beneficial to the skin ; it helps the growth of hair, improves the voice, intellect, appetite and relish for food and imparts strength and vigour to the organs of sight and hearing⁷. It is note-worthy that Susruta in his chapter on poison, recommends the meat and soup of peacock's flesh regularly for a king, as it neutralises the effects of poison⁸. It seems this medical advice was followed by kings in practice and so Asoka could not give up the peacock's flesh.

Some preparation of peacock's flesh :

We find references to roasted peacocks and curries of peacock's flesh but there is a warning against roasting it in castor-plant wood. Peacock's flesh roasted on a spit made of the castor-plant wood or cooked over a fire of castor-plant twigs or prepared in castor oil, if eaten, will cause death⁹. The flesh of peacock used in preparing a special kind of soup for strength is noticed in Caraka. Sparrows cooked in the meat-juice of partridge or partridge cooked in the meat-juice of cock, or the cock cooked in the meat-juice of peacock, or peacock cooked in the meat-juice of swan, in fresh 'ghee', acidified with fruit acids and sweetened according to one's liking and mixed with fragrant articles, should be taken for promoting strength¹⁰.

The religious and social prohibition, if any, for eating peacock's flesh :

In the Apastamba, Gautama and Vasistha Dharmasutras we do not find any prohibition for eating peacock's flesh though there is prohi-

bition for eating the flesh of so many kinds of animals and birds including parrots, 'hamsa' ducks, etc. And in the Baudhayana Dharma-sutra¹¹ we find that peacock can be eaten. It is to be noted that the period of Dharmasutras is between 600 B. C. and 300 B. C.

Neither in Manu nor in Yajnavalkya peacock figures in the list of prohibited kinds of flesh though we find prohibition for eating the flesh of so many kinds of animals in the works of those two veteran law-givers.

Rules of Kautilya :

As regards Kautilya, we find the prohibition of the killings of peacocks along with parrots¹². That the prohibition was mostly for the aesthetic value of this beautiful bird is implied in Kautilya's statement. Kautilya says "...swan, ruddy geese, pheasant, 'bhrngaraja', 'Cakora', 'mattakokilla', peacock, parrot, and 'madanasarika' which are birds for sport and auspicious (birds) ... should be protected from all danger of injury¹³".

It is noteworthy in this connection that prohibition of killing parrot for its recreational value, since it can imitate human voice, was noticed by the Greeks¹⁴. It is possible that though there was no Dharmasastric prohibition of killing peacocks, as we have already noticed, Kautilya probably tried to introduce it, as peacocks are extremely beautiful birds and thus they add to the show of city gardens and private residence. Further, Kautilya's prohibition can be sought in the utility of peacocks against snakes and also for precautionary measures against the fear of the king being poisoned. In Kautilya we notice elaborate precautions against the ever-present chances of the king being poisoned¹⁵. In this connection it is worth noting what Susruta says. According to Susruta, seeing the poisoned food the redness of the eyes of 'Cakora' will become dim, the voice of the cuckoo will change, the 'kraunca' bird

will get intoxicated, the peacock will look in anguish, the parrot will cry loudly, the geese will make loud noise, the 'bhrngaraja' will shout, the 'prsat' deer will shed tear. This is the reason that a king should keep these animals as pets.¹⁶ This account of Susruta probably explains to a great extent not only Kautilya's prohibition for killing those birds including peacocks but Dharmasastric prohibition for killing parrots, etc.

Probably both in the Dharmasastras and Asoka's edict peacock is excluded from the list of those useful birds which were prohibited for killing, in consideration of the fact that peacock's flesh was eaten very commonly and it was considered to be the best type of meat by the medical authorities like Caraka and Susruta. In Asoka's Pillar Edict V we do not find peacock in the list of animals prohibited for killing by the emperor. Besides Asoka's own liking for peacock's flesh, its cause may be due to the fact that it was a very common type of flesh which people liked and medical authorities recommended and religious laws did not prohibit. So Asoka did not think it necessary to prohibit its killing. Because in the list of animals prohibited for killing by

Asoka there were mostly those animals and birds which are prohibited for eating in the Dharmasastras.¹⁷ Asoka's laws; it seems, were mostly meant to support religious laws. Since there was not religious bar for eating peacock's flesh and since it was good for health and people ate it, Asoka did not prohibit its killing.

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ROMULO GALLEGOS—A LATIN AMERICAN NOVELIST

SUSNIGDHA DEY

The death of Romulo Gallegos last year was not only an occasion for a State funeral in Venezuela but it moved people far and wide. Readers of Spanish literature written in Latin America, remembered the powerful novelist of the Wild West. Ironically, Gallegos has been mourned more as a statesman than as a writer. The present glut of literary activity in the field of poetry as well as novel keeps the sophisticated Latin American too busy to look back and linger. And perhaps the deceased is a generation too old in a generation which has seen changes in rapid succession.

Romulo Gallegos took to politics after he had distinguished himself as a man of letters. He rode the crest and was swept aside in his political career in a brusque fashion not uncommon in his part of the world. Earlier he had been a Member of the Assembly and a Minister. He was at the head of a revolutionary movement and in 1948 he became the President of the Republic of Venezuela. One of his followers, Romulo Betancourt, who also rose to the highest office of that country in later years helped him found a party known as the "Democratic Action".

The Venezuelan writer became a symbol of the triumph of civil rights over the rule of the generals. He stood for political liberty, freedom for the press, respect for the constitution, social progress and economic development. In his inaugural speech he drew attention to the *malaise* of Latin America: "The Armed Forces should in no case assume the responsi-

bilities of running governments". But the military was in no mood to listen and Gallegos was forced into exile after nine months and nine days of assuming power. He turned his attention again to literature and especially to the fable, the essay and the long narrative. The protagonist from now on was the people and the wild countryside served as the backdrop. The French periodical *Les nouvelles Littéraires* has a point to make about Latin American affairs: "The success of the Hispanoamerican writer is on account of the helplessness of man in the face of a remorseless nature which devours him, social and racial inequalities that plague him and the continued presence of dictatorship in the political horizon of South America. Of this is born the unbridled necessity of expressing the individuality of South America outside all political, racial, economic, religious and geographical circumstances". The Latin American author lives in a country besieged with problems, which lend a real dimension to the treatment of their particular themes. A representative Latin American novel is not unaware of the environment but it rises above the ordinary for the poetic treatment of an individual soul.

The disillusioned soldier and the disappointed hanger-on in the court of Phillip II took refuge in writing *Don Quixote*. Like Cervantes, Gallegos turned his attention to the making of literature and it is said that he came very close to winning the Nobel Prize.

The oil-rich Venezuela discovered in the third voyage of Christopher Columbus has a

rich tradition of music, art and literature. Both within and outside Venezuela—or the little Venice as it was endearingly called by a Spaniard exploring its coast in 1500 and whence its name—Romulo Gallegos is the country's most well-known writer.

His novels like an immense mural give us a picture of the rural life in all its aspects. The life of the vast plains on either side of the river Orinoco is shown in his novels *Dona Barbara* and *Cantaclaro*. The tropical forests of the Guayana is found in *Canaima*. The region of Barlovento is the scene of the novel *The unfortunate negro*. The lake of Maracaibo finds expression in *On the same earth*.

Dona Barbara published in 1929 is for Venezuela what *Don Quixote* is for Spain. In each of them we find the creation of two major characters outwardly in opposition to each other and the inter-play revealing the essence and incongruity in the soul of the nation. The protagonist in each of the novels finally breaks loose from the country of origin to become universal archetypes. The land of the Mancha and the plains of the Orinoco could not be more different; the dreamy eyes and the sunken-cheeks of Don Quixote have little in common with the ruthless temper and the rigid frame of *Dona Barbara*. But the country-side in both the narratives is full of the mystery which frightens yet draws us near and the hero in the one and the heroine in the other are seen fighting against the changes wrought by time. They are doomed as in a Greek tragedy waiting for the inevitable.

In *Dona Barbara* the characters are symbolic and inter-locked in the opposition between civilization and cruelty. *Dona Barbara* is the symbol for the wild mysterious cruel plains. Santos Luzardo represents the law and order of the civilised world. Marisela, the daughter of *Dona Barbara*, a wild and incorrigible creature in the beginning stands for the change that could

be brought to bear upon the Venezuelan life by means of education. Santos Luzardo succeeds in educating and changing Marisela. And in the end we find that Marisela is an educated and sensible lady refusing to be drawn by the charm of the wild life of the plains.

In the technique *Dona Barbara* has nothing extraordinary to show. In fact, it is written in the traditional style of the nineteenth century, leaning heavily on the powerful, colourful narrative, of the larger-than-life characters involved deliberately in an action-packed drama. Gallegos combines the faculty of Dickens and Hardy. The heroic struggle is romantically spread over an inexorable nature. Even the names of the characters bear the intentions of the author. The savageness of *Dona Barbara* and the saintly light of the civilizing force of Santos Luzardos are suggested in the very etymology before they are unrolled in the action. By a simultaneous and parallel process the mare and Marisela are tamed, 'the sleeping beauty' is savage and beautiful at the same time. There are violent and impressionable incidents like the rape of Barbara, the speared man dying with gaping eyes, the fluttering of a repulsive bat and the corpse hanging from the horse. However, in the sweep and majesty, in its sureness of touch and spontaneity, the novel flows like the river Orinoco.

Cantaclaro published five years later is a novel in which we read of the fantasy of the prairie with its songs, tales, superstitions and legends. Florentino, who travels and sings on his way is nicknamed 'Cantaclaro'—the clear-voiced singer. It is a novel of customs and manners, of ethnical interest where poetry breaks in now and then. *Cantaclaro* saves a girl and carries her to give a roof over her head but he goes on to live an adventurer's solitary and nomadic life. The folk-lore material of the

novel reminds us of some of the novels of Asturias.

Canaima (1935) shows another dimension in the repertory of the Venezuelan. It is the wilderness again but the cities which break the monotony become also part of the scene. Intrigues and corrupt practices abound, murders and revolutions take place in the despotic rule of the chiefs. The mixed population of Europeans, Americans, Red Indians, Creoles and Negroes provide a human mosaic with their love, hate, jealousy, quarrel, fear, disease and madness. It is the confrontation of the robust man, a kind of half god of jungle with the Canaima, the malign god of the inhuman and monstrous forest. It is the story of Marcos Vargas who falls a prey to the call of wild life. Violent and generous, he sides with the labourers and then with the Indians; finally renounces the civilization and goes to live with the Indians and actually marries an Indian girl. We lose him then from our sight. In the end, twelve years later, we find his son trudging the way to the Caracas City in search

of a better life through education. The rambling, discursive prose does not have the intuitive vitality of *Dona Barbara*. In the frequent long asides of the novelist, we are reminded of the over hearing moralisings of Dickens at his worst without of course the broad humour of the Victorian Englishman.

However, the description of the landscape in its different moods keeps the narrative moving. In every novel it is the same fascinating jungle which "frightens" the reader but "does not leave him cold".

E. M. W. Tillyard's "The Epic Strain in the English Novel" has been considered to be an oddly negative approach but had he turned to Gallegos he would have been rewarded in his search for the epic strain in the novel. Romulo Gallegos said once that he wanted to feel the heart-beat of the Venezuelans and as he was being carried to his last journey more than two hundred thousands of his countrymen following his coffin re-created the vast canvas that he was so adept to paint.

TASHKENT DECLARATION : PLEDGES AND FULFILMENTS

MUNI PRASAD SINGH

Ever since 1966, the 10th of January has become a significant date in the annals of political history of India. It is remembered for the conclusion of the Tashkent Declaration and the sudden death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent—the venue of the Declaration and the Capital of Uzbekistan province of the U. S. S. R. Four years have elapsed since then. The 10 January 1970 marks the beginning of the fifth year and the fourth anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration—a unique historic event of triumph and tragedy. If the conclusion of the Declaration meant for the amelioration of Indo-Pakistan relations was a triumph for India, the death of Prime Minister Shastri was certainly a great tragedy and an irreparable loss.

It is indeed difficult to determine a cause effect relationship between the conclusion of the Tashkent Declaration and the subsequent death of Prime Minister Shastri, just a few hours after the signing ceremony; but the very co-occurrence of these two incidents make Indians feel that they have paid a heavy price for this declaration. Hence they fail to reconcile this loss unless they are convinced that the Tashkent Declaration has comparatively other positive gains too.

Now when President Ayub Khan is also no more in the helm of affairs of Pakistan it is pertinent for Pakistanis to review this diplomatic act of signing the Tashkent Declaration. Thus the present Tashkent anniversary like its predecessors provides an occasion for both countries to search within

their own hearts as to how far they have gone to carry out the pledges taken under this declaration to normalise their relations? This needs analysis of Indo-Pakistani relations in the context of the post-Tashkent period.

Optimistic Pledges

In the days following the conclusion of the Tashkent declaration high-sounding phrases were used to acclaim it. It was characterised as the beginning of 'a new era' in Indo-Pakistan relations; a "historic document"; a 'new spirit', a "corner stone of Indo-Pakistani goodwill" and the like. The plethora of words used to hail the Tashkent spirit and its provisions primarily indicated two possibilities: (a) The cessation of hostilities arising out of the last war for Kashmir; and (b) the emergence of an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding in which India and Pakistan would themselves resolve their outstanding disputes through peaceful means. Along with those two there was also one more faint and veiled realization that in case of any disruption of peace and security in future in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, the Soviet Union being the initiator and promoter of the Tashkent Declaration, would exercise its influence and if needed power as corrective measures. The span of four years since the conclusion of the declaration has provided us with ample time and facts to review how far those high-sounding pledges have implemented.

Retreat

After the conclusion of the Tashkent agreement certain steps were taken for bringing

about friendly relations between India and Pakistan. The High Commissioners resumed their posts immediately. The major exchange of the prisoners of war took place on 23rd February 1966. Telephone links and postal communications were reestablished on 11 and 16 February 1966 respectively. The over flight air communication was restored on 10 February 1966 and on 26 March 1966 India unilaterally decided to lift the ban on trade with Pakistan. The ships captured during the war were returned by October 1966.

However, all these constitute the fulfilment of the first pledge, the cessation of warlike movements arising out of the twenty two days fierce war on the soil of Kashmir in September 1965. We may think, the unilateral removal of the ban on trade with Pakistan was a good gesture of friendship to that country. But in Pakistan not much importance has been attached to it. Her trade relations with other countries like China and Russia have increased to such an extent that even without trade with India, Pakistan can manage to keep her economic structure sound. Moreover, the economic aspect has never been of much significance to Pakistan in her policy towards India. To Pakistan the real test of Indian friendship as well as friendship with other powers lies in its interest in Kashmir. Only the favourable solution of Kashmir dispute can make her friendly to India. Just a few days after the signing of the Tashkent declaration, Z. A. Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan said on 15 January 1966 that the state of Indo-Pakistan relations could be improved only after the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Kashmir.

Deadlock

The hope that the Tashkent declaration would create an atmosphere of Indo-Pakistani

friendly relation is fast fading. This is primarily due to its failure to resolve the continuing deadlock on the Kashmir question and diminish the anti-Indian obsession existing in Pakistan.

Article IX of the Tashkent declaration provided that India and Pakistan would continue meetings both at the highest and other levels on matters directly concerned to them. They also agreed to set up a joint Indo-Pakistani body which was to report to the respective government in order to decide the further steps to be taken. It was thought that this would lead the two countries to find a mutually agreed solution to the outstanding disputes existing or arising between them, including the Kashmir problem. In March 1966, the delegates of the two countries met at Rawalpindi to explore the possibilities of holding ministerial level talks and to discuss Indo-Pakistani problems including that of Kashmir. But nothing could be done. Since then some occasional and stray suggestions for holding bilateral talks at high level have come from both the countries. However, no concrete effort has been made for either this or for establishment of a joint Indo-Pakistan body.

The main cause is that both countries differ widely on ideas of the nature of negotiations. The contention of Pakistan is that Kashmir is the only dispute bedeviling her relations with India. Therefore, any discussion meant for the amelioration of relations between India and Pakistan must start from it. Not only this, Pakistan also holds that plebiscite is the only honourable and equitable solution of Kashmir. Hence, negotiation can be held not to find an alternative to it but only to decide the manner in which it can be implemented properly and efficiently.

India on the other hand, believes that Kashmir, notwithstanding a major irritant, is not the only one problem in her relations

with Pakistan. It is the anti-Indian complex of Pakistan which is the root cause of all the bad blood. Therefore, the need is to rectify this attitude. This can be done in a better way by strengthening trade and economic relations instead of initiating talks about it. It is felt that the Kashmir dispute in both the countries is charged with explosive emotions. In fact the approach of India is more healthy and reasonable than Pakistan's formula of direct hit on Kashmir. The reason why Pakistan fails to appreciate it is her self-fabricated apprehension that if other disputes are settled, India would be reluctant to discuss the Kashmir dispute. The inner truth of this Pakistani apprehension is that she thinks of having greater manoeuvrability on the Kashmir problem when other problems are not solved than she may have otherwise.

Under Article IV of the Tashkent Declaration, India and Pakistan agreed to discourage propaganda directed against each other. But Pakistan has been slow to respond to it: On 3 August 1967, India sent a protest note to Pakistan calling to stop anti-Indian propaganda in Pakistan and abroad. This had no effect. Instead, on 27 December 1967, Pirzada, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan accused India of using suppressive measures in Kashmir and threatened serious consequences, President Ayub Khan often said that India was preparing to increase her military strength not against China but against Pakistan. On 26 October 1968, he accused India of taking an "irrational attitude on every conceivable thing connected with Pakistan".

Thus the achievement so far made has been negative, not a moving forward, but a sharp retreat to the pre-war situation.

Illusive Spirit

It is said that like the Locarno Pact of 1924, the Tashkent Declaration too created

a spirit—the spirit of peace and goodwill between India and Pakistan. On 14 January 1966 while speaking about the Tashkent Declaration, Sardar Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister of India said that not the words but the "spirit underlying it" had more importance. It was this spirit which led him to see in the Declaration, the provisions for the renunciation of force—a replica of often repeated Indian offer of no-war declaration. This kind of view is both unilateral and idealistic and hence illusory.

Pakistan has never recognised that the Tashkent Declaration stipulates for any kind of no war Declaration. In fact, the affirmation of faith in the charters as done by India and Pakistan under the Tashkent Declaration does not by itself constitute a no war declaration. Even in lack of substantial provisions, something could have been relied on, had there been an identity of views between the two countries. But when Pakistan openly decries it, it is inadvisable for India to read the provisions of a no-war declaration in the Tashkent Declaration. The hope of the corrective Russian role in case of aggression is also not less idealistic. Russia has not given even an implicit indication of it so far. Every great power acts according to the dictates of its own national interests. There is no guarantee that the national interest of Russia would be in conformity with the Indo-Pakistani amity. Therefore, it is too much to hope from Russia that she would perform a corrective role. Grant of military aid by Russia to Pakistan in spite of Indian opposition should be taken as an eye opener in this context.

It is also disturbing that Pakistan attaches little importance to the so-called Tashkent spirit. Even its second anniversary did not find place in Pakistan's official media of broadcasting and publicity. In fact, even if there emerged anything like the Tashkent spirit, it

is getting tarnished. On the eve of the second anniversary of it, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India also complained that the progress could not be rapid due to lack of corresponding response from Pakistan.

Alarming Developments

Throughout the past four years Pakistan has been busy in building her military strength. As Pakistan regards India her enemy number one, it can very well be understood that the increasing military strength of Pakistan is aimed against India. Hence India cannot be a passive spectator over it. The developments which indicate the increase in Pakistani military strength are growing over Sino-Pakistani collusion and supply of arms to Pakistan from Washington, Peking and Moscow.

China is a long term rival of India. In this case the growing collusion of Pakistan which China cannot but be agonising for India. On 21 October 1967, the two countries agreed to construct a road in the Gilgit Hunza region. The all-weather road was inaugurated for use on 28 September 1968 by Vice Admiral A.R. Khan, Pakistan's Minister for Kashmir affairs. The road is about 155 miles long and connects Gilgit in Azad Kashmir with Skardu in Chinese Sinkiang. In June 1969, report came about a secret Sino-Pakistan pact of constructing another road in this area which will connect Markhun in north Kashmir and Khunjer Ab pass on Kashmir Sinkiang border. These constructions of roads in collaboration with China mean that China is interfering with Indian sovereignty in Kashmir. Moreover, these roads affect Indian defensive position in this area. With these roads Pakistan and China get better communication facilities which they can misuse jointly for pressurising India.

Just a few months after the conclusion of the Tashkent Declaration, it was learnt that

Pakistan was hob-nobbing with Washington to get arms aid. At that time nothing definite could be known. But on 17 April 1967 the USA publicly expressed her decision to supply spare parts to Pakistan on cash purchase basis.

Pakistan has also secured arms aid from the communist bloc. She has secured substantial arms aid from China, though it is very difficult to know anything definitely. The visit of President Ayub Khan to Moscow from 25 September to 4 October 1967 was primarily meant for securing arms aid from Russia. In most of his speeches there, President Ayub Khan tried to convince his Russian hosts that following the Chinese border dispute India had amassed enough military strength with the assistance of Western powers which was more than needed to resist what Indian government called Chinese expansionism. Pushing his argument further President Ayub Khan opined that the desire of India was not so much to resist the Chinese. Hence Pakistan being hostile to India had the fear of Indian domination. It could be checked only by increasing the military strength of Pakistan. President Ayub Khan's arguments did much to convince Russia of the desirability of giving arms aid to Pakistan. Since then, positive indications started taking shape. The visit of General Yahya Khan to Moscow in July 1968 gave a definite sign of its materialisation. The Russian Government in a note to Delhi on 6 July 1968 conveyed its decision to give arms aid to Pakistan coupled with the assurance that it would not be used against the interest of India. On 14 March 1969, L.N. Mishra, Indian Minister for Defence Production disclosed in the Rajya Sabha that Soviet arms had reached Pakistan. In June 1969, it was learnt that 60 Russian tanks arrived in Pakistan. The

new regime of Pakistan is also keeping this process continued. On 29 June 1969, it renewed the Soviet offer to develop the navy base at Gwadur, which is 275 miles West of Karachi. The work is being carried on n high priority. What and how much arms Pakistan has received from the three Capitals of the world powers, Peking, Washington and Moscow, is difficult to determine. However, the net result of all these arms aid to Pakistan has been the doubling of her military strength in comparison to what it had been in 1965. This was revealed by Sardar Swaran Singh in Rajya Sabha on 20 August 1968 and seemed to have been confirmed by the Military Balance (1968-69) brought out by the strategic Studies in London published on 8 December 1968.

Needful Realism

All these developments being alarming deserve a thought provoking estimation. This necessitates the consideration of the primary motive of Pakistan behind building up her military strength and its impact on India. As Pakistan continues to count India as enemy number one, the primary motive of Pakistan behind increasing her military strength must be her policy to speak to India with strength,

This becomes clear when it is remembered that Pakistan has not renounced the use of force as a means to settle disputes. She has always refused to accept the Indian offer of a No-war Pact. In the post-Tashkent period Mrs. Gandhi extended this offer to Pakistan in her public speech on 15 August 1968. She repeated it again in her speech at the last anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration. But President Ayub Khan again put the solution of Kashmir problem as a pre-condition for its acceptance. On 1 September 1968, President Ayub Khan said

that the offer of no-war pact without the provision of any self-executing machinery for the solution of the Kashmir dispute amounted to "hoodwink the world."

Inevitably, this attitude of Pakistan leads one to the conclusion that Pakistan still contemplates resorting to forceful means for settling the Kashmir issue in her favour. The emotional sentiments of this dispute, make such chances all the more possible. At times, this is proved by the statements made by the governmental mouth-piece the Pakistani press. In its issue of 2 December 1967, the Pakistan Times carried a cartoon depicting a man who while serenading his lady-love says: "Give me thy hand O love, when I'm in power I will get you the moon and the stars and even Kashmir".

Pakistan has also started the old policy of securing the support of big powers against India on the Kashmir issue. When British Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, visited Pakistan in August 1968, Arshad Hussain, wished that England should interfere in settling the Kashmir dispute. But Mr. Stewart refused the offer saying that this dispute can be settled only by Indians and Pakistanis themselves. Again on 4 October 1968, while addressing the General Assembly Arshad Hussain tried to evoke the support of big powers for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 20 September 1965. Recently on 2 January 1970, General Yahya Khan made it clear that in his meetings with Russian diplomats he would raise problems of Indo-Pakistan relations. He would certainly do it with a view to securing Russian support.

When all these signs of Pakistan's growing bellicosity perturb India, the present political chaos in Pakistan adds salt to the wounds. The past experiences have borne testimony that fear from India has most frequently been

sed by Pakistani leaders to divert public opinion from the international chaos in that country. Remembering the episodes of 1965, we can very well think that any accrual of arms supply to Pakistan is a threat to India. At the moment Pakistan feels any comparative advantage of her military strength over India and is very likely to be tempted to resort to the use of force to settle the Kashmir issue.

If Pakistan chooses to do so in future, Indian troubles would be greater than what they had been before 1965. In such case it would be all the more difficult to resist Pakistan. The attitude of big powers to woo Pakistan as evident from their arms aid, creates a great difficulty for India. No one of them can either fully support or ignore Pakistan because the Americans, Russian and Chinese interests clash at Rawalpindi. Moreover, now the situation is becoming apparent that any foreign intervention in such case would hasten the outbreak of a global war.

India also has the danger of a war at two fronts. As things exist it can be said that China is bound to be on the side of Pakistan in any case of armed hostility between India and Pakistan. In the eastern sector, China and East Pakistan can exercise joint pressure on the Indian frontier.

From an analysis of the state of affairs of post-Tashkent Indo-Pakistani relations it

becomes apparent that Pakistan is thinking beyond the spirit and letter of the Tashkent Declaration. She cannot therefore, be subject to any illusion about its optimism. As India has placed more than due reliance on the Tashkent optimisms, it is she who needs a dose of pragmatic realism.

The first thing to be considered is the risk of war at two fronts. Our strength should be such as to stand in the face of both Chinese and Pakistani offensives working simultaneously.

Secondly, this is high time when we should resist the temptation of putting our faith in the usefulness of the Tashkent spirit. Let us be very clear that Tashkent in itself promises nothing. In case of aggression, it cannot by itself evoke any defensive measures. The realities of Indo-Pakistani relations are not in keeping with the Tashkent Declaration.

The clue to our territorial integrity against Pakistan as well as China lies in our own national strength which comprises of sound foreign policy, deterrent defensive power, constant vigilance, national unity, political stability and economic prosperity. Therefore, at this juncture of the Tashkent anniversary justice can be done only when we take a sincere pledge to develop these qualities, individually and collectively.

INTERNATIONALISM IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

Confronting the enormous quantity, restricted quality, and bewildering variety, of the output of contemporary Indian Artists, some of whom have successfully and profitably delivered their goods in international art centres, the obvious and immediate discovery is that the ultra modern art trends holding powerful sway in Europe and America have left their strong and unmistakable impress in the thoughts and work of Indian Artists. Far from being genuinely Indian in tradition and technique, present day art in India is overwhelmingly international in content and execution. Such a terrific transformation in Indian Art is the inevitable and irresistible outcome of everincreasing and intimate contact with internationalism in the different departments of human imagination and endeavour. Sir Herbert Read, one of the greatest art critics of the world, has, in his illuminating essay "INTERNATIONALISM IN ART", said thus :—"Art is an international commodity, and generally speaking there is free trade in contemporary art. Internationalism is a political concept ; Universality a philosophic ideal.....To preserve a balance between the personal and the universal, between the local and the national, between the national and the international, such is the problem of the artist in our Society". The craze for internationalism which has infected art in India as an epidemic has reached alarming proportions, that the very limited number of artists, who despite many odds are tenaciously adhering to

Indian tradition and technique—these veterans do not even comprise five percent of the total number of wielders of the brush—have been unkindly and contemptuously branded as artists of no worth by the ultra modern painters and the critics who proclaim that anything which is not abstract is no art at all.

At the present moment, in the last third of the twentieth century which has witnessed many revolutionary changes and achievements, there is abundant evidence to demonstrate the inadequacy of several historical, scientific, intellectual and emotional premises, for centuries accepted as the cultural frame work of Modern Art. During the past three decades a considerable number of young Indian Artists have had their advanced art training in the famous art schools and art centres of Europe and America, have come into contact with some of the contemporary World Masters who have changed the format complexion and content of art, and from their first hand knowledge and experience realised that they will have no place in the art world if they blindly follow the age old ideals of Indian Art. These Young Turks in the arena of Indian Art, some of whom are mere dilettantes and opportunists, have scored great victory and excited the imagination and creative activity of their less fortunate and adventurous brethren who are easily but not wisely influenced by the work of the radicals and their dazzling achievement. Some of the Indian Artists who have total

ettisoned Indian tradition and technique were able to impress foreign art critics and art collectors in the principal art centres of Europe and America thereby demonstrating that internationalism in Abstract Art pays. Oriental Mysticism has always caught the fancy of the Westerners and some of India's Progressive Painters have successfully exploited it in their abstract and semi abstract paintings. Indeed, their rampant and riotous individualism thrives in a climate of uncertainty, extravagant originality and incomprehensibility.

Indian Art has throughout its chequered history, dating from the Indus Valley Civilisation, been influenced in varying measures by the trends and portents from other parts of the world with which it came into contact. To cite a few examples—the world famous Mughal Painting in India imbibed certain elements from the delicate Persian style. With the establishment of British suzerainty in India, Indian Artists followed the classical, academic, realistic, styles of England. The achievements of Biswas, Bagchi, Ganguly Ravi Varma who followed the Western style are well known. The Indian Art Revival which broke away from the decadence of Western art drew some inspiration from the Chinese and Japanese Paintings. Even during the heyday of the Indian Revivalism, a few topranking artists like Gaganendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Amrita Shergil became the pioneers of Radicalism in Indian painting and they achieved a happy synthesis of Western and Eastern Painting. With the wit of Guru Abanindranath Tagore and his famous disciples, who had with missionary zeal and consummate competence promoted the Indian Art Renaissance, and the incoming of

a plethora of mediocrites who hastened the outmoding of the Revival, the Radicals dominated Indian Painting and they continue to monopolise contemporary Indian Art.

The radically changing ideas of creativity in art and the far reaching implications of modern technology have naturally necessitated the inescapable reexamination, reassessment and reinterpretation of the principles and assumptions of the Arts on the part of contemporary Indian Artists who can ill afford to cut themselves away from the mainstream of World Art. They have, therefore, to find new means for understanding, interpreting and acting upon, the new conditions imposed on them by Internationalism. Contact with foreign art centres and growing awareness of the latest art trends have greatly enabled Indian Painters to become proficient in the more scientific and dynamic use of colours, and in successfully exploiting the different media of Graphic Art. Contemporary Indian Painting is a conglomeration of diverse influences and tendencies from all over the world, illustrating the fact that art has no longer any territorial or cultural frontiers and that art is tending to become a universal language. The younger artists of India who are keeping themselves in close touch with the developments in foreign lands are boldly experimenting with all the modern 'isms'. The spirit of enquiry, experiment, research and innovation in literature, art and philosophy rampant in Europe and America has been extended and worked out with ingenuity by present-day India Painters in all spheres of artistic intuition and perception. With them art is no longer representational or communicative, but a searching, exciting and never ending criticism of life and an

intellectual (though not always intelligent) expansion of the mind. Wondering and perplexed, the lookers on gaze at the paintings by modern Indian Artists the exaggerated emotionalism of which greatly disturbs their intellect and senses. Contemporary Indian Painters are basically pre-occupied with the creation of pure pattern and composition and the merciless distortion of form. To understand present-day art in India, one has to grant actuality to the unknowable and unthinkable which are the strange and exclusive reaction of the artist's own mind. Cosmopolitan and heterogeneous, contemporary Indian Art demonstrates the vigour, vitality, variety and facility with which the Indian Painters can work on the techniques and conceptions that are totally alien to Indian soul and soil and take their place among the widely known modern Artists in Europe and America. The art of the modern Indian Painter, like that of his counterparts in other parts of the world, is not to render art readily enjoyable to the masses. His deliberate endeavour is to make art original, complicated, exciting, intriguing, and far removed from rendering the visible, thereby causing delight to a handful and dismay to the majority. World famous artists and art critics like Sir Frank Brangwyn, Eric Gill, Rockwell Kent, and scholars like Arnold Toynbee have sounded notes of warning against Indian Artists losing their soul in their craze for incorporating modern 'isms' in art.

The official Catalogue of the 1964 Gulbentian International Exhibition of Modern Art put forward the curiously phrased and vastly startling proposition that valid works of the 'AVANT GARDE' should offend

the public by being 'genuinely unacceptable, despicable and disgusting'. What seems apparent today is that a huge number of minor artists in Europe, America and India have become completely wrapped up, not in basic aesthetic problems, but in the incidental process of 'disgusting' and 'offending' public taste, in the name of originality and individualism. There is not an austere disregard of fashion and tradition, but an overeager concern with the often highly profitable gimmicks of anti fashion, and anti tradition, which are exploited by unscrupulous art critics and art dealers. In a revealing letter to the author of this article Rockwell Kent of America, one of the World Masters in Art, stated thus in 1960 :—

"To speak for a moment of art in America. One hears increasing murmurs of protest against the ascendancy of abstractionism. It is quite possible that our art dealers following the tactics of the clothing manufacturers, will decide presently that they have foisted upon their patrons all the abstract art that the market will endure and that in consequence—and in their own commercial interests—as change in art fashion is due. Collectors will be invited to take down their abstract pictures and replace them by what will be heralded as the most advanced form of art expression. Since they can go farther away from realism than they have already gone, any change will be salutary". Somewhere a line has to be drawn in the craze for transfiguration of the perceived form.

It is a disconcerting truth that Painting is in a state of ferment, most confusing and to a considerable extent chaotic. The fact that a painting by Henri Matisse, one

the triumvirates of Modern Art, was hung upside down for forty-seven days in the famous Museum of Modern Art, New York, until a lady visitor stepped up to the guard and coolly said "Sir, your Matisse is upside down", is a significant and rather depressing commentary on the upside downness and wayoutness of contemporary art in general. There have been instances of works by some of the most famous among contemporary Western Masters being reproduced, upside down, in the official Catalogues of outstanding exhibitions organised by the World's topranking Museums and Art Galleries. The picture making activities of the Great Apes and their obvious relationship with the modern action and tachist painters in so far as their reaction to colour and form is concerned form the thesis of an authoritative volume entitled, "THE BIOLOGY OF ART" by Dr. Desmond Morris. In all, some thirty-two primates, 23 Chimpanzees, 4 Capuchian Monkeys, 3 Orang-Outans, and 2 Gorillas, have produced paintings. Congo, a young male Chimpanzee in the London Zoo, executed about 400 pictures in three years. A Chimpanzee named Beauty, who had been painting for six months, had her first exhibition of abstracts at the Bianchini Gallery and sold eighty paintings at high prices. Some knowledgeable visitors to Beauty's exhibition came away with the strange but true conviction that the Ape Artist has already overtaken the Action Painting of Jackson Pollock.

The number of drippers, sprayers, abstract expressionists, action painters, distortors of reality, riders over canvas with bicycles and sports cars and psychdelists who indulge

in all sorts of gimmicks and abstrusiveness and claim to be hundred per cent original creative artists, have dominated the Western art world, and these iconoclasts have their mini followers in India too who do not want to produce paintings that have any subject matter or which communicate to the beholders. Otherwise, how could one justify such inartistic idiosyncracies and aberrations—a Schawinsky producing mural paintings by riding over the canvas in a sports car, a Ushio Shinohara, action painter of Tokyo, executing paintings by rubbing a canvas with his closely cropped head and pumelling the colour with boxing gloves, or a Niki de Saint-Phalle in England opening fire on tubes of paint with a carbine rifle so that the paint will splatter, not on canvas, but on nearby empty tins and roller skates, or a Yves Klein of Paris making paintings by a unique use of human paint brushes of nude models who smear themselves with paint and then hurl themselves at a blank canvas while the artist gives directions from a step ladder! The uninitiated majority of mankind can only view with dismay these art adventures as circus acts. It is a good sign that contemporary Indian Artists have not gone to such extremes which are weird demonstrations of the cult of originality, ending in a total negation of the practical task of making people see and understand.

There is far too much of the influence of contemporary European and American Painting in the work of present day Indian Artists, that it has created great concern in the minds of knowledgeable and eminent artists and critics who uncompromisingly say that "the true spirit, expression and ideals of his country should be seen in the work of any

artist". The content of Western Painting of this Century ill fits the Indian mentality and mode. Modern Abstract Art with its off shoots stands in direct relation to Western Society. The abstract experiences of the majority of contemporary Indian Painters do not spring from their inner conception. Only when an artist is inspired by something greater than himself and when he becomes liberated from his ego that he becomes really creative and he inspires and illuminates mankind. Such an Artist who develops a closer and deeper relationship to reality will, without any attempt at imitation or idealisation, be able to "give mysteriousness to the common, give the dignity of the unknown to the obvious, and a trace of infinity to the temporal". How many of the present day painters can achieve a reverberation of the finite and the infinite, of outer perception and inner vision, the dual reality of the SEEN and the FELT ?

My dear esteemed friend K.C. S. Panikar, one of the most famous contemporary Indian Artists who toured the principal art centres of Europe and successfully exhibited his paintings there, has, in one of his letters to me, observed ; "Though I love the modern art of Europe, I firmly believe that Europe has not done any creative painting during the last three decades. Many critics are of the opinion that European Painting is in great chaos. It is impossible to make a contribution to present day Indian Painting without a knowledge of Indian tradition and a thorough understanding of European Art. I did see two major Picasso shows, one in London and the other in Paris. Europe cannot sustain me any longer. I need our country's inner message. The old master-

pieces of Sculpture and Painting in India should show me the way. Today's art must reflect the spirit of the moment and look modern at the first glance". These most sensible observations should inspire India's young painters who should be modern and move with the times deriving stimulation from Indian tradition. The modern and original paintings of such stalwarts as M. F. Husain, F. Newton Souza, K. C. S. Paniker, and a few others establish that an Indian Artist can be a creative modern master without imitating Western artists and jettisoning Indian tradition, and by being sensitive to intuitional insight and movicamera like exactitude. Souza has stated boldly "I don't care for abstract art because I find it too easy to do and turns out in the end to be very empty and unrewarding".

Contemporary art itself displays with increasing frequency the dualistic and contradictory property of transcending all previous aesthetic criteria, but by means which often betray a hidden acceptance of those very principles ostensibly discarded as being no longer relevant to the present. Happily, in common with some of the presentday painters in the West, there are a few contemporary Indian Artists who believe that what the majority of people need is a human and deeply felt art, one which touches the heart and enriches the intellect, and who feel that an artist is a leader of men and that he has a sacred responsibility not to dupe the public, and that it is his role to inspire and instruct humanity, and not to be a self appointed master of meaninglessness, or a dangerous promoter of nihilism and anarchy in art.

Eighty-five year old Barnett D. Conlan, (who is dear and venerable to me as a great

friend and preceptor) the greatly respected, ever active and world famous doyen of art critics of Europe long settled down in France, who has firsthand intimate knowledge, of art trends and artists of the past fifty years, has in one of his illuminating letters to me, stated thus with much truth and profound understanding: "Dark and doubtful forms of art have in recent years invaded the whole world. 'Kali Yuga'. In India too many painters have come to copy the decadent style of Western Art. Now things are changing, now that much will be swept aside which was anti-spiritual.....There is a definite change of climate here which many galleries and artists try to conceal. The more subtle among the best abstract painters here are now painting in the figurative style, but there are quite a number of abstract artists who are quite unable to do this because they have no foundation, I think myself (as I wrote twenty years ago in the 'Daily Mail') that abstract art is often quite interesting, but it is limited as a language. Of course, abstract art will continue, especially in the northern countries where people are largely intellectual and less sensitive than the Mediterraneans, but it might very well become a limited phase of art like Cubism has become".

Marc Herisse, a reputed art critic of the West, observes as follows: "It is indeed about fifteen years ago that there was a sudden sharp turn in contemporary painting in France, a return to representation and reality. For many painters only too often abstract art afforded over easy access to bursts of colour, shape and material. There was much hustling and once the desire to astonish became general, it soon turned into 'conventionalism', those urges to diverge

became uniformity. The exceptional became something ordinary.....In France, where abstract art is doomed, painting is heading once more for its former splendour". The abstract-figurative dilemma in France did cause consternation to a few abstract painters who were not competent to do any other type of painting with the result that the only way out for an out and out abstract artist Nicolas de Stael was suicide.

My dear friend Louise Janin of Paris, an internationally reputed and very original modern artist who is also a well informed art critic, poet and writer, has been courageously and convincingly denouncing in the most intelligent manner the Tachist effusions from America, the international art rackets, the modern art fads, the repulsive non figuration Yawps, and modern painting trusts which thrive on sensationism and commercialism. Louise Janin, the most outstanding among the Cosmic Artists of our time, whose creations are strikingly original, alluring and meaningful, is a great admirer of Indian art, culture and philosophy. Her original studies of SRI KRISHNA, SRI BUDDHA, THE FIRE GOD, which are quite modern yet breathe the Indian Spirit, have won international fame. She has created a new style, without imitating or echoing any Master Artist old or new, in which idealism and imagination, symbolism of form and colour, rhythm and significance are integrated with the decorative and metaphysical. Janin's latest masterpiece a Symphonic Composition "PARTANT D'UN ABSOLUTE" (feeble translated into English as "RADIANT ENERGY") was the most discussed and appreciated work in the 1968 SALON DES INDEPENDANTS' Paris.

Pablo Picasso, the father figure of the modernist cult in art, in his sensational, significant and revealing confession which took the art world by storm, acknowledged the true and everlasting worth of the Old Masters and admitted with devastating candour that in many of his artistic extravaganzas he was simply amusing himself at the expense of his 'intellectual' admirers. This World Master who in the words of Huntington Hartford—one of the most famous philanthropists, art collectors, and editors of America and the founder of the Gallery of Modern Art in New York—"has gone an amazing distance towards wiping out single handedly all the gains—that have painfully and step by step been made in painting during the last five hundred years", has recently hit it off thus. "Abstract Art is for the birds Abstract Art is phony, there is no construction". "ART OR ANARCHY," by Huntington Hartford, a most revealing, sensational book packed with power and substance, explodes many of the myths of Abstract Art and exposes in a devastating manner the ins and outs of the modern 'isms' which have duped the public for half a century. No artist who is true to himself can ever forget that the senses of form, tone and rhythm are his primordial heritage and that the all time World Masters in Art have fused those creative impulses into a new entity as to inspire and enlighten humanity.

Sir Reginald Blomfield, the author of the stimulating book "MODERNISMUS", expressed in 1935. "It is not modernism that is wrong, but its misuse and perversion. All crude experiments will go their way and in due course the arts will again become the adequate expression of some of the perma-

nent instincts and emotions of man". The signs of a healthy and inevitable reaction that people who have been duped for a long time are now fed up with what they cannot understand in art, has naturally resulted in the more sensible and competent among present day painters in Europe to resume the stand points that have guided art from time immemorial. That time and posterity reverse contemporary judgment in art is again in evidence at present in Europe. As an illustration of the changing trends it may be pointed out that at the famous Sotheby's art auction in England in November 1968, James Seymour's realistic painting "A KILL AT ASHDOWN PARK" was acquired for £ 58,000 (S 139,200) creating a new and well deserved world record for Seymour, a realist painter. While in Europe, Abstract Art is fast becoming unpopular, it is gaining ground in America, its latest and most bizarre expression being psychedelic art with its pronounced phantasmagoric assault on the senses, its sensuous melange of wild, weird images, its dazzling and riotous colour orchestrations, and undulating and disturbing shapes. "Rooted in the so-called "Hippie" movement psychedelic art began as an attempt to recreate the experiences of a "trip" taken under the effects of one of the mind expanding hallucinatory drugs". Will Durant has tersely put it that "when liberty destroys order, the hunger for order will destroy liberty". Such a transformation is slowly but surely happening in Western Art. Many Western Painters and the Indian Painters who follow the foreign 'isms' in Art have, unfortunately, forgotten the following statement made in 1923 by Paul Klee, one of the creators of Modern Art, as the

Leitmotif of his creative life, "For the artist communication with Nature remains the most essential condition. The artist is human; himself Nature; part of nature within the natural space".

The World Master Artist M. F. Husain has successfully reacted against the undesirable effects of Western Abstract Art which is totally opposed to form painting and proved that a creative Indian Painter who knows his business well can be modern without being a relentless iconoclast of Indian ideals and tradition and the concepts of beauty, intellect, communication and aesthetics. (Hussain Introduction and Analytical Notes by Gita Kapoor, recently published by Vakil sons, Bombay, is a well written and sumptuously illustrated book and an important contribution to the literature on contemporary Indian Art) Indian Artists should take a sound and convincing lesson from the contemporary painters of modern Mexico who have, with restraint and knowledge, absorbed a great deal from her European background but not succumbed to the suzerainty of alien art trends, and have succeeded in forging an art style of their own, a very personal, dynamic art idiom, now recognised as the Mexican School. The amazing and famous achievements of Indian Master Artists like Amrita Shergil and Jamini Roy are an eye opener to Indian Painters who are swept off their feet by alien 'isms'. Indian Artists should therefore, be able to develop an Indian School which will be modern and a synthesis of both the indigenous and the contemporary.

In a Message to Indian Artists, communicated to the writer of this article, Barnett D. Conlan has exhorted thus: "If India looks to the West for her new structures in art, many of the more advanced spirits in Europe and America are turning towards India for a new religious attitude towards life.....India possesses the greatest treasure house of transcendental sculpture in the world from which the artist can derive endless stimulation for new creations. For India may again take the way of transcendence in a more concrete form and using all the new techniques available recover for art all her metaphysical treasures which otherwise would be overlooked amidst the activities of a new technical civilisation".

Aesthetic nihilism exploited for the sake of newness and incomprehensibility will not have a long life as some of the 'isms' in art have proved. Attempts to establish modern mannerisms by artists who congregate and influence one another stylistically have failed, the most conspicuous example being the Bauhaus in Germany. Indian Artists should realise that the body is more than the apparel and though the part may be important in its own way it should not be misconstrued for the whole. Let it not be said of the young and progressive painters of India that they are the imitators, copyists and echoists of the nihilists, public entertainers, extremists and exploiters among the foreign artists who have reduced Art to chaos and commercialism, fragmentation and frustration. Verily, Internationalism in Art does not connote anarchy and an absolute negation of SATYAM, SHIVAM and SUNDARAM.

CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS SINCE 1967

Prof. SUKUMAR DAM

A remarkable change has come in the sphere of Centre-State relations in India since the Fourth General Election in 1969, when non-Congress governments were formed in a number of States while the Congress continued to be in power at the Centre. So long as one single party ruled both at the Centre and in the States, Centre State relationship did not have proper recognition. With the break in the Congress monopoly of power, this relationship has assumed much importance.

Harmonious relationship between the Centre and the States is a condition precedent for the smooth and efficient functioning of the federal system of government which we have adopted in our country. It is a truism that Centre-State relationship constitutes the core of federalism. With the flow of time such relationship is amenable to change with the revolving wheel of dynamic society. In the words of M.V.Pylee "The relation of the State Governments to the Federal Government is a dynamic relation, and its problems cannot be solved once for all any more than the problems of life itself."¹

The political scene in our country has undergone a significant change in the context of the Fourth General Election. In the changed political context where there is no more one party rule, the Centre's relationship with the States is bound to change to the desirable extent. As a matter of fact, since the formation of non-Congress governments

in a number of States a new phase has started in the sphere of Centre-State relations. In the changed circumstances of today, refashioning of Centre-State relations has become an urgent and imperative task.

There is no denying that our Constitution is federal with a strong Central bias. To borrow the language of K. M. Panikkar; "The Indian Constitution is federal but..... it is heavily weighted in favour of the Centre."² It is true that in our constitution the balance of power has been tilted in favour of the Centre. The constitution enshrines the principle that "in spite of federalism, the national interest ought to be paramount."³ It has conferred a kind of 'paramountcy' on the Centre.

A survey of the actual working of our Constitution reveals that the virtually monopolistic domination of a single political party at the Centre and in the States for seventeen years since the commencement of the constitution led to the expansion of central power at the expense of the States in almost every sphere. Truly observed K. R. Bombwall. "The extra-constitution 'paramountcy' exercised by the centre over the States is, essentially, the outcome of a single political reason viz, the virtually unchallenged domination of the Indian political scene by the Indian National Congress."⁴

Thus it is evident that the single party rule all over the country helped the expansion of Central power and made the relationship between the Centre and the States smooth

and cordial.) With the break in the congress monopoly of power in the last General Election, the era of unchallenging domination of the Centre over the States has practically come to an end. With diverse political parties in power, the problem of Centre-State relationship has arisen in an acute form.

(The attainment of power in some States by Parties other than the ruling party at the Centre has resulted in Centre-State conflict and thereby a halt to the process of centralisation of power. These non-Congress Governments are naturally jealous about their authority and they resent every attempt of the Centre to encroach upon their powers. Not only that, they tend to go against the centralisation effected so far by depriving normal autonomous rights of the States.)

Needless to say, in our federation the wind has started blowing in the opposite direction. The non-congress governments of different States have started fighting for maximum autonomy within the framework of the fundamental law of the land. The success of a federal system depends upon its ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances. What we need and need urgently is therefore, reorganisation of Centre-State relationship in order to avoid clashes between the Centre and the States and to ensure cordial relations between them in an effective manner.

A few observations may now be made in regard to the problems Centre-State relationship. In this connection, the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission—popularly known as the Hanumanthiya Commission on centre-state relations⁵ are worthy of note.

•The first and foremost problem is that of working of the provisions on the right lines. It is obvious that the methods and procedures followed in working the constitutional provisions are responsible to a great extent for much of the conflict between the Centre and the States. According to the A. R. C. "it is not in the amendment of the Constitution that the solution of the problems of Centre-State relationship is to be sought, but in the working of the provisions of the constitutions by all concerned in the spirit in which the founding fathers intended them to be worked. There is no other way of ensuring cordial and fruitful Centre-State relations."⁶

•Another matter that has affected smooth relationship between the Centre and the States is over-centralisation of administrative and financial powers. It goes without saying that Centre-State conflict relates mostly to administrative and financial matters. The A. R. C. has rightly recommended "delegation of some more financial and administrative functions and powers to the States with the twin objectives of making the relations between the Centre and the States smoother and introducing efficiency and economy in the administrations of the Union and State Governments."⁷

The financial resources left to the exclusive sphere of the states are so inadequate that, to quote K.M. Panikkar, "every state has become a petitioner at the doorsteps of the Central Government"⁸

Indeed, the main grievances of the States lie in the financial field. In its Memorandum to the Fifth Finance Commission, the United Front Government of West Bengal has asked

"for a fair deal to the States and has demanded that the Commission should ensure that adequate funds are transferred to the States for discharging their constitutional obligations in an efficient manner."⁹ Adequate financial power may be delegated to the States through liberal application of the constitutional provisions.

In the administrative field, our Constitution invests the Centre with such wide powers of control over the States that the latter have virtually been reduced to the position of subordination. Over-concentration of authority at the administrative level should be avoided in order to avoid excessive interference with the freedom of the States to work their policies and programmes.

Incidentally, the suggestion of the A. R. C. to set up "an Inter-state Council for settlement of Centre-State differences by mutual discussions"¹⁰ deserves our attention. The Council may comprise according to the A. R. C., the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha and five representatives from five zonal Councils. Since in almost all the zones the Congress Ministries outnumber the non-Congress Ministries, the non-Congress states may go unrepresented in the Inter-State Council. "An inter-state Council, packed with Congress Chief Ministers can hardly be a suitable forum for resolution of conflicts between the Centre and the States by discussions".¹¹ If a properly constituted Inter-State Council is set up, Centre-State differences may be effectively settled.

The office of the Governor should not escape our attention in view of the fact that this has become an important source of

Centre State conflict since the last General Election. Under the Constitution, the Governor has to play a double role, as head of the State and as the representative of the Centre. In the language of R.C.S. Sarkar, "So long as one single party ruled both at the Centre and in the States, the second aspect of Governor's role did not have proper recognition."

Now that different parties rule at the Centre and in the States, this aspect of the Governor's role has assumed greater importance."¹² If there is confusion about the impartiality of Governor, he cannot enjoy the confidence of the State Government. To speak the truth, lack of confidence has given birth to a lot of troubles in many States. In order that the Governor may perform his functions in co-operation with the State Government, no person should be appointed as Governor against the advice of the Chief-Minister. In this context the A.R.C. has rightly pointed out that "to deliberately select as Governor a person who is not acceptable to the Chief Minister will not be a promising start."¹³ In the light of the recent controversies pertaining to the Governor's discretionary powers, the A. R. C. has suggested that "the method of exercising the discretionary powers should be clearly enunciated."¹⁴ The sooner this is done, the better.

Before we conclude, we may offer a few suggestions in order to ensure harmonious relationship between the Centre and the States. The primary responsibility for the successful working of our federal polity necessarily rests on the political parties. For this purpose, there should be a minimum code of conduct for all political parties. The

role of the press in this regard cannot be ignored. The press should help maintain the balance between national and State interests by propagating what may be called federal ethics.*

It is necessary to remember that it is easy to establish a federal polity but difficult to maintain it. In order to make our federation a success, Centre-State relations on co-operative basis should be the guiding principle. "The success and strength of the federal polity", says D. Basu, "Depends upon the maximum of co-operation and co-ordination between the governments."¹⁵ If the Central Government can show a spirit of accommodation and the non-Congress State Governments a sense of responsiveness, our federal polity will surely work in an ideal manner.

It cannot be denied that lack of toleration, confidence and co-operation has given birth to strained relations between the Centre and the States. The Centre should create a favourable climate for cordial relationship by extending its helping hand in all possible ways and by giving fullest autonomy to the States by liberal application of the constitutional provisions relating to Centre State relations. In order to ensure smooth Centre-State relationship, there should be frequent meeting between the representatives of the Centre and the States. As observed by Amal Ray, "The value of these meetings lies in adoption of an intergrated and co-operative approach towards the solution of the numerous problems which arise under India's federal structure."¹⁶

In conclusion, we cannot but mention that the real solution of the problem of Centre-State relationship lies in keeping the

problem above all party-politics for obvious reasons. In fine, harmonious relationship between the Centre and the States should be ensured at all costs keeping in view the fact that such relationship is SINE QUA NON for the successful working of our federal polity.*

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- (1) M. V. Pylee ; India's Constitution 1965, p. 295.
 - (2) K. M. Panikkar. The Foundations of New India, 1963, p. 263.
 - (3) Jennings, Sir Ivor ; Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution, 1953, p. 55.
 - (4) K. R. Bombwall. The Foundations of Indian Federalism, 1967, p. 310.
 - (5) Vide Report of the A. R. C. on Centre-State relations as published in the Statesman and the Hindusthan Standard of June 20, 1969.
 - (6) Ibid.
 - (7) Ibid.
 - (8) Ibid., p. 238.
 - (9) Vide West Bengal, Vol. XIV, No. 39, April 19, 1969.
 - (10) Ibid.
 - (11) Vide Editorial in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of June 21 1969.
 - (12) Vide R.C.S. Sarkar's article on 'The Office of the Governor' in the Journal of Constitutional & Parliamentary Studies, Vol. III, No.1 (January-March, 1969).
 - (13) Ibid.
 - (14) Ibid.
 - (15) D. Basu ; Introduction to the Constitution of India, 1966, p. 267.
 - (16) Amal Ray. Inter-Governmental Relations in India, 1966, p. 143. ✓

Current Affairs

Apartheid Develops Anti-Islamic Trends

It would appear from press news that the South Africans are now carrying their policy of "white" separatism to an extreme where it will earn many new enemies for them. There are considerable numbers of Moslem inhabitants in the various African States and the anti-Islamic activities of the South African "whites" would antagonise all these people, who may not take things lying down and create large scale trouble everywhere against the Republic of South Africa.

Pamela Diamond, writing in the *GUARDIAN WEEKLY* says: "Leaders of South Africa's 300000 Moslems have warned the Government that they will 'fight to the end' to defend their holy places against demolition by the latest apartheid move."

"Tension among the Moslems is rising as the Government prepares to pull down mosques situated in areas that have been proclaimed 'white'. Sheikh A. Najaar, vice-president of the Moslem Judicial Council and imam of the Zinatul Islam Mosque in Muir Street, Cape Town, said at the weekend: 'We will go to court if necessary. Our people will never accept financial compensation.'"

Most of the mosques have been threatened by the "group areas" plan, which aims at segregating the races into white, black, coloured and Asian communal areas. In the Cape Province alone, 36 out of 55 mosques are threatened with demolition.

"Moslem religious leaders have sent a strongly worded petition to the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and to provincial administrators. It protest against "such irreligious acts" and denounces "this injustice against a lawabiding minority"..... Sheikh Najaar told... "We will fight to the end. We have no alternative. On religious grounds, mosques can never be abandoned. Even if a mosque building is destroyed, the ground itself remains sanctified as a mosque until eternity, and Moslems are always entitled to pray there at all times.

'The Government has offered generous compensation for the real estate value of the mosques it wants to remove, but the offers have been rejected. Sheikh Najaar said, 'The Government does not seem to understand that a true Moslem can never accept compensation for a house of God. Such acceptance, in the eyes of Moslems, symbolises the proverbial 30 pieces of silver accepted by Judas for his betrayal.'

Moslem leaders are appalled that the Government is prepared to move against their places of worship. They recall 'broken promises' made by the Nationalist Government that religious places would never be disturbed in the application of the group areas plan.

The South African whites have never been famous for their appreciation of human values. All they have understood is their own irrational self-glorification by reference

to their paler complexion. White men in other lands have made great contributions to human civilisation but have not claimed any exclusive privileges by denying other fellow humans their rights and freedoms. It is only in South Africa and Rhodesia that we find this utter negation of reason and justice in order to establish the superiority of a particular colour of the skin. The Moslems, of course, in some countries, like Pakistan have claimed special rights for themselves as against non-moslems. In Pakistan they have denied most human rights to the non-Moslem minorities, and Pakistan, probably remains inactive in challenging apartheid on the basis of the principle of not throwing stones at others when she herself lives in a glass house. But the majority of the Moslems of the world do believe in and practice human equality. Indian Moslems are a large community of religious persons. They will feel very strongly about the South African proposal to demolish a large number of mosques for giving effect to their ideas of separating "white" from non-white. We do not know what Indians can do about it; but surely, all who challenge South Africa's actions to establish apartheid will find sympathy and support in India.

In India we have many societies and associations for stimulating friendly relations with all sorts of ideological groups of a wide variety of view points. Have we any societies or associations for abolishing or reforming criminal organisations of a governmental type? For South Africa or Rhodesia are, in fact, criminal organisations though their political status is recognised by many governments.

EEC Farm Policy Criticised

The European Economic Community follows a Common Agricultural Policy which is a very costly arrangement according to Dr. Nicholas Kaldor. His arguments against the continuation of this economically unsound policy are given in a paper he read to the International Press Institute in Paris on the 13th January 1970. What Prof. Kaldor said should provide material for thought to India's economic planners. Certain portions of this paper as printed in the NEW STATESMAN are therefore reproduced below.

"It is by now fairly generally accepted that the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Economic Community is running into increasing difficulties.....its maintenance involves a steadily increasing financial burden on the member states, which is rising at such an alarming rate that one can prophesy that in the not too distant future parliaments will come to the point when they are no longer willing to sanction the large sums in subsidies and subvention which its continuation will require." I should like to quote a few figures to illustrate this. If you take the budgetary cost of the policy alone, which is by no means the total cost but roughly speaking only one half of it, it has risen from 1960 to 1967 from roughly \$2 billion to \$5 billion a year. At present it is almost \$6 billion....."Moreover, this expenditure is rising rapidly. The cost of market support alone rises by \$500 m. to \$600 m. a year. The budgetary cost, as I said, is only half the total cost. The other half is paid by the consumer in the form of high food prices. A reasonable estimate of what the consumer pays, as a result of high Community prices in relation to world prices, may amount to

another \$6 billion. So the total cost comes to \$12 billion.....Including indirect support through social security, etc. the cost of supporting agriculture may be as much as \$16 billion at present for the six Common Market countries alone. (By comparison, agricultural support in the UK cost around \$1 billion.)

"This is a large sum. The GNP of the six countries together is \$350 billion which means that over 4 per cent of the gross national product goes into protecting or subsidising European agriculture.....Four per cent may not sound very much-until one compares it with the cost of other social objectives, such as defence, education etc. Defence expenditure may amount to 6 per cent, so Europe spends about two-thirds on protecting agriculture of what it spends on defence; and perhaps one-Tenth of what it spends on ALL forms of public expenditure, including transfer payments.

.....
 "Terms such as 'efficiency' or 'inefficiency' are necessarily relative—and comparative. European industry is highly efficient by comparison with European agriculture. For example, if one makes a comparison between the Common Market countries and the U. K. productivity per worker is higher in industry and very much lower in agriculture in the Six than in the U. K. The labour force in European agriculture is still around 15 per cent of the total.....and this provides 90 per cent of the total food requirements. With an efficient agriculture, the proportion of labour needed to provide food for the population is only 3-4 per cent or even less.

"Despite this, the fundamental objectives and the basic justification of the Common Agricultural Policy are rarely questioned in authoritative quarters. For the bulk of articulate public opinion, the opinion of parliament, political parties, of officials, the CAP is still regarded as the corner stone of the whole conception underlying the Common Market. As an important French official told me a few years ago in conversation, without a Common Agricultural Policy the Common Market is nothing...

.....
 ".....I think the whole Common Agricultural Policy is fundamentally misconceived—in terms of the objectives which European integration is intended to serve. It hinders and does not promote, the growth of welfare to the peoples of Europe.....It is a stumbling block to the attainment of the best allocation of resources within the Common Market. Finally, it hinders the rationalisation and development of agriculture itself. It hinders Europe's exports and thus her economic growth, both through its adverse effects on the growth of demand for industrial products by overseas countries and through its adverse effects on the competitiveness (or potential competitiveness) of European industry, as against other industrial producers, who obtained their food more cheaply in terms of industrial goods. It is Europe's good fortune that its most important industrial competitors—the US or Japan—have so far succumbed to the same temptations of taxing their industrial workers for the benefit of their farmers

Finally.....it raises serious and wholly avoidable obstacles to the adhesion of other countries, particularly Britain, which

Europeans QUA Europeans may regard as inherently desirable—something which is in the interest of Europe and not just in the interest of the United Kingdom.” Prof. Kaldor’s remarks naturally make us think of India’s agricultural problems. We find proper utilisation of man power in agriculture has not been successfully carried out even in some highly developed and scientifically organised countries like Japan and Germany. Too many workers jostle for a share in production in the sphere of agriculture with the result that the ideal labour force of 5% of the population required for a 100% food production scheme is exceeded by 100/200 per cent in many developed countries. If the agricultural workers total up to 15% of the population that is considered to be overmanning of the worst kind. In India we have no clear cut classification of agricultural workers and many people do agricultural work along with other kinds of work. We have great difficulty in finding out the percentage of the rural workers who mainly do agricultural work. We know that about 80

per cent of all rural workers are agricultural workers. Assuming that about 45% of all rural people work for a living, the percentage of agricultural workers would be about 36% of the rural population. If the rural population of India is 370 millions, about 160 million can be considered to be agricultural workers. That would work out close on to 30% of the population of India. In India therefore we have 6 persons engaged in agriculture where only one should be employed. No wonder our people are so poor. Over-manning is a common thing in industry too. Even in the most scientifically organised industries in India, too many persons are employed relatively to the work done. In India the problem is doubly involved. One has to reduce the number of persons engaged in any kind of work and one has also to find out alternative kinds of work for these surplus men the products of whose work will be readily saleable to the people of India. the pattern of consumption being rudimentary and primitive in India, the problem becomes seriously difficult of solution.



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(12)

In Santiniketan we had heard that Rabindranath was to spend the summer in Darjeeling. He arrived in Calcutta, with his family, the day after we had returned to the city. His son and daughter-in-law left for the hills soon after. But suddenly after a few days, he dropped the idea of joining them and went back to the ashram.

During that period he came to see us one day. We came downstairs and saw him sitting with father. The tiny cottage allotted to us in the ashram, was being repaired, and so Rabindranath invited mother to occupy one of the professors' quarters during the vacation. Most of them were lying vacant at that time. My mother most happily agreed.

Some one started singing next door, the poet listened intently and then asked, "Is there a music lesson going on there? It seems like one of my songs—but I can't quite catch."

He mentioned a letter he had received, in which the writer had carefully listed all the chronological errors found in his novels. We had just started writing short-stories then. He painted a glowing picture of ashram-life for us and told us how it would

help us in our creative writing: Mother said, "Just your presence there would be happiness enough for them." Rabindranath laughed and said, "Oh, yes! They could listen to any number of songs".

He discussed the war and European politics for a while, with father and then rose to leave. Turning to me he said "Well, I shall see you soon in Bolpur,"

We visited Santiniketan again at the end of May. We took the evening train; it rained heavily all the way and drenched our compartment too. It was past ten when we reached the station. Luckily, Nepalbabu was there, waiting for us, with the bus, and we reached safely. We stayed at the guest house for the night, planning to make other arrangements the next morning. Nepalbabu said "the poet may leave for Tindharia in a couple of days—the heat is oppressive here." I felt that our trip would not be worth while if he left.

We ate whatever we had brought along with us and went to bed. The morning gave us a strange view of the ashram—desolate and silent, as if it was deserted. But even then it seemed so complete; there was no feeling of emptiness there.

We freshened up and set out towards the poet's place. On the way we met Nepalbabu and Hemlata Devi who were coming to meet my parents. We stood chatting with them and also saw Kamala Devi from a distance.

Rabindranath was sitting in prayer on the terrace. We went and sat with Kamala Devi. The poet came down a little later. He blessed us when we touched his feet and then walked into a small room down stairs for his break fast. We walked around the ashram, the whole morning. Usually there were so many people we could visit—there were hardly anyone now during the vacation. We came back exhausted.

Mother had decided to make use of Nepalbabu's quarters. He was then staying with the few remaining students, as his family were away. We took possession of his rooms therefore. Rabindranath had wanted us to be his guests but he finally allowed mother to make her own arrangements. But our household was only nominally separate. Plenty of food began arriving, thrice a day, from one or other of the ashram kitchens and even their servants were sent out to help us. A wicker gate, with a creeping Madhumalati over it, would lead us to the professors' quarters. The front yard and the porch always had a few wooden benches. Its main attraction was of course, its being nextdoor to the poet's house. Mother was busy inside while we roamed about, or lazed or sat around the porch till evening. The May heat was fierce, but it did not seem oppressive to us.

In the evening we sat down on the benches along the flowery hedge. Hemlata Devi, and Kamala Devi came for a visit. Uma-

charan, Rabindranath's personal servant for years, had died recently. We had seen him on several occasions at Jorasanko, 'Baroma' or Hemlata Devi, told us of the futile search for a man-servant of his calibre. They had even tried to appoint a secretary, but that had not helped either. The poet's gentleness and affection always turned their heads and made them forget their duties or obligations. The menials of the commonest variety were so stupid that they got on the poet's nerves.

We had not seen the poet since morning—we were told that he was busy writing a story for 'Sabuj Patra'. After lunch he had left for Surul to visit Meera Devi. In the evening we waited anxiously for his return—did the car break down midway? But soon enough we spotted the motor-car moving slowly across the field, with a running line of Santal children following it. A motorcar was a novelty in Bolpur, in those days.

The car came to a halt under the Sal trees, the poet got down, but instead of coming home, he walked away briskly towards Santiniketan. After some time he came back and walked towards us. Kamala Devi was still with us. Turning to me he said, "Well, have you made friends with Kamal?" He sat down on one of the benches saying, "I have been summoned to Darjeeling". We did not know who could have summoned him—though we did guess. He brought out a letter and read a portion out of it, "Professor Geddes had agreed to take charge of this, because you and Sir Brojendra seal had encouraged him. If he had known that you would desert him in this manner—he wouldn't have touched the matter at all."

He folded the letter back and said, "It is better, I think, to go there than be so thoroughly scolded. I have decided to go". We felt quite depressed to hear of his decision.

When he returned home, our meeting broke up and we went in for tea and to tidy ourselves. Ashoke was still sitting outside—after a few minutes he poked his head in to announce, "Rabibabu is coming," the poet must have been going somewhere else, but seeing us, he came through the creeper laden gate into our front yard. He spoke for a few minutes about a childhood summer spent in Ghazipur and then he left us.

We went out for an evening stroll. We met the poet again, on the way. Pointing at his tiny terrace he said, "the sunrise and sunset look exquisite from there. I might have stayed on a bit longer in America—but for this terrace of mine. Do use my terrace sometimes" We asked, "When do you leave us sir?" He answered, "I am thinking of starting out tomorrow. I give you leave to use my terrace, my room, my books and every thing".

That month's 'Prabasi' had a poem of his which an editor from East Bengal had criticised. Reading the criticism the poet laughed saying, "I am not giving my poems to your journal after this. Even the Bangals from Bikrampur have the audacity to say that I whine in verse." He walked and talked with us upto quite a distance. Now Nepalbabu and my father joined our group. Nepalbabu wished to know whether we wanted to go for a long walk. Rabindranath said, "yes, you had better decide right now a walk or a meeting on my terrace." It did

not take us long to decide, because minutes after he had gone upstairs we crowded into the tiny space. He saw us and asked his servant to spread a cotton rug or a mat for us. I hastily said, "It is quite alright. We don't need any", He smiled and said, "As long as I have a rug why should I be needlessly rude?" The ground at his feet seemed like a priceless imperial throne for us, but of course, this show of tender courtesy towards us was equally valuable.

gradually more people came in. Rabindranath denounced the Zamindari system of Bengal. He also told us many amusing stories about his encounters with strange people in his zamindari days. The lack of amenities for Brahmo women, was another topic of discussion. We came downstairs rather late at night.

The next day was Wednesday, when special prayers were held each week at the ashram temple. The poet usually conducted the prayers if he was present. Early in the morning we saw him sitting in quiet meditation, with his face turned towards the eastern sky. He would sit like that till the first rays of the rising sun would touch his face. But no prayers were held that day—probably because he was not too well. He came down after breakfast and asked us about the heat and the mosquitos. He returned soon after to his writing cell. He had yet to finish the story for Sabuj Patra. We would be given a chance to read it if it was completed before his trip north. Kamala Devi was also going to Calcutta. Meera Devi had come to see them off, all the way from Surul, with her children.

We heard that the story was complete at

last. We gathered at Dinubabu's where the poet was to read it out, there were not too many of us. He came down soon after and we were puzzled seeing him carry a pair of Japanese slippers in his hands. He had brought them along as offerings, we realised later. He came to mother and said, "these won't fit the girls feet, I can see. As you are the highest in rank over here, I offer these to you, Wear them as a Brahmin lady." Mother bowed low and accepted the gift, She had never worn them but had preserved them carefully till her last days.

The story he read out that day was published later-entitled 'Tapaswini'-in the 'Sabuj Patra'. After the reading, there was much amusement caused by the unexpected ending of the story, there was a long discussion afterwards, on a variety of subjects and we rushed back home, feeling the rising heat of the sun.

After lunch we enjoyed a short siesta, which was soon disturbed by the creaking of carriage wheels. We realised that the poet was starting out on his journey. We watched the many boxes and bags being carried out to the waiting carriage. Such a variety of labels, from so many countries, was stuck on his luggage! And they still had a lot more places to go to.

All the ashramites gathered around to bid the poet farewell. Meera Devi came out and stood outside, her baby-daughter in her arms. The motor-car and Dwipu babu's-carriage were both waiting—not everyone trusted a motor car in those days. Now Rabindranath came downstairs. He wore the usual dhoti and chadar, his long kurta was open at the neck. He wore a

black velvet cap, which was unusual, but looked so handsome on him. He had been blessed with extraordinary beauty, while his artist's eyes always guided him and never allowed him to dress in a manner unsuitable to his natural grace.

His daughter pointed out some minor flaw in his out fit, but he answered, "Let that be I am not worried about that at all." He kissed his grand daughter and dangled his gold watch and chain before her. The little girl ignored the gold watch and kept staring at his velvet cap. Rabindranath said, "you have a lot to learn. If you were wise enough you would have noticed the more expensive thing."

When we went near him and touched his feet, he said, "Do stay on, till I come back." He got into the car and it moved away.

We sat in Kamala Devi's verandah and talked for quite some time. When Meera Devi left for Surul, she told us, "please don't run away too soon, I shall return quickly enough."

We stayed on a few more days. The hours flew as we ate hungrily, slept heavily, walked long distances and talked for hours with Meera Devi. We were told about the lectures arranged at Darjeeling. Finally, we returned again to Calcutta.

About this time I had written a children's book named 'Nirate Gurur Kahini'. I had sent a copy to Rabindranath the very day it came out of press. I received a letter from Darjeeling, where he jokingly asked me whether the main character was formed in his image. He had also received good advice from the stories he said, about the wisdom of keeping his feet warm. He followed the

rules methodically and always wore the warmest of socks.

The poet was staying at 'Glen Eden' then, the cottage owned by Sir Nilratan Sarkar. A wedding in the family had brought his daughters back to Calcutta for a couple of days. We got some news of the poet from them. He had fallen ill over there, we were told about the same time, his eldest daughter, Bela Devi became very seriously ill and caused him great anxiety. When her illness grew worse rapidly, Rabindranath rushed back to Calcutta.

He came to see us on the 30th of June. He looked rather thin after his illness at Darjeeling. He joked about the book again, "How is it that you don't assure me enough about the suspicions I raised about your book. Why must you pick on gurus, leaving aside all others?"

Later he consulted with father about

important matters. He wished to write a new series of books for children and wanted a private secretary to help him select and edit them. As he discussed possibilities, he suddenly turned toward us, saying, "And why not you as the secretary? Let me know your terms quietly, and if they are within my capacity, I shall rather take you." We could not guess whether he was joking or serious—we had little trust in our judgement in those days. He left soon after. Later, we came to know that his idea was not quite facetious.

We finally decided to live in Santiniketan for a length of time. Father bought up the tiny cottage. We lived there for two years, visiting Calcutta occasionally. My sister, Mulu and I stayed there with father, while mother remained in the city with Ashoke. They also came over, off and on. Our elder brother was still away in England.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

SANT NAMADEV AS A SOCIAL EDUCATIONIST

N. V. JAGANNATH RAO

It is a tragedy for any society, when it neglects its great men and allows them to pass unhonoured and misunderstood when they are alive and worship them after their death. This is not altogether true of Sant. Namadev (1270 A. D.-1350 A. D.) to whom nationwide recognition and appreciation came in his own life-time. He was spiritually great in his life-time and was influenced by his contemporaries like Bhakta Chokamela, Bhakta Gorakumbara, Sant Jnaneshwar, Sant Narahari, Bhakta Janabai, Bhakta Samvata and others. He inherited the hereditary divine qualities from his parents-Damaji and Gunavathi (Gonayi). He also led family-life like Sant Tukaram. Every member of his family tried to trap him in the web of family affairs, but soon he realised the mortality of worldly-life and family-ties. He believed that the renunciation of shadvargas (Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Madha, Matsarya) and pronouncement of Lord Vitthala are the only two immortal things, and they are the light-houses directing several life-ships towards the shores of the other-world. For him, chanting the name of Panduranga was a rare panacea for all worldly miseries. His period was a period of foreign invasions from north-west of India. That was a death-blow to Hindu religion throughout the country. Namadev tried to stop Hinduism from being polluted by non-religious foreign invaders. So he wrote thousands of Kirthanas, which are popularly known as Abhangas, to reform Hindu Society and to revive Hindu religion. His works are grouped under three

categories viz., Adi, Thirtavali and Samadhi. He travelled throughout India for the sake of "Dharma Prachar." He visited Dwarka, Mewad, Kashi and other parts of North India. His visit to Punjab is really of great significance. In Punjab, he wrote some of his Abhangas in Gurumukhi, the language of the Sikhs. The following are the few selections :-

The first one refers to the greatness of chanting of the name of the Lord.

1. Teri bhagathi na chodavoo bhavailogu
hansai |

Jaise apane dhanahi pranee maranu
maundie |

Taisey Santajanaa ramanamoo na chadai
(Ref : 'Panch Sant Kavi'

—page No. 185)

Namadev means that he will never give up the meditation of the Lord, even though people may scoff at him as a mad man. As the treasure is everything to a stingy richman so is the chanting of the Lord's name to a Saint.

2. This refers to the presence of God in the whole universe :—

2. Yeebhai Beetalu Ubhai Beetalu, Bital
binu sansar nahim |

Thanathanantari nama pranavai poori
rahivu thoo sarab mahim ||

In this Abhang, Namadev describes God as Omniscient, Omnipotent and Omnipresent. So chanting of the Lord's name from any corner of the universe, will reach Him. He is present in water, earth, stone, trees and everywhere. Worship animate or inanimate

imate objects, and that will be a worship of the Lord.

3. The third selection advocates the Adwaita Philosophy of Shankaracharya (Aham Brahmasmi)

3. Thakur to janu jana to Thakur khelu
parivoo hai tosiha |
Aaupan Devu dehuraa, Aaupan Aaup
lagavai pooja ||

Namadev says to God:-Oh! God, there is no difference between you and me. You are in me and I am in you. I am God, my body is a temple. So my worship is your worship. Further in this Abhanga.

Nameh soyee seviauh Jaha Dehuraa na
Maseed"—

he says those who cannot see God in themselves, cannot see God even in a mosque or a temple.

Likewise, he has contributed about eighty abhangas to 'Grantha-Sahib,' the holy book of the Sikhs. They are famous even to-day in the name of 'Bhakta Narnadevaji Mukhbani.' In those Abhangas, there is an influence of Marathi or Punjabi. Namadev stayed in Punjab for a period of 21 years. During his stay, most of the Saints of Punjab had become his disciples. Among them, the most prominent were Vishnu Swamy, Bahordas, Keshav Kaladhari, Jhallo and Laddha. His pet disciple, Bahords, constructed a memorial mndir of his gura in the Goaman village, Gurudaspur district, Punjab. It is popularly known as 'Gurudwara Bava Namadevji.' Most of the Namadev Shimpi residents of Punjab naturally call it-Chimba Kiva chipa. Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, has expressed his great respect for Namadev in his literary works. As a protest against the looters of Hinduism, Namadev had hoisted the Bhagava Jhanda of

Maharashtra and Hindu Religion for many years in Punjab. This is an instance to show that he had brought renaissance and reformation in Hindu Society, which was victimised and polluted during the invasion of Muslims of that time. His Social philosophy and Social Education were highly respected by other great Saints like Swami Ramanand, Mahatma Kabir, Mahatma Rohidas and so on. All of them have expressed their great appreciation of Namadev and his Abhangas by quoting his Abhangas in their literary works. His footsteps were followed by Ramanand and Kabir in effecting the purification and unification of Muslim and Hindu religions. Like them, he also opposed the idea of idol worship. In his Abhang—

Vrath thap, na lage varane sarvatha
Na lage thumha thirtha jane taya

he says To attain salvation, ritual, penance, custom, pilgrimage etc. are useless. It requires the purity of heart and mind. The five main tenets of Namadev's philosophy of social education were purity of heart, obedience, self-sacrifice, forgiveness and devotion to God.

Of course, Sant Jnaneshwar laid the foundation of mystical edifice to enlighten Maratha mysticism, but Sant Namadev erected the divine sanctuary on it. Namdev's mysticism is considered to be a herald of the democratic age. He, as a mystic and a social educationist, had a cosmopolitan outlook. He had no racial, communal or national prejudices. He recognised a spiritual democracy all round. His period enjoyed the democracy of the Bhakti school. Each Saint had an individuality of his own even in his spiritual development. Namadev pro-

duced a literature which shall continue to be the wonder of all humanity, which cares at all for an expression of mystical thought in any country without distinction of creed, caste or race. He knew no distinction between Saivism and Vaishnavism, though he was the pillar of the Vitthala Sampradaya at Pandharpur. The essentially catholic spirit of Sant Namadev can well be recognised by the fact that he, the great devotee of Lord Vitthala, accepted with great pleasure, Vishoba Kechar who was the great devotee of Lord Shiva, as his Guru.

As a social educationist, he rendered service to educate society. His Abhangas, as a method of spreading his gospel, seems to have originated from the necessity of making his spiritual ideals clear to the many down-trodden people. He purged filth from the hearts and minds of life-travellers. He guided the erring innocent humanity to the path of Truth, Ahimsa and Bhakti. His contemporaries Sena—the barber, Janabai—the maid servant, Samvata—the gardener, Chokhamela the sweeper, Gora—the potter, Nara-hari—the goldsmith and even Khanopatro—the dancer, and several others were influenced by him and they became capable of realising God. He also exhibited the all absorbing character of God-realisation. As a great humanitarian and a spiritual being once upon a time he by his spiritual power had saved Pandarpur from the ravages of a great flood. His Abhangas as a great contribution to the world of philosophy made him probably the greatest of the early Kirthana performers. A good number of other saints in his lifetime had formed a happy spiritual company with him. He represented the intellectual and the emotional sides of spiritual life. His

literary works had a very simple and colloquial language. Even uneducated multitudes were able to follow his high philosophy rendered in a simple way. For instance Jana Bai, a maid-servant in the family of Namadeva, was influenced by him and she herself wrote many Abhangas which enable us to discuss the historical position of Namadeva and other Saints. Very often he made use of his Abhangas to discourse on social topics. Here are a few teachings related to common social affairs. As a sociologist, he tells that every social man should be supremely indifferent to dualities like good and evil. He should regard dung and gold, or a jewel and a stone, as of equal value. People should not forget that their bodily miseries are due to the sins they have committed. With reference to superstition, he says that to pin our faith upon stone-images is a vain pursuit. People, in majority, give up the animate and hold the inanimate as superior. Worship of Tulsi plant, throwing of Thumbe flower or leaves of Bela upon the lingam of Siva, throwing of Kusa grass and the pimpala sticks (Aswatha Tree) into fire etc., are not the real pursuits of God. The only pursuit of value is the utterance of the name of Janardhana and service to Janatha. This ideology has been well narrated in Basavanna's Vachana 'Kallu Nagara kandare Halu Hoy-varayya, Dita nagara Kandare Hode embarayya'.

Regarding the characteristics of the real saints, Namadev says—Him alone we may call a saint, who sees God in all beings; who looks upon gold as a clod of earth; who looks upon a jewel as a mere stone; who has driven out of his heart

anger and passion; who harbours peace and forgiveness in his mind; and whose speech is given merely to the utterance of God's name. (Abhang 108). The saints in their supreme courage look upon honour and dishonour alike (Abg. 109). The saint is a spiritual washerman. He applies the soap of illumination, washes on the slab of tranquility, purifies in the water of knowledge and takes away the spots of sin (Abhang 115). The saints are an ocean of mercy and they bestow upon us knowledge, devotion and love (Abhang 122). He alone is a saint, who is able to show us God (Abhang 125 and 127).

Of course, Bhakta Namadev died centuries ago, but still he lives and will continue to live for ever in his sublime teachings. He wrote all his Abhangas in the name of his Lord like Bhakta Purandaradas in Karnatak. During his life-time, he was recognised as common human being. To-day he is honoured as the Adipurusha of Namadev Simpi Samaj and his Abhangas are so popular even among Bhavasar Kshatriyas. Both celebrate his birth day in the name of 'Namadeva Jayanthi' on a grand scale, throughout India. His upasaks who are known as Varkaries, sing his Abhangas in public and dance before Vitthala in ecstasy on that day.

The life-history of Sant Namadev reveals that he was not a student of any University. Nor had he earned any degree or diploma. But his literary works clearly indicate that he was a great philosopher and a great social educationist of India. Great philosophers have always been great educationists. The dependence of education on philosophy can be well understood by studying the

lives and teachings of all the great philosophers from Yagnavalkya down to Gandhiji. Like any other great teacher, Sant Namadev made a great contribution to the Marathi literature in the form of Abhangas with a view to educate the ignorant people and to reform human society. His Abhangas were primarily concerned with the training of people's minds and character and with restoring for them their power of independent thinking, without being swayed by passions and prejudices. He stimulated, guided the spiritual impulse which is present deep down in every human being and raised it above man's lower self so that he could realise his dormant possibilities. As a prophet or inspired teacher, he did what all great teachers of mankind like Christ, Mohammed, Buddha and Basaveswara had done; the work of uplifting the vast multitudes of men and women from the quagmire of ignorance and superstition that always tend to eclipse the pristine purity of human soul. He carried the torch of knowledge to the remotest corner of the smallest communities. He fought the battle for peace in the heart of the individual and showed mankind that the way to lasting peace is prayer to Panduranga Vitthala. Our homage to Sant Namadev lies in practising his teachings.

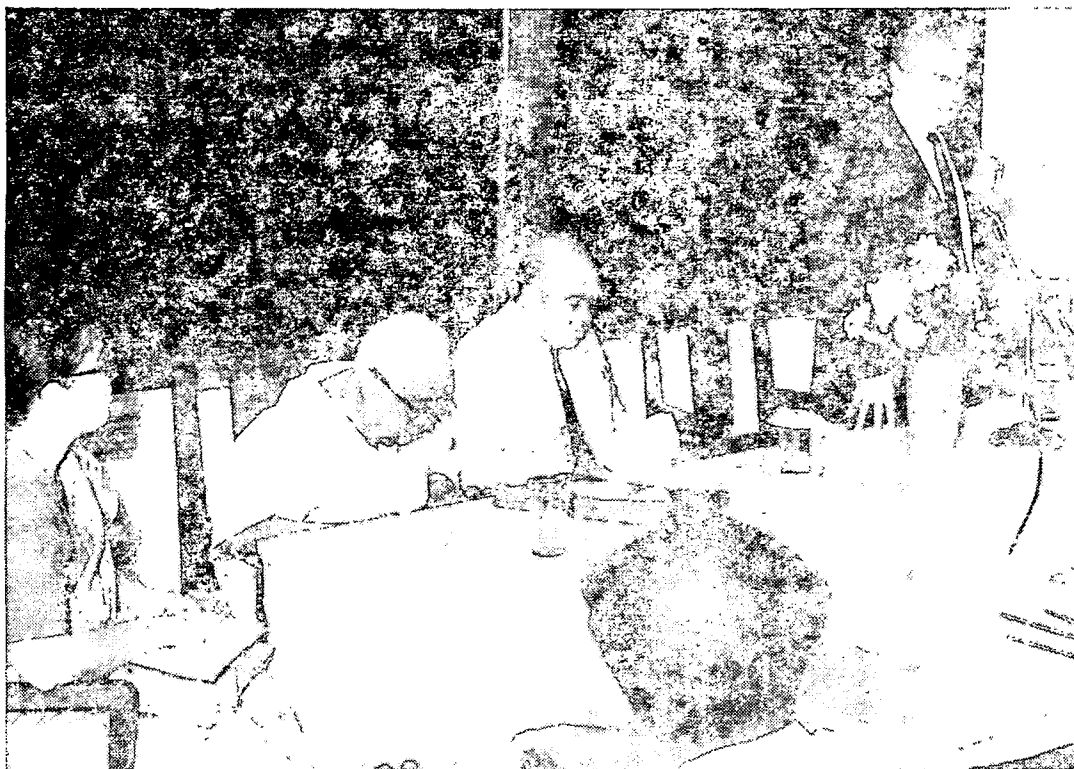
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SEMINAR ON SPEECH REHABILITATION OF DEAF AND HARD-OF-HEARING CHILDREN*

A Seminar on Speech Rehabilitation of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Children was held on the premises of the Indian Statistical Institute on the 28th and 29th March 1970, under the auspices of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Indian Institute for Speech and Languages. The Seminar was opened at

and hard-of-hearing in this country and the enormous problems posed by the large variety of languages and dialects requiring detailed phonetic study before proper methods of teaching the handicapped could be applied. He hoped that the report of the Seminar would help the public and the Government in dealing



Prof. Djordje Kostic, Sri Ashoke Chatterjee, National Prof. S. N. Bose & Dr. Rhea Das.

10.30 a.m. on Saturday, 28th March 1970, by Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee, Economic and Social Welfare Advisor to the Martin Burn Group of Industries, and Chairman and Vice-President of the Indian Institute for Speech and Languages. Mr. Chatterjee mentioned the inadequacy of existing arrangements for treating the deaf

with these problems. Mr. Chatterjee then invited National Professor Satyen Bose to inaugurate the Seminar.

In his Inaugural Address, National Professor S. N. Bose welcomed the second visit to India of Professor Djordje Kostic, Director of the Institute for Experimental Phonetics

and Speech Pathology, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and said that he looked to Professor Kostic for help and guidance in the field of teaching the deaf and handicapped children in this country. He particularly hoped that Professor Kostic could open a laboratory here in which speech and phonetics could be studied in detail and hard-of-hearing people could receive the attention they required. Professor Bose then called on Professor Djordje Kostic, Director, Institute for Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology, Belgrade, and Visiting Professor at the Indian Statistical Institute, to address the Seminar.

Before reading his paper on "The Integrated Linguistic Approach to the Speech Rehabilitation of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Children," Professor Kostic discussed some problems concerning treatment of the deaf in Yugoslavia. He mentioned, in connection with the problems facing us in India, that most of the progress made in Yugoslavia had taken place after the Second World War, even though there was tremendous work to be done to reconstruct the country which had been greatly ravaged during the war.

After discussing the need to adapt methods to the environment, he stressed the fact that the teachers training should be on a continuing basis, and for this reason, annual seminars were held in Yugoslavia to discuss progress and problems. Professor Kostic then read a paper on "The Integrated Linguistic Approach to the Speech Rehabilitation of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Children", a short summary of which is given below.

The integrated linguistic approach comprehensively covers all steps in the speech rehabilitation of deaf and hard-of-hearing children. It calls for integration of the efforts of all disciplines concerned with the speech rehabilitation of deaf and hard-of-hearing children, not just linguistic disciplines, the contributions of each discipline being framed in terms of

linguistic requirements for speech rehabilitation. The classification of deafness or hearing loss in terms of ability to hear the acoustic structures which are responsible for linguistic communication is one of the fundamental principles of the integrated linguistic approach, and represents the first concrete step in the materialization of the programme for speech rehabilitation. Five groups are distinguished in terms of hearing remnants: group zero, totally deaf; group one, contact with sound only within an extremely narrow range of reception, usually 100 cps or less; group two, contact with sound within a continuous range of frequencies up to at least 500 cps; group three, hearing remnants with a range between 1000 cps and 3000 cps with an intensity dynamics of at least 40 db continuously up to at least 3000 cps. By defining groups in terms of their hearing remnants which in turn determine their linguistic ability to acquire speech, the methodology, including special apparatus, appropriate for each group can be worked out in terms of the linguistic requirements. To fulfil this objective, the following guiding principles are adopted, which together comprise the rehabilitation scheme in the integrated linguistic approach. The first guiding principle is that acoustic time or duration, being a decisive factor in human speech, must be generated from the very beginning of the rehabilitation process. The second guiding principle is that it is necessary to develop first of all the sense of the suprasegmentals of speech which are more general than speech sounds from the linguistic point of view, which has to be done in a separate way for each language. The third principle is that all speech factors must be combined together using special technical devices, in such a way that they produce the same effect as speech factors for children having normal hearing during the natural development of their language. These four guiding principles form

one unified methodological approach which defines the specific rehabilitation technique method, instruments, and programme-required for children placed into one of the five groups according to the nature of their hearing remnants. Throughout the educational process, all pedagogical and other efforts and activities should be encouraged which shape the personality of the deaf or hard-of-hearing child so that he can function socially in his everyday life.

After Professor Kostic's lecture, Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, Honorary Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, thanked National Professor S. N. Bose for inaugurating the Seminar. He also thanked Professor Kostic for the work he was doing in India and said that India had great need for modern scientific methods in this field of work. He felt that Professor Kostic's presence here was a source of hope to India's deaf and hard-of-hearing people.

The rest of the morning session was given over to discussion between the participants and Professor Kostic.

In the afternoon session of the Seminar on the 28th. March, Dr. Rhea Das spoke about some psychological problems connected with the education and speech rehabilitation of the deaf and hard-of-hearing. She also gave some comparative figures for the United States, Yugoslavia and India, concerning the proportion of deaf people in the respective populations of these countries, the amount of money allotted for their treatment, and the classification according to hearing remnants used in planning their education.

Professor Kostic then discussed the instruments and equipment essential for the teaching of the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and described these instruments to the participants. A demonstration was given by Mr. Tapan Ghosh, Audio-Visual Department, I. S. I., of a vibrator box developed in the Institute for

Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology, Belgrade, and copied in the Indian Statistical Institute. After the demonstration, the participants went to the Electronics Laboratory with Dr. Dwijesh Dutta Mazumdar Head of the Electronics Department I. S. I. for a demonstration of the Kay Sonograph recently acquired by the Indian Statistical Institute; after a tour of Institute departments, the Seminar adjourned until Sunday 29th. March.

On Sunday, 29th. March, further discussions were held between Professor Kostic and the participants, and Professor Kostic answered some questions put to him by participants. Mr. P. D. Ahuja, Advisor to the All India Federation of the Deaf addressed the Seminar and discussed the work being done by his organisation. He also read a speech written by Mr. D. K. Nandy, the General Secretary of the Deaf Federation.

A proposal was made by Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee that the Seminar should draw up a report which would provide guidelines for Central and State Governments for formulating a constructive policy in the field of speech and language rehabilitation of the deaf and hard-of-hearing. A committee was formed consisting of the following members: Professor Djordje Kostic, Dr. Rhea S. Das, Dr. N. Ratna (All India Institute for Speech and Hearing, Mysore), Mr. J. Panda (School for the Deaf and Blind, Bhubaneshwar), Mr. P. D. Ahuja, Dr. Dwijesh Dutta Mazumdar, and Mrs. Dhun Adenwalla (Oral School for Deaf Children, Calcutta).

This committee drew up a report with the following recommendations:

1. That language rehabilitation of the child has to be initiated as early as possible, during the prelingual period if hearing loss has taken place already, so that the least possible time is lost during the "Listening period" as well as during the period of forma-

tion of speech. If a child is born deaf, this may be detected by even the second month of the child's life and this should provide sufficient evidence for initiating treatment by modern methodology including instrumentation. It is quite inadvisable to delay speech rehabilitation up to the customary school age. In order to ensure far better results for a given amount of investment.

II. That is inadvisable for parents to passively wait for others to initiate action for their deaf and hard-of-hearing children, because in so doing they may postpone treatment of speech rehabilitation up to the school age, and thereby unwittingly delay development of language. Toward this end media of mass communication must set up a large scale programme of public education into the diagnosis and treatment of deaf and hard-of-hearing children, directed toward mothers and fathers, and all other persons working in the fields of education, health, and social welfare, under Central and State Governmental sponsorship.

III. That schools, including those for deaf and hard-of-hearing children, set up special programmes for the speech rehabilitation of deaf and hard-of-hearing children of pre-school age, on an internal and external basis of training.

IV. That in every State and Union Territory, multi faceted Centers should be set up to deal with all aspects of the problem of the deaf or hard-of-hearing child in acquiring speech and language, through linguistic sciences and including general medical aspect, otorhino-laryngological aspect, neurological aspect, audiological aspect, and psychological aspect. These centers should encourage and coordinate their efforts with all other organizations working in the field, including schools, All India Institute of Speech and Hearing, the Deaf Federation, voluntary organizations, medical colleges and hospitals, etc.

V. That training centers for teachers and all other personnel concerned with deaf and hard-of-hearing children, including medical colleges, supplement their curriculum with the special training required to teach children during the pre-school period.

VI. That all children in special schools for the deaf and hard-of-hearing be audiometrically tested and classified as totally deaf or as hard-of-hearing. Those children classified as hard-of-hearing should be further classified into two main categories, firstly, those children who are practically deaf but will be able with modern methodology and instruments to perceive the entire phonetic structure of the language, and secondly, those children who are severely hard-of-hearing and will only be able to perceive a few elements of speech even with the application of modern methodology and instruments.

VII. That schools and institutions for deaf and hard-of-hearing children should be helped financially to introduce all instrumentation including selective nonlinear amplification for hard-of-hearing children and to introduce visual and tactual indicators of speech signals for totally deaf children or those children who require a combination of visual-tactual-auditory methods and devices.

VIII. The existing programmes and curricula of schools for deaf and hard-of-hearing children be evaluated and revised in terms of modern developments in methodology of speech and language rehabilitation, with the objective of helping each hard-of-hearing or deaf child reach the highest level of which it is capable according to its ability.

IX. That the acoustic structure of Indian languages should be investigated so that instrument can be designed and adapted to the speech signals of these languages, and that the linguistic structure of Indian languages should be investigated so that curricula, books and materials, and teaching methods can be designed.

ned with the objective of developing speech and language of deaf and hard-of-hearing children.

X. That an all India journal be published at regular and frequent intervals which will present results of research having practical application in actual teaching of deaf and hard-of-hearing children, instructions for parents, experiences of teachers, presenting in a common forum the results of teaching experience and research, to be contributed to by all persons concerned with these problems.

XI. That all efforts to statistically estimate the number of persons having hearing impairments according to age and the character of the hearing impairment be encouraged, and further more the need for continuing surveys be stressed, and that in the first instance. The Census Commission for 1971 be requested to collect data on the health status, including hearing loss and other handicaps, of all children between 0 and 14 years of age, and that the Indian Statistical Institute be requested to prepare suitable proformas for this investigation and to urge their acceptance by the Census Commission. Furthermore, complete information on institutions, schools, and centers for deaf and hard-of-hearing children, their teachers, auxiliary staff, curriculum, conditions for teaching and learning, equipment and instruments, sources of finance, and expenditure, would have to be obtained on a continuing basis for regular revision of estimates to correctly reflect the current picture. On the basis of findings in the Census, surveys presently underway or already completed, and surveys to be planned in the future, plans for projects on a Central or State level for five-year and ten-year periods should be made and their progress evaluated.

XII. That immediate steps be taken to implement Recommendations I to X during the period that implementation of Recommendation XI is underway, with discussions at the Central and State Governmental levels, and

pilot centers and activities be undertaken to obtain concrete experience and information regarding expenditure and other investment which can then be used in planning the tempo of materialization, the number and types of centers, schools, and other institutions, expenditure and personnel, of the projects proposed in Recommendation XI.

XIII. That legislation be introduced at the Central and State Government levels regarding education, employment, and protection of deaf and hard-of-hearing persons, that a specified percentage of the general and specific revenues be allocated for the use of the handicapped persons, and that no tax, including sales tax, be levied on the manufacture and sale of instruments for speech rehabilitation including hearing aids.

XIV. That closer connection and greater coordination take place between teachers of the deaf and hard-of-hearing, the Deaf Federation, linguists and phoneticians, oto-rhino-laryngologists and other medically qualified personnel, research workers, and the Central, State and Union Territories Governments, and be taken into account in planning meetings, conferences, and projects.

XV. That these recommendations be sent to all schools for hard-of-hearing and deaf children, to all Central and State Ministries of Education, of Health, and of Social Welfare, and to all institutions concerned with problems of hearing and speech.

*The Seminar on Speech Rehabilitation of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Children was attended by a representative group of participants, all of whom took an active part in the discussions. The participants included the following besides the speakers and committee members mentioned above :

1. Sm. Kamala Chatterjee, 2. Sm. Nirmal Kumari Mahalanobis, 3. Sri Narasinha Chatterjee, 4. Sri Brajagopal Ghose, 5. Sm. Tripti Bonnerji and 6. Sri S. Goswami (3-6 from the Deaf and Dumb School, Calcutta) 7. Dr. Bhaktibhushan Mallik (Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta) 8. Dr. Suhash Chatterjee (Calcutta University) 9. Miss Rita Joshi (Oral School for Deaf Children) 10. Mrs. M. K. Mukharjee (SSKM Hospital) 11. Dr. B. C. Das. (ISI) 12. Prof. Subodh Roy (ISI) 13. Sm. Alokanda Mitter (ISI) 14. Sm. Sakuntala Sharma (ISI). There was also a deputation of seven teachers from the Education Directorate, Government of Tripura.

Indian Periodicals

To the Youth of India

Swami Vireswarananda exhorts the youth of India to take up their work of nation building in *Prabuddha Bharata* in very clear and unequivocal terms. His words should be very seriously considered by all who wish to see India regain her lost glory and greatness.

All over the country since independence there has been a great deal of enthusiasm among our young men to rebuild our nation. It is very commendable. But then, before one takes up this work one must have a clear idea of the India that is to be. A painter, for example, does not immediately begin to put colours on the canvas. Such a method will not produce a good picture. He will have to think well and have a clear picture of what he intends to paint and then only he can transfer to the canvas what he has conceived in his mind. Similarly an engineer does not right away begin constructing a building. He first tries to know what sort of building it is to be. It is meant for a school or a hospital or a public office or a residence? Then according to the requirements he draws a plan and works out every detail and then begins the construction work. So you too must have a clear picture of the future India and then begin building the nation. Are you going to make a great military nation? I am sure you are not, for no military power has lived long. Just see the fate of Hitler and Mussolini. Will you then make your country a wealthy one like America, industrialized and highly advanced in agriculture?

We are a poor nation and we want wealth to be able to feed our masses. But will mere bread and butter solve our problem? Have America and other advanced nations peace of mind and true happiness in spite of their

wealth? They do not have. Look at the young people, children of affluence, boys and girls, who feel frustration with nothing to achieve in life, wandering about. Some of them are very very rich, but often they feel a sort of terrible purposelessness having no goal in life. We want military strength to protect our freedom and not to rob our neighbours, we want wealth to feed our masses who are poor, but this cannot be the ideal of the nation. Something more is required besides these two. What is that which will bring peace to us along with wealth and power?

I will advise you to go through our ancient history and see how great India was in power, wealth and happiness during the times of Asoka, Chandragupta, Kanishka and others. During the Vedic period and during the Buddhist period evidently we had great ideals that could make India so great in the past. But then how has this degeneration come about? We have to find out the causes that led to our down-fall. So in constructing future India we must accept the ideals that made us great, reject what caused degeneration and supply newly what was not there, at that time, viz. science and technology.

We nowadays swear by science. We say it is not scientific, it is superstitious. But is it scientific to ignore altogether our past, not caring to know what good it contained and what has sustained us as a nation for the last three thousand years, and to run after western ideas which have not stood the test of time, which are at best two hundred years old and some of recent times? Have these ideals solved the problem of the western nations? Are they happy and at peace? They do not seem to be. So why go after those ideals?

My young friends, we are human beings

God has given us reason to be used, and not to allow ourselves to be driven like cattle by anyone and everyone who comes and tells us some thing vehemently. So, I advise you to gather all materials, all information about our past and present, think well, and plan the future. Don't be led by emotion.

First of all the most necessary thing is character. Without character nothing great can be achieved. So if you want to make India great, build your character first, and then use your reason and find out what sort of India you want to build and then begin to work for it, even if it means sacrificing your life for it.

Iron and steel sales

The following facts are taken from the *Report 1969-70* published by the Government of India Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering, New Delhi.

The recovery of the Home market from the recession witnessed in 1968-69 for iron and steel materials improved further in 1969-70 and there was a general buoyancy in the market.

The despatches of pig iron and saleable steel to the home market in the first eleven months of 1969-70 were of the order of 5,82,000 tonnes and 2,241,000 tonnes respectively as against 5,05,000 tonnes and 2,445,000 tonnes respectively in the whole of 1968-69. The home sale value in the first eleven months of 1969-70 also reached an all time high figure of Rs. 2,800 million. It is anticipated that by the time 1969-70 is out, the Home Sales would have reached Rs. 3,100 million as against Rs. 2,641 million in 1968-69.

On the export side, the actual shipments in the first eleven months of 1969-70, amounted to Rs. 400 million (FOB) and all indications are that the year will close with a performance of over Rs. 440 million as against the previous year's shipments of Rs. 415 million. In terms

of tonnage, the export of iron and steel in 1969-70 would amount to 9,72,000 tonnes against 1,029,000 tonnes (plus 1780 wheel sets) in 1968-69. This is excluding the shipment to UK of about 5,200 tonnes of Benzene made during the year.

Production of increased quantities of Ribbed tor-steel, Cold Rolled Galvanised Sheets, High Silicon Electrical Steel Sheets, Alloy and Tool Steels etc., was a feature of the year under review. Production of Galvanised Sheets in thinner gauges, Electrolytic tinplates, introduction of new grades of Alloy Steels of Ni, Ni-Cr-Mo, Cr Mo, Cr Mn, high alloyed case hardening steels as well as stainless steel sheets was yet another significant development of the year under review. Also a number of new sections and qualities were developed for export market. Standardisation of sizes of tube HR Coils and Skelp to meet the requirement of tube industry in the country was also another significant step forward during the year.

The highlights of export achievement during the year 1969-70 include :—

1. Procurement of orders for over 60,000 tonnes of bars, wire rods and structurals valued at over Rs. 41 million from a sophisticated market like the U.S.A.
2. Finalisation of the third contract with the USSR for export of 2,00,000 tonnes of structurals valued at about Rs. 240 million for supply during 1970.
3. Procurement of an order for export, of 50,000 tonnes of ingots to Japan.
4. Execution of rail orders from Iran and Korea to the extent of about 90,000 tonnes and procurement of a repeat order from Malaysia.
5. Making a major break through for rails in the new markets by successful participation in global tenders for 20,000 tonnes from UAR and 25,000 tonnes from Argentina. While the order from UAR has already materialised, the

order from Argentina is expected to be finalised before the year is out.

6. To meet the challenge of the tempo of exports, measures have been taken for mechanisation of handling at the various stockyards and ports, thereby increasing the rate of loading. This has resulted in saving in loading time and earning of substantial despatch money.

Gandhiji's Socialism

The following excerpts are from *Indian Literature* :

In course of a lecture delivered at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium, Madras on 16 February, 1916 Gandhi stated that if a person took anything which he did not require for his immediate use, he was no better than a thief. This was because of the fact that while many were dying of starvation, a few were making provision for the future. He believed that Nature produced enough for human wants and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in the world. Having adduced such a line of argument he took care to remind his audience : 'I am no socialist and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possession.' A student of Western political thought is apt to think that Gandhi was probably influenced by Proudhon, who considered property as theft. But being born into and bred in a Vaisnava family, Mahatma Gandhi was here reproducing an adage of the *Bhagavata* which states that one is entitled to take only that much which is sufficient for filling up his stomach ; he who takes more than this is guilty of theft and deserves to be punished as a thief.

Gandhi elaborated this very ideal in 1930 when he wrote : 'A thing not originally stolen, must nevertheless be classified as stolen property, if we possess it without needing it. Possession implies provision for the future.

A seeker after Truth, a follower of the law of love cannot hold anything against to-morrow. If, therefore, we repose our faith in His providence, we should rest assured that He will give us every day our daily bread, meaning everything that we require. Our ignorance or negligence of the Divine Law which gives to man from day to day his daily bread and no more, has given rise to inequalities with all the miseries attendant upon them.' Though Gandhi considered removal of inequalities as the corner-stone of socialism, he did not suggest any practical step to implement it. It is extremely difficult for worldly people to cultivate that attitude of mind which takes no thought of providing for to-morrow. As a matter of fact the Puranas and the Dharma Sastras definitely prescribe such a conduct of life for the ascetics belonging to the fourth stage of life. Very few Christians could follow the precept of Jessus : 'Sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor.'

As philosophical anarchism exercised great influence on Gandhi at least till the fifty-fifth year of his life, it was not easy to reconcile himself to socialistic regimentation. There are innumerable varieties of socialism, but the most common feature of all is to lay stress on a policy which advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land and property by the community as a whole and their distribution or administration in the interest of all. A vague type of Utopian and Christian socialism fascinated Gandhi even before he entered Indian politics. He said, 'I accepted the theory of socialism even while I was in South Africa.' He claimed to have practised socialism in his Phoenix settlement, where everyone had to work on a flat rate of £3 per month.

It is interesting to find Gandhi making closer and closer contact with socialism between 1924 and 1939. This was the period

when Socialist thought began to influence a widening circle of young Indians. Jawaharlal Nehru referred to a mild socialistic programme having been prepared by the U. P. Congress Committee as early as 1926. Some thinkers suggest that Gandhi professed a few socialistic ideas with a view to drawing the progressive section of younger people to him. A departure from his refusal to be reckoned as a socialist in 1916 was made eight years later, when he admitted that he was socialist enough to say that the factories for producing machinery should be either nationalised or state-controlled.⁷ This was a significant admission for a person who was opposed to any increase in the functions of the State. In November, 1928 he advocated the transfer of control of production of the elementary necessities of life from private persons to the masses through the State. Probably for the first time he began to talk of the urgency for putting a stop to the exploitation of the masses. He pleaded that the elementary necessities of life should be as freely available as God's air and water and should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others.' Early in December, 1929 he appealed to the Zamindars and Talukdars to reduce themselves to poverty in order that the ryot might have the necessities of life. From the landed aristocracy he turned to the capitalists in general and asked them to follow the example of the Samurais of Japan and added: 'There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country.

Early in November 1934 Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose asked Gandhi, 'If you say that

private possession is incompatible with non-violence, why do you put up with it?' He further asked, 'Why then not have State-ownership in place of private property and thus minimise violence?' Gandhi answered: 'It is better than private ownership. But that, too, is objectionable on the ground of violence. It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed Capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the evils of violence at any time. The State represents violence, in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship.' His deep-rooted suspicion of State made him averse to the transfer of greater power to it through socialistic measures. But he had to admit that, if the wealthy persons failed to behave as trustees, steps might have to be taken to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence. He, however, held that even when a property came under ownership of State, it could not own it, 'except by vesting it in individuals'. According to him the proper function of the State in such a case was to ensure the just and equitable use of property and prevent all possible misuse.

Nationalism and Internationalism

Roberto Hack writing in *The Theosophist* upholds the view point that the differences existing between national groups do not go against the idea of international Unity...every race differs from the others because of some peculiar characteristic of its own, a characteristic on which its entire civilisation is built. Each of these races forms a link in the great golden chain of humanity and possesses its own beauty, its own reason for existence in that wonderful Chain. The perfection of humanity must result from the joining together of all these single characteristics which have been

brought to perfection, not from their elimination. They must all become perfected and are not to be suppressed.

Mazzini in his day intuited and correctly defined these concepts, when he declared that :

"Nationality is in itself sacred, because in it I see the instrument of labor for the good of all and the progress of all. The homelands are the workshops of mankind and every nation has a living task. Our country is our home ; the home that God gave us, in it placing a numerous family which loves us and which we love, which we are able to understand better and more readily than others, and which, through its concentration upon a given territory, as well as by the homogeneous nature of its elements, is called upon to perform a special type of action. Our country is our working place : the products of our activity must extend from it for the benefit of all the world, but the work implements which we can use in the best and most effective way are there and we cannot give them up without betraying the plan of God and depleting our forces. Working for our country, in accordance with the true principles, we work for humanity ; our country is the resting point of the lever which we must operate for the common good".

But while Mazzini declared clearly and powerfully by his thoughts and his actions, the significance and the value of nation and country, at the same time and with equal emphasis he proclaimed that :

"a country is not an end unto itself. The reason for existence and the justification of a nation lie in its beneficial function for Humanity. A society of men united by a principle of egotism for a purely material aim is not because of this a nation...Your first duties, first not in order of time but of importance, and because if you do not understand them you will only be able to accomplish the others imperfectly, are towards Humanity"

But nationalism of the right kind makes one more conscious of the rights, needs, virtues and good qualities of other national groups. There must be a clear consciousness of a

common humanity and of the duties of all national groups towards the world in which all exist for mutual help and support. Nationalism must never be permitted to stand in the way of human progress.

In his speech in the House of Commons on November 22nd, 1945, the ex-Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, said :

"The truth is that all these inventions of recent years have made the world smaller, bringing us all into ever increasing contact. Each successive discovery increases the nonsense of our old ideas of 'sovereignty' and it is no use deceiving ourselves. It is also true that national feeling is still as strong as ever and even, in some cases, stronger because of this new complication due to the different conception of the forms of government and the different ways of understanding the intrinsic meaning of certain words like 'freedom' and 'democracy'. Thus, despite certain incitements, the world has not yet shown that it is prepared to give up or to really change its old ideas of 'sovereignty'. However, incitements, in this direction, there have been.

"Now atomic energy has come to reinforce the call for something more, because the entire planetary family is today smaller than the European family was at the end of the last war. I have given much thought to the question of atomic energy both before and after the explosion of the atom bomb over Nagasaki ; and to tell the truth, I have been and am still unable to see any other final solution which may definitely save the world from atomic power, except by resolutely destroying our present ideas of 'sovereignty'.

"We must, in brief, pluck the sting out of nationalism. We cannot hope to do this all at once ; but from now on we must set to work in order to achieve this aim, and in my opinion this should be the first duty of the United Nations."

"We must pluck the sting out of nationalism." This is the plain but brutal truth. And the way shown by Mazzini, namely that of an ethico-spiritual internationalism which has the wonderful power of bringing together the two opposing principles of "nationality" and "internationality is also the only practical and wise way to reach such a goal, thus saving the world from new and more horrible catastrophes which would descend upon mankind in a sombre and gloomy primordial night."

Foreign Periodicals

America Revises Chinese Policy

The American attitude towards China has undergone certain fundamental changes. The following excerpt from *Viewpoint U. S. A.* which published President Richard M. Nixon's report on foreign policy clearly shows a radical change in outlook regarding America's relations with Peoples' Republic of China.

The Chinese are a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community. In the long run, no stable and enduring international order is conceivable without the contribution of this nation of more than 700 million people.

Chinese foreign policy reflects the complexity of China's historical relationship with the outside world. While China has the longest unbroken history of self-government in the world, it has had little experience in dealing with other nations on a basis of equal sovereignty. Predominant in Asia for many centuries, these gifted and cultured people saw their society as the centre of the world. Their tradition of self-imposed cultural isolation ended abruptly in the Nineteenth Century, however, when an internally weak China fell prey to exploitation by technologically superior foreign powers.

The history inherited by the Chinese Communists, therefore, was a complicated mixture of isolation and incursion, of pride and humiliation. We must recall this unique past when we attempt to define a new relationship for the future.

Nor can we underestimate the gulf of ideology between us, or the apparent differences in interests and how we interpret world events. While America has historic ties of friendship with the Chinese people, and many of our basic interests are not in conflict, we must recognize the profound gulf of suspicion and ideology.

The principles underlying our relations with Communist China are similar to those governing our policies towards the USSR. United States policy is not likely soon to have much impact on China's behaviour, let alone its ideological outlook. But it is certainly in our interest, and in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and the world, that we take what steps we can towards improved practical relation with Peking.

The key to our relations will be the actions each side takes regarding the other and its allies. We will not ignore hostile acts. We intend to maintain our treaty commitment to the defence of the Republic of China. But we will seek to promote understandings which can establish a new pattern of mutually beneficial actions.

I made these points to the leaders I met throughout my trip to Asia, and they were welcomed as constructive and realistic.

We have avoided dramatic gestures which might invite dramatic rebuffs. We have taken specific steps that did not require Chinese agreement but which underlined our willingness to have a more normal and constructive relationship. During the year, we have :

made it possible for American tourists, museums, and others to make non-commercial purchases of Chinese goods without special authorization ;

broadened the categories of Americans whose passports may be automatically validated for travel in Communist China, to include members of Congress, journalist, teachers, post-graduate scholars and college students, scientists, medical doctors and representatives of the American Red Cross ;

permitted subsidiaries of American firms abroad to engage in commerce between Communist China and third countries.

The resumption of talks with the Chinese in Warsaw may indicate that our approach will prove useful. These first steps may not lead to major results at once, but sooner or later Communist China will be ready to re-enter the international community.

Our desire for improved relations is not a tactical means of exploiting the clash between China and the Soviet Union. We see no benefit to us in the intensification of that conflict, and we have no intention of taking sides. Nor is the United States interested in joining any condominium or hostile coalition of great powers against either of the large communist countries. Our attitude is clear-cut—a lasting peace will be impossible so long as some nations consider themselves the permanent enemies of others.

The Kremlin Mystery

K. S. Karol, writing in *NEW STATESMAN* discusses the affairs of Communist Russia in the following manner. "The collective leadership' which engineered Khrushchev's fall in October 1964 had its Achilles heel as everyone knows foreign policy. The Russians are patriots: it hurts their national self-respect to see their country suffer defeats more or less everywhere, and lose the halo of a Communist New Rome. From time to time, therefore, well informed circles in Moscow tell us of a coming power struggle in the Kremlin. It came up in 1965-66, when the Soviet Union showed itself incapable of a political or military reply to American escalation in Asia, and stood by helplessly while bombs fell on a country of its own bloc in North Vietnam. It came up again in 1967, after the humiliating defeat of the Arab countries, proteges of the Soviet Union, in the Six Day War. It came up again, more emphatically than ever, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia which

struck a sharp blow at the Soviet Union's international prestige, even among the most loyal foreign parties.

"Every time we learned, from 'inspired leaks,' that some Soviet leader had spoken up against the chosen policy, and were preparing a battle royal in the Kremlin. This opposition was apparently drawn from the ranks of the old guard, anxious to preserve the Soviet Unions' revolutionary honour: their spokesman was supposed to be Suslov who was called an 'ideologist' although his doctrinal contribution was obscure, not to say non-existent. But there were also talk of younger men such as Shelepin, former secretary of Komsomol then head of Security and now head of trade union's. During the difficult period following the Czech crisis these people, we were told, did not hesitate to whip the resistance of foreign Communist parties in their campaign against the 'Troika' of Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny. Statements on this point were so precise, and coincided so well that it was hard to dismiss them as mere rumours. It was also hard to tell what policy the opposition was pushing; but one could not deny that an opposition existed.

"Still Brezhnev's Team—opposed, divided, 'reprieved'—always rode the storm, and it is still in power. The Kremlinologists have their explanation ready: an international defeat, however serious, is never enough in itself to bring down a Russian Government. Palace revolutions need an internal crisis. But on the domestic front the Triumvirate seemed relatively successful. They threw out Khrushchev in 1964 after the disastrous failure of the 'virgin lands' campaign, when the Soviet Union was reduced to the

humiliation of importing Canadian wheat, and the economy was gasping for breath in every sector. The ambitious Seven Year Plan (1959-1965) had to be abandoned half way through and the price of almost all essential goods had to be raised.

"After that, the situation grew steadily better. Industrial production rose satisfactorily, and even in the traditional black spot of agriculture Khrushchev's successors scored a few points—for example, the Soviet Union became a net exporter of wheat. Admittedly none of the economy's structural problems was solved, while growing social inequality caused obvious strains. But as long as the national cake continued to grow the different ruling class (bureaucrats, technocrats, military, police) could make their compromises over the necessary means of directing and planning national progress. That apparently explained the astonishing stability of the collective leadership."

The sino-Russian Territorial disputes helped the leadership to strengthen its position. The rumours that were afloat in 1969 about impending changes caused to be circulated in any intensive manner as soon as the people became conscious of a national emergency. It was assumed that the Russian people would stand solidly behind the leaders who were at the helm of affairs rather than go seeking any new leadership. 1969 was a satisfactory year in point of production, which increased by 7 per cent instead of 7.2% as required by the Plan. National Income increased by 6 per cent instead of the 6.5 percent demanded by the Plan. Breznev was critical of Russian Productivity for reasons which were not very clear. Of course Russia could

always do with some more in view of her space plans and military needs.

Adult Education in Bulgaria

Ivan Genov writes in News from Bulgaria :

In the past, only a few workers could receive higher education. They had no choice but to remain in the same class all their life,

After the socialist revolution the government gave the workers opportunity to take an active part in the organization of production as managers or member of the trade union organizations. Workers without sufficient education and trade skill were given the chance to finish primary and secondary school, various evening technical colleges and vocational trade schools, without stopping work.

In the past 25 years, thousands of workers and state employees have received degrees in engineering and economics. Qualified workers are indispensable to our rapidly growing industry. Over 1,000 workers in the Lenin Steel Works in Pernik have finished secondary and higher technical schools. Qualified specialists hold high posts in the works ; over 500 people in the Lovech Automobile Works have received an education attending extramural evening courses.

Over 100,000 workers and students (23,000 in secondary schools, 51,000 in technical schools and 26,000 in the institutes for higher learning) have been included in the system of extramural evening education. Thus young people are constantly appointed as well trained workers in industry.

Recently I visited the Metal-Cutting Machine Factory in Sofia, where I met Blagoi Kirilov, a former general worker, now

manager of the technological department in the factory.

'I was not only an apprentice but also a servant to the masters,' he said. In the years of people's rule, the factory (which had been nationalized) gave Kirilov the opportunity to finish an evening school of technology, while he remained at his job. He was promoted to the post of team leader of 50 turners and operators of milling machines.

Kirilov continued to specialize in the field of machine-building and in the technology of production in particular. Soon he was appointed as a technologist. He had the necessary qualifications for the post, in spite of the fact that it was meant for an engineer-technologist with a degree. He has been successfully training technological cadres for over 10 years. He knows his trade well and the management is pleased with his work.

I asked him about his children.

'My son graduated from the Higher Engineering Institute and my daughter is studying in a technical college,' he said.

What Kirilov told me of his family and his children's studies was not a surprise to me. At present there are thousands of girls and boys in the country who study and graduate from technical colleges and universities without leaving their jobs. In this way every year new specialists join the army of the technical intelligentsia.

Mao, Marx and Rousseau

Mao t'se Tung cannot be understood easily by most people. That he is not an ordinary dictator; but is a political theorist of quality is appreciated by students of social philosophy. The following analysis of his intellectual outlook in the political

sphere is taken from the bimonthly PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM.

Mao's experience in Yenan and since, his image of himself as leader, and his conceptions of the nature of the party and the masses all contribute towards an understanding of his goals in the CR. Beyond this, Mao's goals since the mid-1950's may in some sense best be comprehended in terms of an increasingly observable rejection of Marxism Leninism, accompanied by an increasing affirmation of Rousseauian concerns and methods.

Although Mao earlier seems to have believed, with Marx, that economic development and moral progress were indissolubly and positively linked—that industrialization would produce the "Communist man"—there is little evidence that Mao today continues to embrace this convenient rationalization for withholding concern for moral progress while focusing on material progress. Like Rousseau, and buttressed by world history since Marx, in particular by the experience of having observed the processes and consequences of the institutionalization of the Chinese revolution, Mao appears to have concluded that "the arts and sciences (technico-economic progress) as they... developed... (after the great Leap)... actually... (ran) counter to moral progress and contributed to all the corruptions of society" and of the revolution.

And the parallels to Rousseau do not stop there. Mao's vision of the ideal society is very similar to that of Rousseau. Mao's good society is a kind of Christian utopia, collectivist, austere, egalitarian, and without the need for coercive institutions because it is composed of virtuous men who have in-

ternalized such values as self-sacrifice in the common good, and who directly and actively participate as a solidary mass in determining the course of politics. And like Rousseau, Mao focuses on the demand for a new society, the importance of education, and the role of the great charismatic leader who understands the needs of the masses, epitomizes the national character, and at the same time embodies their highest moral concerns. It is the leader who "liberates" the masses from their narrow particularity as individuals so that they can realize their human potential.

But there is a vital difference between Mao and Rousseau which is central to an understanding of Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution. Rousseau was a radical theorist without power. His primary goal, historically conditioned, was to eliminate the sort of immobile particularism associated with feudalism, thereby freeing man to understand the broader potentiality of his nature. Rousseau's mechanism for this miraculous transformation is the "great legislator," who arrives Messiah-like, fuses the people into a moral unity, extirpates traditional institutions which obstruct that fusion, and establishes laws and institutions to perpetuate the good society. Rousseau's whole scheme has frequently and correctly been described as an evasion of the central political problem of how the desired transformation of society is to be effected—an evasion accomplished by the invocation of a *deus ex machina*, the great legislator.

But Mao is the great legislator, a radical in POWER—perhaps the first in history who has substantially retained his radical purity after being in power for over a generation. "As such he must deal with political problems, the foremost of which is that there will be no Messiah to produce the ultimate ideal state. The cultural revolution required to "liberate" man must be accomplished through, not in evasion of, politics. The great leader must act in history. The problems of institutions cannot be avoided—neither the present problem of how to transform old institutions and men, nor the continuing problem of how to ensure the future integrity of those transformed.

In going beyond Rousseau, Mao has also gone beyond Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism in his effort to resolve institutional problems. He has sought in the CR. to transform the most powerful institution in China, the Communist Party. As Benjamin Schwartz, brilliantly argues, Mao has declared that the sacred moral values previously associated exclusively with the party are most purely found in himself and his thought, and that these qualities "may be shared by groups, institutions and individuals which lie outside of the party. Indeed, the party as such, when considered apart from... (the leader and his thought), may wholly degenerate..." It is the leader, his ideology, and the masses whom he can directly inspire that offer hope of becoming a counterforce to over institutionalization and the problems of organizational goal displacement.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI vols. Thirty-two, Thirty-three and Thirty-four, published by Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi. These volumes in paper back binding are remarkable value at 9 per volume. The format is large and the printing and paper excellent. The volumes are about 650, 550 and 600 pages and deal with the period Nov. 5, 1925 to Sept. 15, 1927. The subjects dealt with during this period are Hindu-Moslem unity, untouchability, prohibition, cow protection and religious texts. Volume Thirty-Two contains the discourses on the Gita which are most enlightening and valuable. It also has a note on C. F. Andrews which one will find interesting in view of the C. F. Andrews Centenary Celebrations that are now being held in all parts of India. Volume Thirty-Three contains some interesting letters addressed to Mirabeau. His articles on cow-protection in this volume are a clear statement of Gandhiji's point of view. Volume Thirty-Four contains many interesting letters, notes and speeches. One note relating to Gandhiji's reference to Sister Nivedita will be found of interest to readers of this REVIEW. Gandhiji had mentioned "the splendour that surrounded her" when he wrote about Sister Nivedita in "The Story of My Experiments with Truth." THE MODERN REVIEW pointed out to Gandhiji that he had met Sister Nivedita at the American Consulate which, naturally, displayed "splendour". Her own abode in Bosepare Lane, Baghbazar was a simple tumbledown house and she lived there like an ascetic. Gandhiji gladly accepted this correction. He also accepted

the criticism of THE MODERN REVIEW regarding Mr. Gokhale's alleged description of Sister Nivedita as a person of "volatile nature. The term was a wrong translation of Tej which was what Gandhiji had written originally.

C. F. Andrews Deenabandhu : By D. I. D. L. Clark M. A., Ph. D. Crown Octavo, pp. 80, Illust cover, two plates, published by I.S.P.C.K. for C.F.A. Centenary Committee P. B. 1585, KASHMERE GATE, DELHI-6 and 51, Chowrighee Road, Calcutta 16 Price Rs. 2/-

This is the centenary year of the birth of C. F. Andrews. This short biography of Deenabandhu Andrews has been published by ISPCCK for the C. F. Andrews Centenary Committee. It is a remarkably well written book and Dr. Clark has been very successful in drawing a true to life pen picture of a great man with a variety of humanitarian interests within a short span of about 1800 words. A fighter against all social injustices, a defender of the poor and helpless masses, a staunch supporter of all who fought for freedom, equality and human rights and a faithful follower of Christ : Charles Freer Andrews made India his own country ; accepted the poorest people as his brothers and associated with the greatest fighters for freedom of India of the first four decades of the Twentieth Century. Rabindranath Tagore was his Guru and Gandhi his brother. The poor, the exploited and the oppressed found in this ascetic Englishman a true friend and protector. He gave everything to them and asked for nothing in return. This book should be read by all who wish to know more about this unique personality.

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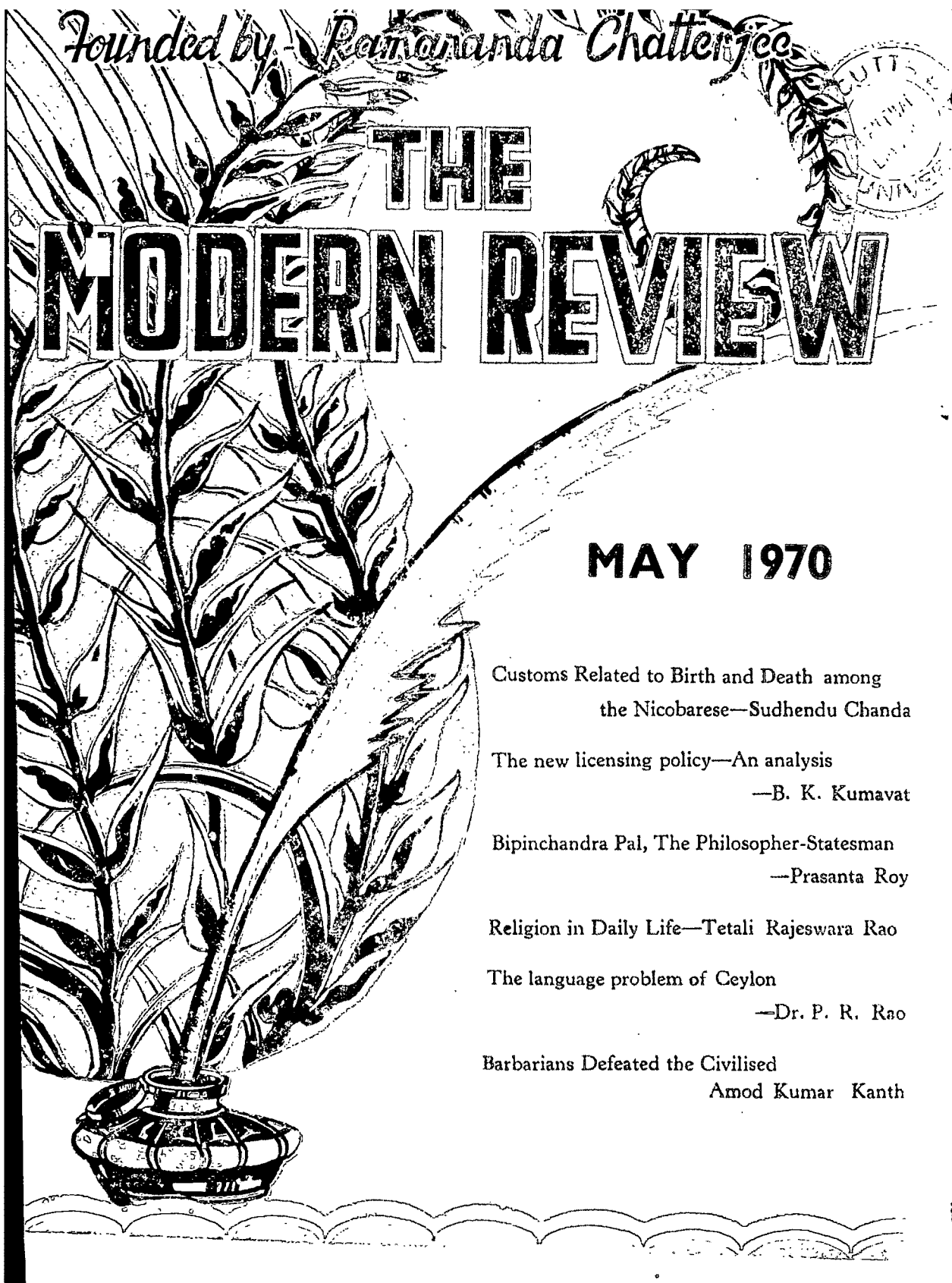
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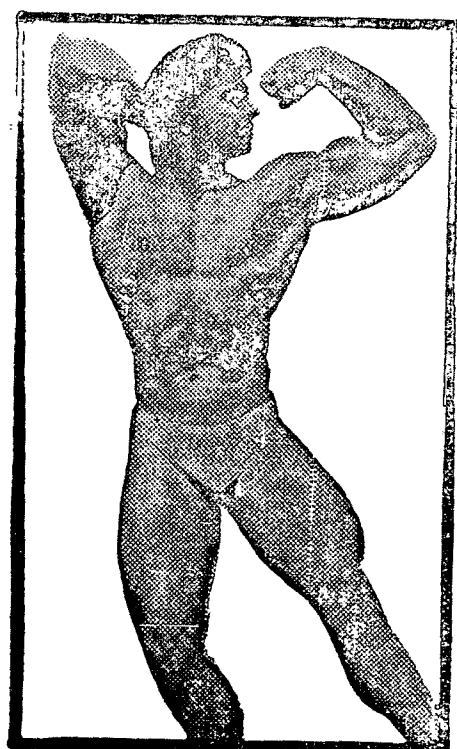
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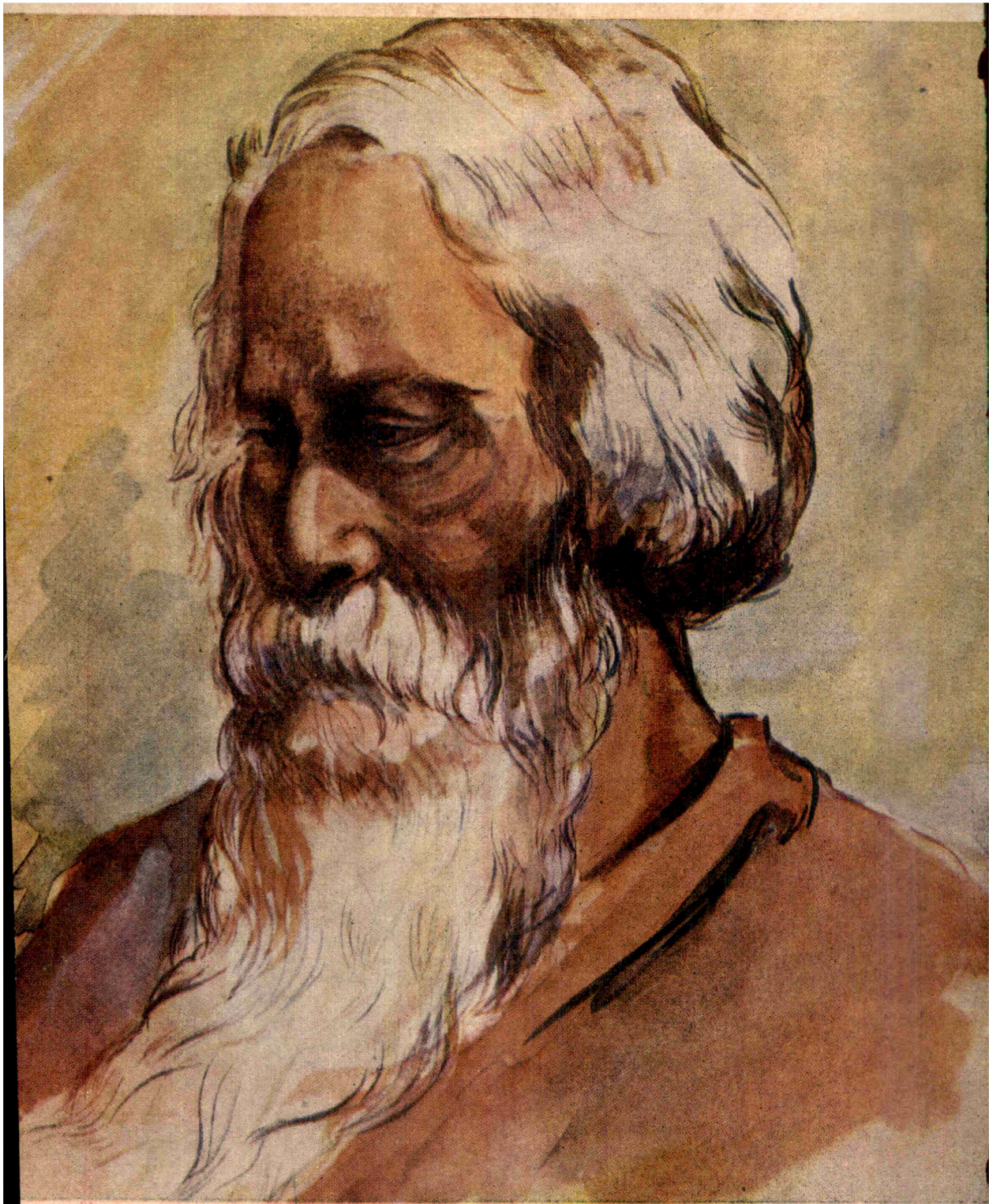
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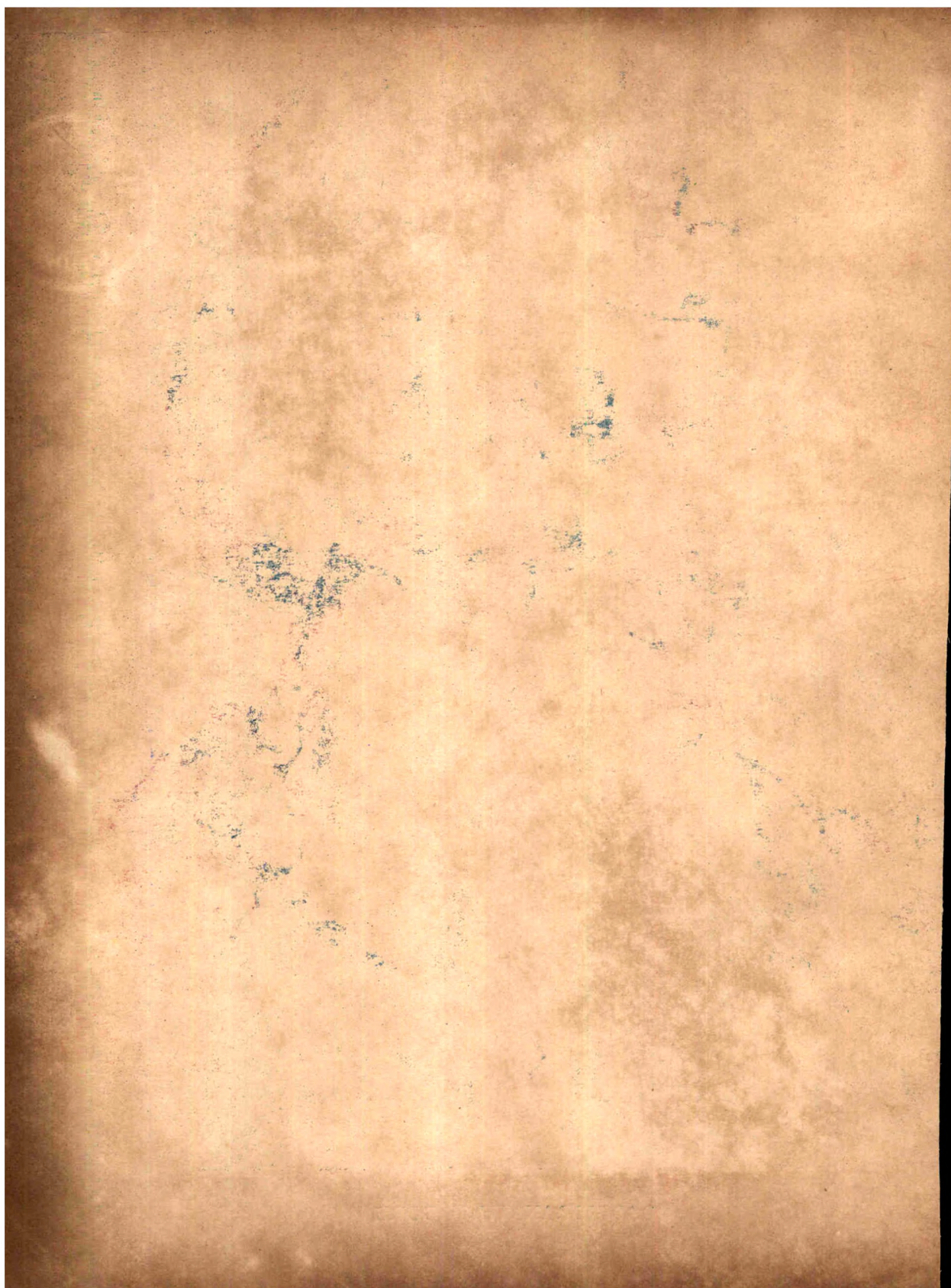


BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR • DELHI



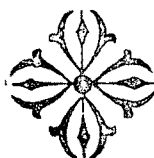
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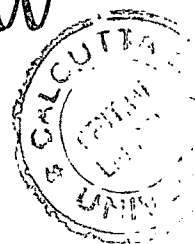
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NOTES

The Question of World Peace

Wars have always been fought, according to the victorious parties, to end all wars forever. The victors further were always in the right and the vanquished were totally responsible for all the evils that wars caused. The ill deeds, the criminal designs and the sinful projects that are found in the background of all wars were also somehow ascribed to those who were defeated. This sort of war and war has become a historical commonplace, and we know how much truth there is in the white washing or blackening that goes with any propaganda carried on by the winning sides. Wars are the expression of human greed, arrogance, vengeance, envy and the spirit of domination in their most ugly, thoughtless and unscrupulous forms. As such there cannot be much good in wars, excepting that the participants in them are less guilty than the others. That little lack of guilt, however, disappears as soon as actual fighting begins. In the battle field these differences of moral outlook vanish and total ferocity rules supreme. That is why wars are so degrading, dehumanising and so utterly distasteful.

No wonder therefore that good men of all countries at all times have condemned

wars and have preached for the establishment of total peace through total disarmament. But unfortunately, this has never been achieved. People have armed themselves for reasons of self-defence, but have made use of those arms at any time when it was found necessary and advantageous for purposes other than those of pure and simple self-defence. The world to-day is perhaps more elaborately armed and prepared for war than ever before and the various racial and political groups inhabiting the different continents have more complaints and grievances against one another than they had in the past. Injustice, aggressions, unfair treatment of minorities, forcible occupation of territories belonging to other nations, infiltration and organisation of fifth columns and similar acts violating the rights of men have become quite common everywhere against which organised counter moves have made human relations intensely antagonistic and unfriendly in a widespread manner.

There are more nations to-day in the world than there had been before during the period when imperialism and colonialism held full sway over certain continents, particularly over Africa and Asia. The new freedom that some communities have been enjoying due to the abolition of empires have made them articulate and critical about other peoples' faults ;

leading to developments in mutual relations that have not been favourable to the establishment of fuller fellowship among the peoples of the Earth and the dissipation of warlike feelings. In olden days there had been power blocs that were few in number and a little effort brought about a much desired balance of power which secured freedom from warlike activities. But now a days with numerous states attempting to achieve their mutually contradictory objectives, breaches of peace have become things of everyday occurrence. Territorial claims and counter claims abound for the reason that boundaries were not clearly shown when the states came into existence. Then there were racial claims, linguistic claims and claims based on religion, historical background, economic reasons or ideological demands. All claims could be refuted too by arguments which were readily available. Skirmishes have been common. The big powers did not like to be involved in wars, but they helped the small states to maintain armed forces and to make use of the same for limited purposes of a military nature. There were considerations of ideological sympathies and affiliations too. Some states were communistically inclined whilst others were not, and that put them in the Russian (or Chinese) or in the American camp as the case might be.

Apart from these inter-state rivalries, claims and counter claims, we have also other provocations and affronts which created ill feelings among groups. We may mention the treatment of Negroes in America, Apartheid in South America and the denial of political rights to the majority community in Rhodesia, as typical of such provocations. Among other inter-state conflicts which remain unsolved and are likely to be causes of war in the future we may mention the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese, of parts of Kashmir by Pakistan, of large slices of Arab territory by Israel and the

constantly changing authority over various territories as exercised by democratic or authoritarian forces in South East Asia. Added to the overall antagonisms as existing between Russia, China, America and the West European powers, these multifarious animosities are slowly but steadily developing an atmosphere of serious warfare that will probably attain dangerous dimensions. The world, therefore has not moved more towards peace and brotherliness as a result of the abolition imperialism, colonialism and the domination of one nation by another by right of conquest. Conditions have worsened rather than improved and the arms race has been joined by four times as many communities now as there had been in it formerly. The arms also have attained greater destructiveness and variety than before. Rockets with nuclear war heads can now be fired at targets several thousands miles away. It is within actual possibility that earth satellites may be used for firing rockets from in the near future. Submarines firing rockets without surfacing are already in commission. So the expenses on warlike preparations are now running into thousands of crores of rupees whereas these had been about a quarter of it when conventional weapons were the only arms that armies, navies and air forces used.

India is now well advanced in the field of arms manufacture. She manufactures most of her arms and ammunitions, naval craft and air planes. It is expected that it will soon be one hundred percent of all requirements. Nuclear weapons are now being considered the next line of manufacture. The material and the technical ability are already available in India. Only certain ideological commitments made by Pandit Nehru stand in the way of adopting nuclear weapons. But India can discard ideals almost as quickly as she can create them. Our Defence Budget must soon show large additions due to our renewed

ciation of the nuclear non-proliferation ideal. This may also give us freedom from brow-beating by China and the very uncertain nuclear patronage of Russia and the United States of America.

Reopening Factories

There are some 160 factories in West Bengal which have closed down during the last several months. There are no signs of their reopening in the near future. The closing down of so many factories naturally means great economic loss to the country. It also means great suffering to the workers and loss of income to those who have invested money in those factories. There will be a general and all round gain if these factories could reopen and start operating again in a normal fashion. We have no knowledge of the steps that government have taken or propose to take to arrange for the restarting of these factories. The workers appear to depend on leaders who have little constructive ability to settle trade disputes. They have great faith in bringing out processions and in holding mass meetings. But these activities do not bring about any settlement of the problems which are at the root of the disputes which have caused the closures. The employers habitually run to the government officers who deal with industrial troubles and the officials call on both sides to sit at conferences where tri-partite discussions could be arranged. These discussions seldom lead to any settlements for the reason that the employers and the employees have their policy and their basic principles relating to workers' rights which are irreconcilable. The government officials can refer these disputes to industrial tribunals; but these tribunal proceedings take time and most establishments cannot survive these labour court cases if they develop complexities of any serious kind.

It has been found that employer—employee

relations do not improve through the intervention of government departments nor by fighting things out in labour tribunals. So that a feeling has grown regarding the desirability of creating other machinery for settling industrial disputes. No machinery have so far been developed for this purpose. But the closed doors of over 160 factories emphasise the need for creating such machinery. It would however appear that the customary three parties viz the employers, the employees and the government could not possibly solve the disputes by mutual collaboration of a different sort from what we had experience of so far by application of the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act. For the three parties are all suspect as far as they are considered by one another for trustworthiness. Any new machinery for settling disputes must have more reliable and trustworthy personnel in it than what we can find in government or among the employers or the employees. The main difficulty with the customary participants in these statutorily authorised discussions is born of their preconceived notions, fixed ideas and distrust of one another. If one could set up committees of persons of unimpeachable moral standing and inflexible sense of justice and fair play, in which the employers the employees and the government could also be represented and if the findings of these committees could be made the basis of settling disputes compulsorily and with the unchallengeable authority of Presidential ordinances; then, no doubt, all the current squabbles between interested parties might be stopped and the waste of valuable working hours, machine power and material prevented, more fully than one finds possible by application of the existing labour laws. These committees should be nominated by the President of India for the purpose of arbitration in all cases where stoppage of work continues beyond a statutory

maximum. Any defiance of the orders given by the arbitrators should be made punishable in such a strong manner as would make such conduct unlikely. The recruitment of a fourth category of persons to participate in discussions and arbitrations is therefore the only method one can visualise for a quick disposal cases of industrial disputes and closures due to strikes and lock-outs.

Industrial disputes affect the well being of the community in many ways and it is utterly wrong to think that these disputes are entirely a private affair of the workers, the employers and the Labour Department of the government. The public suffer due to stoppages of essential supplies, and through breaches of peace and non-receipt of dividend income. In the circumstances when the public find the employer, employees and labour department officials incapable of settling these disputes; they would be justified in taking a hand in the matter and create more effective machinery for removing obstacles to the smooth working of the economy of the nation. Political parties have made things more complicated by interfering in trade union activities, and the public should consider whether political parties should be allowed to continue with their involvements in industrial disputes. If the high level committees set up by the public discover that political parties are making things worse for the settlement of disputes, they should then take steps to make it illegal for political parties to control trade unions. They try to do this in order to obtain financial help from the Unions. One may say that the use of Union funds by political parties is basically wrong and should be prevented. Wages and amenities can be bargained for by workers without the assistance of persons who are steeped in different types of abstruse economic theories.

Removing Factories from West Bengal

There is a lot of talk about removing factor-

ies from West Bengal to other parts of India. The reason given for this is that West Bengal has become a centre for an extreme type of labour unrest which one does not expect to vanish within a short period. The demands behind the loss of good relations between employers and employees are also of a sort which even if met only fractionally would increase cost of production inordinately and above the limits that easy marketing of the products of the factories would require. Then there is the question of political influence upon the trade Unions and the attitude of the government towards the employers. The matter of trade unrest always appears very bad while it lasts and this is true of the present industrial situation too. But no one can predict with any accuracy the length of time that Industrial relation will remain unsettled. These feuds develop without much previous indications and they die out very suddenly too. We cannot say that the position in Bengal is beyond all hopes of recovery. As a matter of fact when one takes into account the great flood of propaganda that had been sweeping, over the industrial-commercial social fields during the last few years, one feels amazed at the limited spread of the so called class struggle in West Bengal. One cannot compare it in point of intensiveness with the Swadeshi movement of 1905/1906 nor with the non-cooperation movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi. Generally speaking therefore one may expect the atmosphere in the economic sphere to go back to normal in a few years in the state of West Bengal. The advantages that industries and commercial establishments have enjoyed in this State during long years, were the fruits of various economic factors which were not present in other States, and the mere choice of another State as the site of an industry will not create the favourable circumstances there. When trade and industry get localised in a particular area these advantageous circu-

instances continue to develop, and, West Bengal, has in this way developed favourable conditions for trade industry and commerce which cannot be carried away to other centres or markets at the will of a few capitalists. If, on the other hand, these capitalists overrate their own abilities and try to be "more godly than God Almighty" they may have to face a very rude awakening. For there are other capitalists who may step into the void created by those who will desert West Bengal, and they may easily capture the market that the run away capitalists thus leave open to new suppliers, buyers and sellers even for a relatively short period. There is a vast supply of skilled labour in West Bengal who may be utilised highly gainfully by other capitalists who may offer them better terms and treatment. One must not forget that workers in India have a tremendous productive potential which has been utilised by the employers in a very limited manner, 30 to 50 percent at most. If the workers are induced, inspired and instructed to produce more, they can double their output quite easily. This will change the very face of industry in India. It is not impossible to pay twice as much to workers and to reduce cost of production if one went about it in the right manner.

As to political propaganda and the control trade Unions by political parties, it cuts both ways. The parties have discredited themselves to the workers and to the public by their failure to gain better terms and conditions of service for the workers and by causing the closure of numerous establishments. The time is ripe for free trade unionism and if the workers have any sense they will develop trade Unions of a different sort now. The conditions are favourable for cutting political parties out of the labour unions. One thing is certain. It is that political parties will not mess about with trade Unions as freely in the future as

they have done in the past. In the changed pattern of relations between political parties and trade unions the type of propaganda that induced the workers to believe in anything that the politician labour leaders said to them would no longer remain as effective as it was in the past. The workers have been promised all sorts of gains which have not materialised. They have suffered losses against which they had been given unconditional guarantees of total protection. The workers have also realised that the lines of action suggested to them by the politicians were mostly sterile and unrealistic. All these experiences have taught the workers that political leaders were hardly likely to be of much help to them. In the coming years therefore, employer employee relations will likely rest on economic facts rather than on socio-ethical axioms of an unrealistic kind. People have begun to distinguish the hard facts of existence from the sentimental dreams of philosophers and they are slowly moulding themselves to make the best of a bad job. Life has many compromises and philosophical whole hogging does not usually prove to be the best policy.

The idea therefore that some capitalists will be able to do good to themselves by leaving West Bengal is not based on factual economic truths and possibilities. They will merely destroy their own secure position and will create valuable openings for others to invest and gain. We do not think many capitalists will follow this suicidal policy; but some may who will soon be disillusioned.

The Farakka Project

The port of Calcutta has been slowly coming down in the scale of importance as a port on account of the progressive shallowness from which the Hooghly river (The Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges) has been suffering during recent years. It has been an established

fact now for several years that if the Hooghly did not get more water to flow down it by means of conserving water during the rainy season in the upper reaches of the Ganges and releasing that water into the Hooghly through a feeder channel during the dry season; the fate of Calcutta would be sealed.

The Farakka project has been taken up by the government of India to save water up in the Ganga Barrage at Farakka and to release the same by the Jangipur feeder canal into the Bhagirathi, on which Calcutta stands. The Government of India have spent nearly 160 crores of rupees on this project and has also argued its case with Pakistan which country had objected to the building of the Farakka Dam on the false ground that it would divert too much river water away from East Pakistan. These facts prove that the Government of India took up Farakka with their eyes open and that there was nothing hush hush about it.

But recently the Amrita Bazar Patrika published an account of a secret scheme of the U. P. Government for damming up the waters of the Ghogra and the Sarda rivers and using the same for agricultural purposes. This scheme was kept out of the press and had received publicity by sheer accident. The Patrika thought that "This almost certain possibility which will result from behind the screen manipulation on the issue of disposal of the flow of the Ganga system of rivers at the instance of the Union Irrigation Minister Dr. K. L. Rao is to render a large portion of the Farakka project outlay completely infructuous and stale.

"It is learnt that the Minister in his anxiety to placate a big chunk of the M. P. s from Uttar Pradesh managed to have sanction of the Government of India of two projects on two tributaries of the river Ganga—the Ghogra and Sarda—which would ultimately cut down its dry weather flow by at least 30000 cusecs,

Given a camouflaged title, the PROJECT ASSIST, the two new projects would with draw more than half of the dry weather supplies of the Ganga. "According to well-informed sources the Government of India's new river projects have already made considerable headway even though nothing is given out about them publicly.

"Success of Farakka Barrage is absolutely dependent on the diversion of adequate quantity of head water supply from the Ganga to the Bhagirathi Hooghly system through the 27-mile long Jangipur feeder canal. The quantity of water which is to produce the desired improvement of the navigable channel of the river Hooghly for the Calcutta port is estimated at 40000 cusecs. The hydraulic study department of the Calcutta Port Commissioners has further calculated that at times this head water supply may have to be stepped up to 46000 cusecs. "It is further learnt that the Central Irrigation Ministries new PROJECT ASSIST has been taken up without reference to the Ganga Brahmaputra Commission. All representation from the Calcutta Port Commissioners and the West Bengal Government to the Union Irrigation Minister pointing out that such a step would drastically reduce the supplies at Farakka and would ruin the prospects of improvement to the Port of Calcutta have so far gone in vain. Due to the rapid siltation of the channel and the inability of the large ships to come to Calcutta the annual traffic in the Calcutta port has already dwindled from 12 million tonnes a year to 6 million tonnes during the last 6 to 8 years."

The Government of India appears to be a victim of influence at many fronts. There are many forces working at cross purposes in the Government's secret conclaves. An over-riding national policy and purpose quite often occupies a second or third place where influential coteries require to be placated. The Government of India would certainly come down

with all force on anybody who organises an anti—Uttar Pradesh front in West Bengal. But the above is a good example of what goes on in other states to injure the vital interests of the state of West Bengal. Irrigation can be arranged for by tube wells and by local reservoirs for preserving the waters of various catchment areas. Then there is a question of priorities based on the time factor and on economic importance. The Calcutta Port provides a living to hundreds of thousands of persons, directly and indirectly, and there are a substantial number of Uttar Pradesh people among them. The Farakka Barrage was planned and undertaken as a national project long before the so called Project Assist referred to above was thought of. The Farakka Barrage therefore has a much prior claim as an economic plan project compared to this subsequently thought out minor irrigation scheme. That minor and subsequent planning should interfere with the success of major and prior plans could do no credit to the Government's sure footed way of progressing towards economic objectives. India has spent thousands of crores of borrowed money on plan projects. That is a charge on the Nation. If the various departments of the Government (like the Irrigation department) could cut into the plans and destroy their effectiveness and hopes of success, the Government would be guilty of gross mismanagement of the fundamental and most important affairs of the Nation. We should like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the highly objectionable Project Assist brought into the Nation's scheme of economic projects by a minister of irrigation. If ministers could act in a free handed and self-willed manner to divert the planned flow of economic forces; India's economic planning would soon be reduced to a farce.

Political Adolescence

India is a politically underdeveloped

country. One may feel surprised at this statement; for have we not been steeped in politics as a nation for over sixty five years? And have we not been going to prison in our thousands for political reasons throughout the best part of these last six decades? True; but mass action from political motives and participation in militant political programs do not prove political maturity. Rather agitation and upsurge of political emotions are signs of political adolescence. Maturity comes from deep and prolonged experience and a nation that has been in one turmoil after another coming into forceful manifestation due to ever changing emotions; could never have had a steadfast attachment to any clearly realised political thoughts and ideas over any length of time. Loyalty towards our own Princes; intensive desire to maintain geographical or racial solidarity; hatred for the rulers, born of persecution and the urge to hit back; self government, home rule, dominion status, independence within the commonwealth, republicanism, socialism, communism; boycott of foreign goods, cult of the bomb, rebellion, non violent non-cooperation, no tax campaign—one could go on and on to bring back to memory the numerous urges, demands and choice of weapons that Indian politics gave us during these years of political struggle. No wonder we could never make up our political minds, fully and finally, nor could we say clearly "we want this and we do not want that!"

Digression and going off at a tangent have been the two important characteristics of our political thinking. The reason for this is that we have seldom been really and truly conscious of our national needs. Our demands have been based on fanciful evaluations and not on the factual usefulness of the things demanded. A mature and experienced nation like the British could never in their wildest dreams form any judgements about anything

they thought they needed, by reference to Karl Marx, Kropotkin, Lenin, Gandhi or Mao t'se Tung. As a matter of fact these great thinkers could never have been able to discover what the British voter wanted in his heart of hearts any better than what Socrates would have achieved had he tried to write a cookery book. But an inexperienced and politically juvenile community might for ever try to find an answer to their day to day problems of life in some abstruse political philosophy of outlandish origin or in something which has no connection whatsoever with the problems referred to. The British are a highly conscious and wide awake people, politically speaking. They want their representatives in parliament to deliver the goods—real goods and neither slogans, nor cliches or catch phrases. They, the British tax payers, spend good money over their elections and setting up of parliaments, cabinets and all the rest of it. They want good value for their money. And he who tries to diddle the British public with empty talk will very soon find out that political careers in Britain are made by actual performance and not on promises. Very few "talkers" have gone anywhere in British political life. Deeds are totalled up very quickly and correctly in that country and no one can bluff his way into parliament more often than once or twice in a life time. British health or British employment will always be more significant in British politics than any British adoration of Confucian or Buddhist thoughts. As a matter of fact even imperialism was marketable while it brought any profit to the British nation. We Indians should learn to develop a proper political outlook from the British. They know how to overcome difficulties by proper utilisation of their political powers and by a fuller

exploitation of their national resources. They do not permit any random or airy abstractions to interfere with the inflexible logic of their production, distribution and consumption. Colourful thoughts, flags and personalities have an entertainment value and their place is in the Hyde Park speakers' corner. Hyde Park is politically as popular a place as some places in the Calcutta Maidan; but while Hyde Park only cheers, the Maidan affects the mind more seriously and reaches out to the inner benches of the Legislative Assembly. In other words, we allow our speculative fancies to overrule our practical plans of life. We have no steadfastness of outlook in regard to those objectives which make it easier for us to live.

The British elections which will come off very soon will show what the British voters look for in their members of parliament and also what they expect their political parties to adopt as programs of work. We shall find a great basic unity among the political groups when they lay down their aims and objects of political work. No sharply antagonistic ideologies will upset the balance of the voters mind. They will know that all politics have the same objectives in the different spheres of life; only there are different ways of approaching the nation's problems. There shall be no blood and thunder nor cries of revolution. Political fanaticism is born of the same unruly mental urges as bring religious fanaticism into existence. Fundamentally there are no great differences between the psychological bases of Moharrnm or Ram Lila processions and the demonstrations that the political parties organise. These have been passing through the streets of Calcutta for long years without producing any permanent results.

T. S. ELIOT AND THE EAST

Y. N. VAISH

It is what man does not know of God
Composes the visible poem of the world.

RICHARD EBERHART

T. S. Eliot occupies a permanent and prominent place as symbolist poet amongst the moderns and Professor F. R. Leavis acknowledges that he is a 'great writer of his time.....' Professor Willard Throp writes that 'By 1935 Eliot had become one of the leading men of letters of Europe, standing in the company of Mann, Shaw, Yeats, Joyce Valery, and Gide.' The fame was brought to him by the publication of *THE WASTE LAND*. Reviewing *THE WASTE LAND*, Conrad Akien said, "T. S. Eliot's net is wide and the meshes are small....." Miss Marianne Moore writes :

"We have in *THE WASTE LAND* a stage for fortune teller, for game of chess, for a sermon, for music of various kinds, for death by drowning and death from thirst ; finally for a boat responding gaily "to hand, expert with sail and oar," and for a premonition of peace."

"The poetic novel stimulated poetry, and *THE WASTE LAND* can in a way be regarded as a by-product of a *ULYSSES*," writes Mr. Stephen Spender, while Edmond Wilson writes :

".....as you might have thought to hear the outcry raised years ago in France over Verlaine's *SAGESSE* or only the other day in New York over T. S. Eliot's *THE WASTE LAND*."

His high rank as poet is acknowledged for his great and infinite zeal to find out the good in man, and traverse the untrodden path to Eternity. His stalwart, studious and subtle mind draws and assimilates from every source of myth. "Mr. Eliot's aptitude for mythology and theology sometimes pays us the compliment of expecting our reading to be more intent than it is ; but correspondences of allusion provide an unmistakable logic of preference : for stillness, intellectual beauty, spiritual exaltation, the white dress, "the glory of the humming bird," childhood, and wholeness of personality—in contrast with noise, evasiveness, aimlessness, fog, scattered bones, broken pride, rats, draughts under the door, distortion, the sty of contentment," writes Miss Marianne Moore.

His single poem, *THE WASTE LAND*, represents all his other poems, repeating the single theme of life's metaphysics. What the poet represents in *THE WASTE LAND* is discussed elsewhere, *THE HOLLOW MAN*, *BURNT NORTON*, *EAST COKER* and *THE DRY SALVAGES*. His use of symbols is terse

and harsh and obscure. A knowledge of his symbols is necessary before one tries to understand him. To read his single poem, *THE WASTE LAND*, however fragmentary it may be, needs an additional study of many books, and abundant information, to comprehend his various and manifold allusions. His manner of thinking is different, as he always thinks in reference to the ideas of the sages of the East. In *THE WASTE LAND*, we find an elucidation of *BUDDHA'S FIRE SERMON*, of *WHAT THE THUNDER SAID*, (*BRIH Upanishad 5. 2*, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, by R. E. Hume.)

The Oriental element is conspicuous in *THE WASTE LAND*, and *THE FOUR QUARTETS*. *THE WASTE LAND* is record of the inner life of man, because as it is the record of the self-scrutiny of man who for himself, and the whole humanity, wants to attain the good which he finds lacking in modern man. It is his attempt, and he assumes a mildly critical attitude toward soul's secularization. *THE WASTE LAND* owes its origin chiefly to the legends in Miss Weston's book, *FROM RITUAL TO ROMANCE*.

The land has been blighted by a curse. The crops do not grow, and the animals cannot reproduce. The plight of the land is connected with the plight of the lord of the land, Fisher-king who has been rendered impotent by maiming or sickness. The curse can only be removed by the appearance of a knight. It is the fertility myth." (J. R. Frazer, *THE GOLDEN BOUGH*)

The motive underlying the whole poem is spiritual impotence. The poet has a passionate desire for a return to fertility.

THE WASTE LAND is a continual blending and interweaving of Egyptian, Greek, and Christian myths. The poet while writing the poem has in his mind the Buddha's *FIRE SERMON*. Buddha, as Lord Krishna in *GEETA* preaches that lust (fire in *THE WASTE LAND* stands for lust) is burning tells that it burns the soul. It is an evil which increases more by indulgence. It is a desire which is never quenched. Eliot wants to eradicate such an evil that has engrossed the modern society.

THE BHAGWAT GITA (Bk. 3. sloka 37) describes that.

Kama it is,
Passion it is! born of the darkness,
Which pusheth him. Mighty of appetite
Sinful, and strong is this! —man's
enemy

(E. Arnold, *THE SONG CELESTIAL*)

The fire is the "sterile burning of the lust" and there is in *THE FIRE SERMON* of *THE WASTE LAND*; we read that

Burning burning burning burning
O Lord thou pluckest me out
O Lord thou pluckest.
burning.

Eliot writes in his notes, "The complete text of the Buddha's Fire Sermon (which corresponds in importance to the Sermon on the Mount) from which these words are taken, will be found translated in the late Henry Clarke Warren's *BUDDHISM IN TRANSLATION* (Harvard Oriental Series). Mr Warren was one of the great pioneers of Buddhist studies in the Occident."

A modern man easily surrenders to the temptation of the lust, as Eliot means to say and he draws an image of the modern man

In the scene of rape of a typist lady, she dresses her table with the tablecloth and lives in her small furnished house. The guest, "Young man carbuncular", arrives there. He engages her in caresses, and then assaults at once, gropes his way in the dark down the stairs. The poet thus rebukes a modern man for his sensuality and love and carnal desire that wrap his soul in darkness. Lust is the scandal and clandestine fire that subverts the soul and at last hurls it into disgrace.

Endeavours to engage her in caresses
Which still are unproved, if undesired,
Flushed and decided, he assaults at once;
Exploring hands encounter no defence;
His vanity requires no response,
And makes a welcome of indifference.

* * * * *

Bestows one final patronising kiss,
And gropes his way, finding the stairs.

(WASTE LAND, III THE FIRE SERMON)

It is "Unreal City", the city of unreal desires that entice us into evil-doing. Eliot repeats it again and again in THE WASTE LAND. It is MAYA (Eliot calls here his MAYA, which is mentioned in the Upanishads as "the delusion of senses"). THE UNREAL CITY is the domain of shadowy and false images which delude the mind. MAYA is "subjective nescience", as the Vedanta says, It defies definition. What the Vedanta calls MAYA, Plato calls "a world of shadows not of realities" and Kant calls "appearance only, not the thing-in-itself", and Eliot calls "Unreal City". It is further explained that

This is the dead land,
This cactus land,
Here the stone images
Are raised, here they receive
The supplication of dead man's hand
Under the twinkle of a fading star.

(THE HOLLOW MAN)

I, now, consider another fragment of THE WASTE LAND, namely, WHAT THE THUNDER SAID. It is based on the Vedantic conception embodied in BRIHAD-ARANYAKA Upanishad, FIFTH ADHAYA (chapter), second Brahman. Here is an example of onomatopoeia. The poet accepts the three statements—"Datta", "Dayadham, and Damyata"—give, sympathise and control. Eliot early mentions here that there are three cardinal virtues, leading to unity of being. In BRIHAD Upanishad translated by R. E. Hume, Prajapati called his offsprings—gods, men and devils—who lived all with their father Prajapati and observed Brahmacharya. After they had all spent the life of chastity, the three-fold offsprings—gods, men and asuras—asked their father to speak to them. Then, he spoke to them the syllables—"Da Da Da" that is control yourself, give, be compassionate. One should practise this same tried; self-restraint, giving, compassion. Eliot means that "living is not possible without a belief in something more real than life. The soul of man needs fertility through the surrender to higher self."

DATTA

The awful daring of a moment's surrender
Which an age of prudence can never

retract,

By this, and this only we have existed

The first statement made by THE THUN-

DER, "Datta", is followed by logically by the second statement DAYADHVAM (Sympathy). The soul after its surrender grows inwardly conscious of its union with the Supreme. The inward consciousness-spiritual-sympathy is the secret means to free the soul from the narrow confinement of flesh. It is to become bodiless, from becoming to being.

DAYADHVAM

We think of the key, each in his prison
Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison

Only at night fall.

The land is waste and barren land, dry and unproductive. The leaves of trees are seared with heat. The poet looks for the RAIN to restore fertility. The "Rain" suggests religion. Eliot here alludes to GANGA and HIMAVAT, symbolizing piety and divine inspiration :

Ganga was sunken, and the limp leaves
Waited for rain, while the black clouds
Gathered far distant over Himavat.

The poet here uses the Hindu Puranic myth of the emanation of the sacred water of Ganga from the matted locks of the Lord Shiva. Ganga in Hindu mythology is personified as a goddess, the daughter of Himavat. Himavat is the personification of the Himalaya Mountain. Eliot waits eagerly for the soul's regeneration through divine ecstasy. Hence, the third statement of THE THUNDER after DATTA, and DAYADHVAM, is inevitable DAMYATA (control). The symbol of THE BOAT is borrowed by the poet from GITA :

DAMYATA : The boat responded
Gaily, to the hand expert with sail and oar

The sea was calm, your heart would
have responded
Gaily, when invited, beating obedient
To controlling hands.

In the GITA, Krishna teaches Arjuna self-restraint, and reason in the control of senses is symbolized by a boat amidst the waves the whirlwinds. In GITA (Bk. II, Slokas 68) there is—

That gives itself to follow shows of sense
Seeth its helm of wisdom rent away,
And like a ship in waves of whirlwind,
driven

To wreck and death. Only with him,
great Priests
Whose senses are not swayed by things
sense

Only with him who holds his mastery,
Shows wisdom perfect.

(E. Arnold, THE SONG CELESTIAL)

THE WASTE LAND is closed with words "Shantih Shantih Shantih" "(equivalent to peace that passeth understanding which is the formal ending of the Upanishads)

Eliot uses sympathy and self-restraint as a view to the regeneration of the soul. He deems that it is his real mission to reform the world spiritually, and believes that there is the possibility in the regeneration of the soul through reformation. Eliot's theme is the rehabilitation of a system of beliefs that were known but modern society has discredited them. The Christian message is at the centre but the poet never deals directly with it. The theme of resurrection is made on the surface in terms of the fertility rite ; the words which THE THUNDER speaks, are the Sanskrit words.

Eliot borrows abundantly from the GITA

In the GITA the past, the present, and the future are said to be one, the present contains the past and future is the past because Eliot tells us in THE FAMILY REUNION that future cannot be reformed without thinking of the past. So, the past is ever alive. And the soul's transmigration is a result of past actions. [It was also believed by Christopher Marlowe. The The conception of the linked unity of the past, present and future is reproduced by the poet in BURNT NORTON. Because we cannot disown our past nor the past of

The soul which is desireless, steadfast in the love of God when in reality it does nothing, is known to do everything, (GITA Bk. 5, slokas 13&14; Bk. 18, slokas 11, 17&56). Krishna teaches Arjuna the ancient system of YOG, by advising him to restrain and to merge his soul in BRAHMA. The sinless soul which is free from motion and not-motion, attains to perfect peace. Eliot here responds exactly to the doctrine of YOG which is expounded in GITA :

Neither movement from nor towards,
Neither ascent nor decline, except for
the point the still point,

There would be no dance, and there is
only the dance.

In THE BHAGWAT GITA (Bk. III, slokas 1 & 2), Arjuna is in dilemma as regards the doing or not doing of an action. So, he asks Krishna not to impel him to the terrible action, the dreadful fight, and entreats HIM to remove his doubts. Krishna turns Arjuna's mind by insisting on the necessity of disinterested action, that is not thinking of any sort of FRUIT.

In EAST COKER, Eliot has again borrowed from the GITA. He believes in the decay of the body, and its renewal after the death in different animal forms according to the actions. So, the soul survives :

Houses live and die : there is a time
for building

And a time for living and for generation...

Krishna preaches to Arjuna the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and that only body is subject to birth and death (Bk. II, slokas 27 & 28). The Four Quartets is an adaptation of the GITA, and the four poems, BURNT NORTON, EAST COKER, LITTLE GIDDING and THE DRY SALVAGES, are based on the poet's elaborated study of the GITA. His mind seems to have imbibed much more of the religious doctrines of the east (system of YOG). Lord Krishna had taught to his disciple Arjuna, on the battle-field of Kurukshetra that very YOG. Eliot aims at the spiritual advancement of a modern man. He wants to turn a modern man toward the mystic lore which is a desireless action (NISH-KAMA KARMA YOG), it is explicated in GITA. It arrests the poet's sublime imagina-

tion. Now, here is vision which is clear in the mind of the poet : what soul is and the different stages of her movement through the sadhana. In that way the soul passes to attain immortality.

Krishna tells Arjuna (Bk. II, sloka 69) what is darkness for a layman is the light for the divine one. Then, Krishna explains to Arjuna (Bk. II, sloka 16) that there are two kinds of living men—one is DIVINE and the other is UNDIVINE. The latter is an ignorant and dark-minded man because he is imprisoned in the foul cell of the self which is full of deceitfulness, folly, and pride in the blindness of clinging to their errors. So, he indulges in lust and concupiscence finding all the good in pleasure of the senses and he ever dwells in gloom and hellish fears. Such sort of men always face NARAKA (hell) in their life and after their life. Eliot alludes to the same idea when he says :

O dark dark dark. They all go into
the dark
The vacant interstellar spaces, the
vacant into the vacant

* * *

I said to my soul, be still, and let
the dark come upon you
Which shall be the darkness of God.
(EAST COKER)

The poet's mind is arrested by the still gloom of the night where knowledge dawns and soul enjoys the heavenly peace. Eliot is deeply influenced by the SANKHYA and YOG philosophy—the two schools of wisdom which are fully explained in GITA (Book III) In THE DRY SALVAGES, KARMA (action), as it is admonished by Krishna, in GITA, is a

(THE DRY SALVAGES)

The whole Part III of THE DRY SALVAGES is an interpretation of GITA. Eliot digests the teachings of Krishna to Arjuna when Arjuna is asked by Krishna to obey the law of KARMA it is the law of nature. It is the Vedantic theory that a man gets only salvation when he obeys the law or karma so is the theory of Christianity. Eliot is not only interested in GITA, but even he has the faith in the teachings of Krishna because they had become a sermon to the poet. In that way the poet seeks the deliverance of the soul. The soul can get the deliverance through the two specific paths of knowledge which are told by Krishna to Arjuna in GITA (Bk. III sloka 3) SANKHYA and YOG.

Time is indivisible; so the soul is immortal, indestructible, not subject to birth and death, unchangeable, and unlimited by time. It out-lives body but actions bind it. Therefore in the grip of MAYA, soul is subject to the law of transmigration. Arjuna on the battle-field shrinks from fighting, because the fight will involve him in bloodshed. And it shall produce an orphan race. So, he would not kill in war his brothers, grandfathers, his GURU, Drona because such an act is sinful and this great sin is also against the rule of piety. It will cast him into hell (NARAKA). At the very moment Lord Krishna imparts him the divine knowledge that the soul never dies though it assumes various forms of incarnations according to the past actions. Eliot tells that—

For every ill deed in the past we suffer
the consequence :

(CHORUSES FROM THE ROCK)

and as it is also assumed by Shelley in his poem, CLOUD. He writes :

"I change, but I cannot die," i. e., soul does not die but the outward form changes i. e. matter. The same idea is re-echoed in his another poem, ADONAI. It is an elegy and he wrote on the death of John Keats.

Lord Krishna on the battle-field teaches YOG to Arjuna amidst two armies of the Pandavas and Kauravas, arrayed on both the sides. Armies are prepared for war. Krishna impresses Arjuna telling the importance of the law of KARMA. Eliot also believes in the law of KARMA as it is found in THE DRY SALVAGES. Hence, Krishna teaches Arjuna the two paths of knowledge—SANKHYA system of Kapila, and the YOG system of Pantanjali. There is in GITA two paths of knowledge become the one path of knowledge

by which the deliverance of the soul is possible. The first is a more theoretical knowledge that there are three things—God, soul and perishable matter and the second is the practical divine knowledge of DOING while soul remains free from every state stainless. THE DRY SALVAGES is the exponent of the KARMA philosophy—the SANKHYA, the immutability of soul, of the universal existence of God and of soul's metamorphosis accordingly as it has done in the past. Eliot believes in the KARMA. And the soul's transmigration. He tells that

This form, this face, this life

Living to live in a world of time beyond
me, let me

Resign my life from this life, my speech

for that unspoken,

The awakened, lips parted, the hope, the
new ships.

(CHORUSES FROM THE ROCK)

At the request of Arjuna Krishna tells him (Bk. II, slokas 48 & 49) to act like a bold man, abandoning all the desires and fix your soul and mind in ME. It is the only way to attaining to tranquility and serenity (Bk. II sloka 47). Eliot repeats and tells :

And do not think of the fruit of action.
Fare forward.

(THE DRY SALVAGES)

KARMA binds a man to an endless chain of birth and death according to the actions into another life and so Eliot tells that "right action is freedom From past and future also" Eliot is inspired by the philosophy of GITA and he reproduces the same idea in his poems. Krishna teaches Arjuna that one is said to have attained YOG that soul does not die, when the soul has known

so much that an action is an in-action and an in-action is action, that 'I AM. that I AM. am changeless. It is said to be the sublime state of ECSTASY. So is the philosophy of Eliot :

At the moment which is not of action
or in-action

You can receive this : "on whatever
sphere of being

The mind of man may be intent

At the time of death"—that is the one
action

(And the time of death is every moment)

Which shall fructify in the lives of others:

(The Dry Salvages)

In GITA (Bk. IV, sloka 42) Krishna asks Arjuna to become bold for fighting and he instructs him like an Army General : "Bold and wise ! Give thyself to the field with me ! Arise !" Again the above words are re-echoed when Eliot writes that

O Voyagers, O seamen,

You who come to port, and you whose
bodies

Will suffer the trial and judgement of
the sea

Or whatever event, this is your real
destination

So Krishna, as when he admonished
Arjuna

On the field of battle.

Not fare well;

But fare forward, voyagers.

(The Dry Salvages)

T. S. Eliot repeats the single idea again and again, most probably to enforce his meaning on the reader's mind. To summarize his main idea of the 'spiritual realization of the self, it is really founded on the teachings and the philosophy of GITA. He seeks an union and an immensity of life which is without an end and beginning. It is "detachment from the self and from things and from persons". Soul's union is possible, and perfection is within the reach of man. Eliot, as his writings show, is more an orientalist than an occidentalist because he had imbibed the Indian spiritualism as it is explained in the GITA.

CUSTOMS RELATED TO BIRTH AND DEATH AMONG THE NICOBARESE

SUDHENDU CHANDA

The Nicobar is a group of 21 islands situated in the south-east portion of the Bay of Bengal between the 6th and 10th degrees of latitude north and between 92nd and 94th degrees of east longitude. Thickly inhabited with maximum density of population as compared to other islands of the Nicobar groups, this most fascinating island Chowra (Thatat) a small island with an area of 2.80 square miles, situated about 40 miles away from Car Nicobar and 40 miles from Nancowrie. It is within the Tahsil of Nancowrie.

Actually there are five inhabited villages in the island.¹ (i) Raihion (P-265); (ii) Changkamang (Pop-146); (iii) Tapaela (Pop. 367); (iv) Ol-heat (Pop. 235); and (v) Kintasuk (Pop. 220) and the people are still in such backward stage that they follow the worship of supernatural power and the witch doctors (Manluana) have still a special role to play in this society. The village Kintasuk is the subject matter of the present study.

The island occupies a peculiar position in respect of making canoes, earthen pots and also of supernatural power in relation to other islands. By some means, no one quite knows how the people of Chowra have acquired an ascendancy over the people of other islands in respect of their animistic religion. In addition to that people of Chowra have also the monopoly in the making of earthen pot by the female folk which

display their industrial qualities and in making big canoes by the men-folk which is also tabooed to other islanders. It is an obligatory part on the customs of the Nicobarese as a whole to purchase canoes and earthen pot from Chowra. To the other Nicobarese, Chowra is considered to be the home of magic and witch craft in the Nicobar group of Islands and it is mainly due to general belief and fear of offending the evil spirits which the Chowra islanders control that making of earthen pots is tabooed on other islands, though earth for this is brought from other nearby islands.

The isolated geographical position and the insular nature of the place of their habitation also gave the people of Chowra relatively greater security from external attacks both in the past and present. The past history of the Nicobarese as well as the conditions of the island has gone to make the people take to a peaceful way of life. The close-knit tribal organisation further favours a peaceful atmosphere in the island. This small tiny island of Chowra in the Bay of Bengal remained unexposed from outside influences for centuries. This isolation helped the cultural traits of the people of Chowra to grow affluent and distinctive.

Life in Chowra is governed largely by the traditional social order which still continues to play an important role in determining various socio-cultural aspects of the life of the people of this land. The ap

rent domain of the natural conditions on human actions in the island has had a great hand in formulating the social values and various notions in a society in distant past. Owing to the closure of the region from outside exposure in a rigid political set up for a long period there was hardly any scope for the activation of the forces of social change.

This is an attempt to describe the birth and death customs of the Nicobarese of Chowra Island. The study is based on the data collected by the writer as well as on personal observation. The field investigation was conducted by the writer sometime in 1969. In preparing this paper the writer has gone through some papers and books.

Social customs and super-institutions in their peculiar form occupy an important place in the mode of life of the islanders. Such customs are more apparent in connection with the process of birth and death of a human being.

B I R T H : (enlo-Kaiyua) :

The birth customs of the Nicobarese of Chowra are based on the belief that the process of birth is unclean and that the delivery should take place away from the main abadi site of the village and the help of witchdoctor is still taken in the delivery.

Customs and practices relating to birth of a child are simple and conventional. The Nicobarese come to know the signs of pregnancy in the normal manner such as stoppage of menstruation periods of the woman. Pregnant woman is not allowed to do any hard work as this is considered to affect the birth. The would-be father of a baby is also not allowed to do any hard work, to go away for fishing, to do any sinful

acts, during the period of the pregnancy of his wife. Pregnant woman also does not get the full privilege of any change in her diet but she is to abstain from certain kinds of food which are supposed to be hard and indigestible. The reasons for such restrictions can best be defined in the words of E. H. Man.²

"Restrictions regarding diet and rest or avoidance of work, are also observed by the father quite as much as by the mother. It is considered selfishness of a man to carry on his usual occupations when a birth is imminent for some time after it has taken place. He is endangering the life of the child if he works hard and gets into a state of perspiration although it is not yet born."

During the time of pregnancy, the husband of the pregnant woman has to supply some tender coconuts, coconut leaves and also coconut oil to the witch-doctor who makes the woman lie on her back and rub the juice of some medicinal plants mixed with oil of coconut and raw blood of pig on her belly. The woman then waahes herself and a piece of white cloth is tied to her neck which hangs down and covers the whole belly of the pregnant woman, supposing that this cloth will protect the child inside the womb from being devoured by evil spirits.

When the labour pain starts, or when the woman desires to move, she is taken to the common birth house (enloni-kaiyua) of the village which is situated at one corner of the sea shore. The prospective father as well as other immediate members of the family also accompany the woman to the common birth house. The husband remains with his wife to look after her and attend to her wants until some weeks (e. g. approx. 2 weeks) have elapsed and she is able or at liberty to return

to their home. The witch doctors are always present at the time of delivery. They do not usually do anything but will recite some words which are kept secret, and simply leave the woman to her agony. Sometimes, by feeling the belly of the woman, or putting their fingers through the uterus to ascertain the time of delivery, they claim to find out the object in the house interfering with the birth process and such objects are ordered to be destroyed. In that case the witch doctors also give juice of some medicinal plants to facilitate quick and easy delivery.

After delivery saffron and turmeric are used to rub over the mother and the child and any clothing they use is also dyed with these. Plenty of hot water is used for both mother and the child, although she is ceremonially unclean for at least three months. A young baby is bathed every day with hot water and the wood used for heating this must be of a special kind, while the vessels containing the water must also be a special one. After its first bath the baby is rubbed all over with coconut oil mixed with juice of some medicinal plants.

A few days after the delivery, the family members offer the witch doctors some pieces of new cloth, few fowls and some coconuts for the services performed by them. No cash payment is made.

Soon after delivery, the mother is considered to be unclean and she is not allowed to touch food or other cloth with her fingers. Her husband and others of the family look after her, while a few members of the family bring food from the main hut of the village to the birth-house. After a week of the birth the mother and child along with some members of the family shift to another hut, situated behind the birth-house. Every joint

family has its own such hut. The family which does not possess such hut, may use other family's hut on permission. For about three months, the mother, child and father live in such hut to completely rid themselves of impurity attached to the birth process. In this hut cooking is also done and after a month, the father is allowed to go for his daily work, though he must return and sleep there.

A mother is ritually impure for three months after the birth of her child. On the seventh day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath with cold water of the sea and this enables her and her husband to enter a separate hut. But complete purity is only attained on the 60th day when a small feast organised (*entoin-poka*) in which the witch doctors and other relatives also join. The mother has a bath in the sea with her husband and changes her clothes. That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage of coconut oil and bath everyday beginning with the day the child is born. The massage and bath last for several hours—performed by her husband and other female relatives, but their object is therapeutic.

When the pollution period is over after three months the family shifts back to the normal house, leaving there all articles which were used at the time of the birth and during the period of stay in the birth house such as mats, cloths, earthen utensils etc. as they are considered to be unclean. When the child is two or three months old it is well rubbed over with fowl's blood mixed with certain crushed leaves supplied by a witch doctor and also with crushed shells of young

coconuts and saffron. This is repeated monthly until the child can walk.

No name-giving ceremony is performed till the child starts walking after a year. At the time of name-giving ceremony, the witch doctors are invited who kill some fowls and mix the blood of fowls with the juice of medicinal plants. This mixture is now applied to the body of the child by the man chosen by the family member with the consultation of witch doctors for being renowned for his good character and better health and it is believed that on growing up the child would follow in the footsteps of the man of good character and of sound health. At the time of application of the mixture on the body of the child, the naming of the child is also done.

The child's first food other than its mother's milk is the tender part of the green coconut—the part nearest the shell. This is mixed with pandanus paste and warmed over a fire. The child may not take any hard thing and fish, or meat until it is over 3 to 4 years old.

DEATH (kapah-lyon):

It appears that in the minds of the tribal people death produced the greatest awe and various rituals are devised to propitiate the spirits believed to be causing death and to ensure a smooth journey of the dead person in the next world. As death is still considered as an unclean process, as in Car Nicobar, there are also death houses in Chowra with the result that few deaths occur in their residential huts but mostly in their common death house known as Kapah ni-re. Shortly after a death, the dead body is carried to the death house on the beach. The members of family as well

as other villagers also come to the death house with fruits, leaves, bananas, pandanus and a fowl together with a piece of cloth as a token of gift to the departed soul and they are led by the witch doctor round the village with hands at back and faces bowed down towards the ground as token of respect, until they again meet at the death house. On the death of an individual the corpse is first washed and then wrapped in cloth of red colour. The washing is done with sea water. When any one dies whether big or little, rich or poor, male or female, all the families in the village to which he / she belongs will contribute a piece of white and red cloth just to wrap the corpse. Others are meanwhile shaping some pieces of wood on which the corpse is being tied and wrapped with the spathe of palm and finally with the red and white cloth. This wrappings are done very carefully so that the corpse may not spoil. By this time, the men dig the grave in the family graveyard, which is situated near the Elpanam and within a few yards of the common death-house, which has been used for many generations. There is sand on the surface and below that the coral rock which when necessary, they cut with axe and prepare a grave.

Before the corpse is removed from the death house, the relatives will gather round their bier and wail with cries and tears and they give the departed a last farewell kiss. when the grave is ready the body on the bier is carried on the shoulders of the persons who are ceremonially unclean through having had to touch the corpse or to dig the grave. The bier (dayung) is placed for sometime at the grave to enable other persons to have a last look

at the deceased. The body is then covered with a piece of cloth and then placed in the grave. The corpse is buried, a man being buried with the head pointing west (i.e. towards the interior of the island) and feet towards the east (i.e. sea) symbolising that he is a sea farer, while a woman is always buried in the opposite direction symbolising that the woman mostly looks after the plantations, industry and work in the village (mattai). Before placing the bier of the dead into the grave, some men get down into the grave to receive the corpse. After the corpse is lowered, the cloth over the face is pulled aside and a chicken is killed in a dry place and blood is allowed to fall on the mouth of the deceased. Afterwards the chicken or fowl is completely burnt on the sea shore by the unclean men. Then two posts are made out of fruit trees, cut down, and are erected on the grave and decorated with coconuts, yams, bananas etc. in the belief that spirit of the departed soul partakes of this food. In the case of a male deceased, an oar and in the case of a female deceased, a broom is put on the post as a mark of their sex. Earthen pots and movable property of the deceased are also kept on the grave (chukpentila).

Afterwards, when every thing is complete, the men who helped in lowering the bier into the grave and who helped in digging out the grave, sweep up and drive out their own spirits several times over the grave with the help of bunches of tender coconut leaves, brought for this purpose.

After a burial, all who have taken part in it go down into the water and wash their head, face and feet. Only after this they are allowed to return to their clean house or

in the elpanam. On returning from the shore to the elpanam, they have to brandish brightly blazing torches of coconut leaves to frighten away the spirit of the dead. They return to their respective clean hut only after drinking coconut water in the elpanam. During this mourning period, which continued for 20 days the mourners are not allowed to sing, dance nor are they allowed to cut or to kill anything. Those who are unclean by reason of contact with the corpse (canopa) are also forbidden to eat fish and meat. The mourners eat only ripe coconut and bananas etc.

Five days later at an appointed time the grave is dug by those unclean mourners and the dead body is taken out at a clean and dry place. The corpse is again wrapped round by green-coconut leaves. The corpse is then put in a small canoe of the deceased which has been sawn into two. The half of the canoe is then placed in the ossuary (Laich) which is quite close to the place of burial, on a pair of forked wooden V-shaped posts (Kanoi-koi) with the branches in the top spreading out, some five feet above the ground in the same place where the burial took place. The body is then left to rot and in time owing to the disintegration of the canoe, the bones fall to the ground which is covered with skulls and bones of several generations. Orphans and still born-children are directly placed in the canoes in the ossuary there being no burial and disinternment. Soon after reburial function, a male witch doctor is called to kill a small pig near the place of ossuary, and the blood is sprinkled over the bones of the deceased, while other portion of the

body of pig is roasted and eaten at the spot by the witch-doctor. The head and leg portion of the pig is offered to the Devil. After the reburial the members of the family bathe in the sea and return home.

After a day or two purification festival is held in the evening in one of the clean house in the elpanam. A basket of food for the deceased is prepared, being filled with pork and some fruits and hung up for the night in the doorway of the hut. In the morning this basket and its contents are thrown into the sea and after taking bath in the sea the mourning period is over.

At this festival the women decorate the wooden image with narrow strips of white and red cloth, which have been used to make the image of the deceased and is kept in the house of the deceased. At the top of the image there is a small hole through which a wooden stick is inserted horizontally so that it looks like hands of the image and spoons and forks. Shells of various kinds and colour are tied up on this stick. A feast is organized after 15 days in which all the members of the family participate including the unclean and clean members of the other families of the village and many pigs are killed and one of the coconut trees of the plantations, which go to his heirs, is ceremonially cut and burnt as a sign of death. The feast (la neat-la) is organized by the family members of the deceased after this feast the death ceremony comes to an end.

On the death of an individual the relatives of the deceased shave their heads as a mark of respect and the entire community gives up singing, dancing, fishing etc. for several (min. 15) days. The length of time varies with the importance of the person as follows :

- i) For the Chief Captain of the island
... 60 days (Apprx)
- ii) For the Second Chief Captain of the island ... 40 days "
- iii) For the Chief Captain of the village
... 35 days "
- iv) For the Second and Third Captain
... 25 days "
- v) For the ordinary person of both sexes
... 20 days "

This shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On this occasion it is followed by a bath in the sea and by the wearing of ritually pure white cloth e.g. unused white cloth. These preliminary rites make the subject pure and while in this condition he performs certain rites or others perform certain rites in behalf of them. At mourning it is obligatory for the Nicobarese of Chowra, at any rate for the chief male mourners to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead persons are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse (cano-pa) and this shall mark the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the chief headman of the village ritual mourning lasts sometime three months and during this entire period shaving is forbidden.

The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions imposed on the mourners and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, fish, betel leaves and betel nut, and liquor. They may not go

out for fishing, hunting and dancing or singing. They have to wear mourning dress and have to remain in the clean house. This is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is concerned in the death that has occurred. There are the degrees of concern, the close relatives have shown greater concern than distant kindreds. The mourning period is longer for them and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

On the death of a person, it is customary to cut some posts of the hut of the deceased in which he lived and some times one or two coconut trees belonging to him, bananas and other kinds of fruit trees are also cut. Near the place of burial posts, cloth and some articles belonging to the deceased are also kept. While all movable things (of course not the valuable ones), which have been used by the deceased person during his last sickness—are also destroyed. This is done in the belief that he (the deceased) might feel that he had no reason to grudge the lot of whom he had had to leave in this world. Perhaps, it is regarded merely as propitious for the deceased. It is customary to "taboo" the mentioning of the name of the deceased by his relatives with the result that if the names of relatives of the person, who are no longer alive, are to be ascertained, the enquiries are to be made from the friends of the person. The people do not like to mention the name of someone who has died recently for fear that

the spirit should be attracted on hearing his own name spoken of. There are, of course, no family names, but any name may have some common root in it, which normally not in use in daily life and in some cases they have to invent new names for such persons for fear that some departed spirit should be back again and cause a great lot of harm to society.

Social customs and superstitions in the Nicobarese society occupy an important place in the mode of life. Both birth and death customs are based on the belief that the process of birth and death are unclean and these must take place away from the main abadi site of the village—and in both the processes the witch doctors still play a significant role. Death produced the greatest awe and various rituals are devised to propitiate the spirits believed to be causing death and to ensure a smooth journey of the dead person to the other world. The rules and customs that regulate the conduct and intercourse of the young couple are in the main both few and lax. The idea of chastity is unfamiliar and there is very little endeavour after purity.

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THE NEW LICENSING POLICY—AN ANALYSIS

B. K. KUMAVAT

Industrial Licensing Policy plays a vital role in the balanced industrial development and reduction of economic concentration. During the past two decades, monopolistic trends in our industrial-set-up pervaded the entire organised sector of the economy. The Dutt Committee on industrial licensing in its report had urged the Government of India to rejuvenate the old industrial licensing policy so as to define clearly the sphere of licensing and to do away with the ad hocism prevailing in the licensing system. The Union Government have approved of all the major recommendations of the said Committee and declared the new licensing policy on 18th February 1970. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the salient features of the new licensing policy and to examine critically its possible repercussions on the future industrial development of India.

I. Three Sectors of Licensing

The new licensing policy envisages three sectors to give necessary orientation to the licensing system, viz. (i) Core Sector (ii) Joint Sector and (iii) Middle Sector. The de-licensed sector has also been clearly defined including of course, the small sector. The industry-wise delicensing system has been abolished which was adopted hitherto.

CORE-SECTOR

The scope for the public sector has been enlarged in the new licensing policy. It will play a predominant role in the Core Sector.

The Government has accepted the recommendations of the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee that there should be a list of core industries. The Core Sector consists of basic, critical and strategic industries. The list of Core Sector industries has been prepared in consultation with the Planning Commission. It will also cover those industries where there is likely to be production gaps during the Fourth Five Year Plan. These include nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilisers, pesticides (basic chemical only) tractors and power tillers, rock phosphate and pyrites, iron ore, pig iron and steel, alloy and special steels, non ferrous metals, oil exploration and production, petroleum refining, selected petrochemicals, synthetic rubber, coking coal, heavy industrial machinery, ship building and dredgers, newsprint, selected electronics etc. Industries specified in Schedule 'A' of the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956 (as amended up-to-date) will continue to be reserved for the public sector. The public sector can now enter all other industries in the Core and heavy investment sector. The heavy investment sector has been defined as those with investment propositions of over Rs. 5 Crores. Undertakings belonging to the private sector together-with foreign concerns and subsidiaries or branches of foreign companies are allowed to enter the heavy investment sector except the industries reserved for the public sector under the Industrial Policy.

MIDDLE SECTOR

The middle sector comprises the investments upto Rs. 5 Crores. New entrepreneurs and those not belonging to the larger industrial houses are proposed to be given preference. The Government have accepted the definition of larger industrial houses as suggested by the Dutt Committee. Those industrial houses whose assets exceed Rs. 35 Crores will come under the purview of the larger industrial houses. Such units are free to enter even the middle sector under the new policy though the Dutt Committee had recommended for a blanket ban on these larger industrial houses for entry into any other than the Core Sector. In view of the need for increasing production in cases where no other entrepreneurs are forthcoming, the larger industrial houses will be allowed to enter the middle sector. Thus, the middle sector is left open to all. Though special preference will be given to licence applications of parties other than undertakings belonging to larger industrial houses, licences may be issued to larger industrial houses where foreign exchange implications necessitate. It has been decided that licence applications from undertakings belonging to or controlled by the larger industrial groups and foreign branches or subsidiaries shall be considered for normal expansion, where such expansion is necessary to develop to a minimum economic level which would ensure greater cost-efficiency. But, the provisions of the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Bill will be taken into account in this regard.

JOINT SECTOR—greater participation

The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee recommended the concept of joint sector which has been accepted by the

Govt. in principle. It will be ensured that there is a greater degree of participation in management, particularly at policy levels in the case of major projects involving substantial assistance from public institutions. It will be the endeavour of the Govt. to apply the concept of joint participation in major projects taken by private enterprise groups in 'Core' and 'Middle Sector'. The new policy lays down that the public financial institutions will also, as part of their financial assistance arrangements exercise option for converting loans given and debentures issued in future either wholly or partly, into equity shares within a specified period of time. As for loans and debentures given in the past, the public financial institutions would have discretion to negotiate conversion in cases of default.

The idea undertaking the joint sector—approach is to improve the organisation and Management of public sector undertakings especially where they have to operate in competition with the private sector. Investment proposals exceeding Rs. 5 Crores (except the reserved sphere) in the Core Sector will be considered on the one and the same footing irrespective of the fact whether they are made by private sector or public sector. In other words, new investments are left free both for private and public sector. It will enable the private sector units to prove their worth and stand the test. A broad outlook has been adopted by the Government in the said joint participation programme. The industrial development of the country as a whole will benefit from this new approach.

II. Delicensed Sector

The exemption limit for licensing has been

raised from Rs. 25 Lakhs to Rs. 1 Crore. The Cabinet has, however, rejected the suggestion of the Planning Commission that the exemption limit for licensing should be raised to Rs. 5 Crores. Even Rs. 1 Crore—exemption limit that has been approved—is subject to various conditions. The calculation of Rs. one crore investment for any new venture, fixed assets in hand, buildings and machinery, all will be taken into account. The delicensing, however, will not apply to the larger industrial houses and those undertakings whose assets already exceed Rs. 5 Crores and also those which are categorised a “dominant-Undertaking” in the Monopolies Act. All these undertakings will have to take a licence even if they have to set-up a new project involving investment of less than Rs. One Crore.

The delicensing also will not apply in such cases which require Rs. 10 Lakhs or more than 10% by way of foreign exchange for import of machinery and equipments. Similarly, the delicensing will not attract those units which require foreign exchange, except marginally, for import of raw material—Components and the like. It should be borne in mind here that the Govt. also will not be committed to provide foreign exchange for maintenance and raw material imports for units which benefit from the exemption from licensing as in the case of units in the Core Sector or in the case of small Scale-Sector.

III. Control on Monopolies

There is no denying the fact that increasing monopolistic trends in our industrial set-up have been especially witnessed during the last two decades inspite of various enact-

ments and steps taken to remove them. It is often said that the economic power of the country is concentrated in twenty big industrial families. It is not in conformity with our desired goal of Socialistic Pattern of Society and equality of income and wealth. The new licensing policy will prove an effective measure in minimising, if not eradicating, the increasing monopolistic trends in the country. All the big industrial groups are now placed on the banned list in the sense that they will not be eligible to any licence with two exception (i) to achieve economies of scale and cost efficiency and (ii) to start a new venture in the middle sector where no other entrepreneurs are forth-coming. Such exceptions will be made only where there is specific justification in favour of them. The objective of preventing the large industrial houses is also to restrict their role in other areas where smaller business groups and new entrepreneurs may adequately function.

The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee had pointed out that the instrument of licensing has an important role to play in preventing further concentration of economic power. That is why it had proposed that applications from concerns belonging to large industrial houses as well as those from foreign branches should be automatically rejected in the case of industries in the middle sector, of course, with certain exceptions based on specific justifications. The Government has accepted this approach in toto.

IV. Small Scale Industries

The definition of the Small Scale Sector and the ancillary units will remain as at present. But the exemption limit for licensing has been raised from Rs. 25 lakhs to

Rs. one crore. The Government has enlarged the list of industries reserved for development in the small scale sector to include steel furniture, cycle tyres, & tubes, mechanical toys, aluminium utensils, fountain pens and ball point pens, electric horns, hydraulic jacks below 30 tonne capacity and tooth-paste. The existing policy of reservation for the small scale sector [involving investments in machinery and equipment upto Rs.7.5 Lakhs] will be continued and the area of such reservation will be extended whatever production in this sector can be expected to grow adequately to meet the demand. The first list of industries to which the reservation will be extended has been prepared by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministry of Industrial Development. The Government will further enlarge the number of items reserved for exclusive manufacture in the small sector. The Ministry of Industrial Development has asked the State Directors of Industries to suggest additional items of reservation. These items will be added to the list of 55 products already reserved for manufacture in the Small Sector.

In respect of agro-industries, particularly undertakings processing sugarcane, jute and other agricultural commodities, preference will be given in licensing to applicants from the Cooperative sector.

Necessary instructions and notifications will be issued by the Ministry of Industrial Development to give effect to the aforesaid decisions. A set of guidelines will be issued to the Licensing Committee to take account these decisions while dealing with the new applications for licences.

V. CRITICISM

The new licensing policy enunciated by the Government of India has been criticised by various sections of the public on several grounds. The substantial expansion of the public sector with its entry into the consumer goods industry could not be viewed with equanimity when the overall performance of the public sector has been far from satisfactory. It is said that in the interest of rapid economic development, the role of the public sector should have been confined to strategic sectors and particularly in the fields not covered by the private sector in view of the huge investment. The entry of the public sector in the field of consumer goods industries involves a good deal of experience and intimate knowledge of the fast changing needs and tastes of the different sections of the community, the lack of which will certainly tell upon the success and efficiency of the industries. The policy gives undue domination to the public sector and puts several restrictions on the growth of big industrial houses. The present state of economy is not viable so far as the availability of the resource is concerned. The public sector undertakings cannot be hoped to generate sufficient resources for further development if their past performance is any guide. The ban imposed on the larger industrial houses may therefore, put some sort of ceiling on industrial growth. The Govt. had ample power to prevent larger industrial houses from gaining monopoly control. The threat of conversion of loans advanced by the Public Financial Institutions into equity capital has also caused much confusion. It is not feasible and in the interest of the financial institutions to convert loans into equity.

capital as it will increase the risks and responsibilities of the financial institutions. Besides, they cannot afford to keep their money locked up since no interest will become payable by the industrial units. And if they are new enterprises, return in the form of dividends will also take an unduly long time. The provision empowering financial institutions to convert loans into equity capital would become operative only where the units concerned are badly managed. In other cases, this might adversely affect entrepreneurs and shareholders, particularly when the capital market is in doldrums. The new provisions will inhibit the entrepreneurs to approach the financial institutions for financial accommodation for expansion or for setting up new industries. The critics are of the view that it would introduce the inefficiency of the public sector into the private sector as the Govt. proposes to have a voice in the management of the companies where they have equity participation. It is also held that the Govt. ought to have revised the definition of small scale industries in the context of the prevailing high cost of capital equipments and technological developments. Keeping in view the diversification and sophistication which the small industries have achieved, it would have been quite in the fitness of things for the Govt. to have raised the capital limit for small industrial units from Rs. 7.5 Lakhs to 25 Lakhs or so.

To conclude, although the new licensing policy deserves fair trial, it is welcomed in more than one respect. The licensing policy should not be considered in isolation but it should be considered from all angles of vision. The balanced industrial development of the country calls for a change in the licensing system in the present state of things. The new policy has been formulated in the larger perspective of national interests and economic growth. The Govt. has already made it clear that it will enter the fields of manufacturing consumer goods only when the interests of the consumers are threatened by the private sector either by under-pricing policy or deterioration in the quality of their products. The new policy will encourage the emergence of as many entrepreneurs as possible in the delicensed sector. It has also been pointed out by the Govt. that the measure of converting loans into equity capital will be adopted usually in case of default. Subject to certain precautions, financial assistance by the financial institutions and nationalised banks would continue to be available to large industrial concerns for genuine productive purposes. Thus, in a nut-shell, the new licensing policy will ensure greater freedom and opportunity for entrepreneurs, particularly small, medium and new industrialists and would bring about an accelerated rate of industrial growth. Balance, of course, will not be sacrificed merely for the sake of speed.

BIPINCHANDRA PAL, THE PHILOSOPHER-STATESMAN

PRASANTA ROY

A vastly erudite scholar without being pedantic, a devoutly religious soul without being dogmatic, an ardent patriot without being parochial, a prolific writer, an essayist and honest journalist, an impressive orator who could sway and swing his audience in any direction with his unassailable logic—his burden of song always was, 'I can give you logic, but I cannot show you magic'—and above all, as a man possessing an unimpeachable character, the character Samuel Smiles spoke of, with almost an ecclesiastical zeal for independence of thought and action, which incidentally, got him involved into trouble and misunderstanding, even estrangement, with near relations and close associates, and yet, very unassuming and at the same time amiable and accessible, accommodating and affectionate in his personal and public behaviour; Bipinchandra was a bright star in the galaxy of talent and genius that formed the constellation in the firmament of Bengal in the later half of the Nineteenth century. He was an outstanding personality to reckon with, in those olden days of renaissance in Bengal, which, happily, focussed the mind of India—well, not the way the popular by-word tries to placate the vanity of Bengal with 'what Bengal thinks to-day, the rest of India thinks tomorrow'—verily, the renaissance in social concepts and cultural pursuits, ethical and moral attitudes and political and social out-look, in art, aesthe-

tics and literature, in fact, in every walk of life, the life of Aryavarta that India is. While alive, little did we realise what he was to us and for us, to humanity as a whole. We miss him very badly today, alas! when he is no more.

Bipinchandra engaged himself, heart and soul, in freedom's battle against the alien rulers of our country, enjoying the unique distinction of being one of the highly revered and respected 'Trio'—Lal, Bal and Pal—as Lala Lajpat Rai, Balgangadhar Tilak and Bipinchandra Pal were cryptically, though endearingly and reverentially, named together; the 'Trio' who were at the forefront of a new dynamic movement, called, the Swadeshi, unquestionably the precursor of the later-day Congress ideal and objective of 'Swaraj', though unfortunately, for unworthy political reasons and short-sighted policy, the desired ultimate goal was always kept undefined, Bipinchandra was not, truly speaking, merely a sort of a political agitator, or at best, a political leader, in the sense the term is understood to-day. Nay, he was far above it; he might aptly be called a Philosopher—Statesman, or a Political-Philosopher. Essentially an intellectual, one might as well call him a leader of thought, which, in reality, he was; and he would have been the pride and glory of any civilized sovereign nation in the world, were he born in such a free land. The versatility of his genius, his intelligence

sagacity and wisdom are amply reflected in his various theses and discourses on the ideal state of political freedom, social justice and human relations; on the question of harmonising the differing religious concepts and diverse cultural out-looks, and many other aspects of life. On political questions, the sane and un-sophisticated people are agreed to-day that had the pertinent demand, 'Define Swaraj', voiced by him from the presidential chair of the Bengal Provincial Political Conference at Barisal in 1921, been acceded to, the reactionery trends in the political leadership that lifted its hideous head here and there in the country, would not have the ghost of a chance and opportunity to gather impetus and strength to foil and thwart, as they did, the cherished dreams of the people to give unto themselves a socio-political pattern of constitution for the free India of ours, as might ensure an equal opportunity to one and all, irrespective of the status and station in life, to enjoy the fruits of freedom, and that the cacophony of the unholy caucus of the reactionery elements that drowned the voice of reason with their sinister though clandestine clamours, and cleverly conceived subterfuges, to foist on the people an eighteenth-century anachronism of an out-moded and quasi-feudal plutocratic rule, for the exploitation of many by a handful few, would have been silenced for ever, and the country would have been spared the misery and agony that beset the teeming millions from all sides, as now.

It is a matter of history that the aims, objectives and activities of the Indian National Congress in those early days of its inception and operation were for obvious

reasons avowedly confined to mere petitions and prayers—a little short of servile supplications and mendacious solicitations—to the then British rulers of our land, for grants of minor constitutional rights and gracious economic concessions as well as the redress and removal of petty grievances and paltry disabilities here and there; and though they went in the name of the Nation as a whole, as symbolised and represented by the Indian National Congress, the general mass of people had no touch, no hand and no share in shaping the plan, policy and programme of activities of the Congress; and from the very nature of things, the Congress just concerned itself, and catered to the interests of a very exclusive section of the intelligentsia and other factional groups that were at the helm of affairs in the social and the administrative setup. The Swadeshi movement when it came with its declared fundamental principles of self-reliance, self-sufficiency and above all, self-rule, had kindled a new awakening, a new awareness of the birth-right of the people, a new urge, a new hope and inspiration, a new upsurge in the minds of the people at large to break the shackles of bondage they were groaning under; also to free themselves from any form of exploitation from whatever quarters it was, foreign or indigenous, and blot out all other social injustice and inequalities. The brutal atrocities of Jalianwalabagh had given a rude shock to the placid contentment of even those moderate school of political thinkers among the intelligentsia, the landed aristocrats and the middle-class gentry and professional and trades-people who had abiding faith and confidence in the sense of justice and good grace of the British rulers

of the country ; and as a result, the Congress became the platform for a new dynamic mass movement, with new and newer avowal of ideals, aims and objectives to the exclusion of previous ideas. It is needless to mention that the progressive changes in ideological emphasis, in plans, policy and programme of the Congress, that followed each other in quick succession, in a revolutionary tempo, brought in its train confusions and conflicts of ideas and ideals, very often chaos, cleavage and contradictions, due to the variegated party affiliations and factional interests of the different groups, as would be natural with long subjugated peoples, owing seeming allegiance to the Congress, not to speak of the vested interests of the reactionery elements, outwardly swearing by the Congress ideals. How we arrived at the ultimate stage of pacts and partition, or rather the vivisection of our mother-land, in our unholy eagerness to seize the power to rule over ourselves, to put it very mildly, from the initial start of only petitions and prayers, and got to the type of political status—call it Independence, if you like—we enjoy to-day, is again a matter of history and needs no recapitulation here.

It will be interesting to stop to ponder, how Bipinchandra reacted to the very use and adoption of the word, Independence, which furnished not only the 'letter' but also the 'spirit' behind the constitution we gave onto ourselves, in place of 'Swaraj' which was declared to be our cherished 'ultimate goal. Bipinchandra, a purist in thought and action as he was, strongly asserted that Independence could never be a synonym for Swaraj : not only etymologically but also ideologically in actual application. Independence was a

negative term, signifying merely absence of dependence on some authority or agency, that dependence being lifted by mutual agreement or diplomatically under stress of circumstances, or avowedly as a matter of grace, charity and magnanimity under the aegis of international political forum and its conventions hemmed in by political subterfuges which invariably leaves behind a legacy of hidden interest to and indirect control by the dominating party, the one-time masters. He thought and warned that if the idea and ideal was not clear-cut, the premises and performances were bound to lead to confusion. Swaraj, on the other hand, he averred, was a positive and absolute term, in its actual import and application. Swa (own)-Raj (domain) meant un-qualified sovereignty and would leave nothing hazy and fluid about it, and could never be interpreted as connoting dependence or inter-dependence, for anything, to anybody, by any designing person at any time. Thank God, he was spared the later-day political dictum—one could say, sentimental effervescence of political bunkum, or at best, intellectual dodgings—the political dictum of One World, One People, and One God, which sounds well, and regales the fools and the felons alike. The motive is the same ; only the motif differs ; the exploitation of the weaker people by the mightier ones ! Bipinchandra perhaps wanted to fore-warn the people about the muddle-headed thinking timid trepidations & halting hesitations in the approaches of the Congress High-Command who were at the time and subsequently the potential arbiters of the destiny of the Nation. Yes, long after Bipinchandra has left this World, our Congress High-Comman

had ordained for us a Constitution, the Charter of our Liberty and also a limping Government, propped up on the crutches of capitalistic affiliations of the old order, with miseries, agonies, frustration and privations as the share of the people. 'Swaraj', one now strongly feels,—was both a hope and a hoax. In the present-day context of the none-too-happy picture of our land, when a question, a misgiving has very pertinently arisen in many minds as to what we have struggled for, as to what we have looked for, and what we have gained, as to the wisdom or otherwise of it, in invoking a pattern of a constitution that we have given unto ourselves, the pattern of government adopted, the social and economic policy followed, all barren and baneful, one cannot but be highly impressed with the very high standard of statesmanship, and political foresight quite implicit in the very fundamental principles Bipinchandra enunciated on the ideal constitutional pattern of the government, and the socio-economic order, suitable to the temperament, genius and culture of the people of this vast sub-continent, as embodied in his presidential address delivered at the Bengal Provincial Political Conference at Barisal in 1921. which might aptly be called his last Political Testament.

A much-misunderstood man as he was, many of his warnings against the Pan-Islamic trends in political thoughts at least in a cross-section of the Muslim people, in and around, our land were not only laughed away and ignored, but Bipinchandra was in a positive manner accused of being affected by Hindu religious prejudice and communal bias. It is interesting to note

that Bipinchandra along with many other Indian Hindu Leaders including Mahatma Gandhi was in the fore-front of the Khilafat movement in India, when the whole Muslim world was frantically wooing India for sentimental and moral support and active help to boost up their movement and efforts to reinstate the caliphate in Turkey. Though India herself was at that time wedded to a political vow of establishing a Peoples' Raj here by driving out the British rulers, the participation in the movement for the reinstatement and perpetuation of the Caliphate in Turkey, was but a friendly gesture, politically motivated by a desire on the part of national leaders to draw in the whole muslim community to the Congress-fold, after that notorious Lucknow debacle of 1914, and to mobilise the whole country to fight the freedom's battle as one man; but the nationalist India had thereby unwittingly accentuated the separatist tendencies of the muslim masses, at least a great majority of them, who claimed independent political status as a separate nation, even if it be under the Britishers. Communal fanaticism could go no further. It is really surprising how any nationalist could persuade himself to bear with a rabid communalist, and align himself with the whole Khilafat movement which was virtually an attempt at restoration of a theocratic feudal rule of the muslim Khalifa over Turkey. It is no longer a secret that the pacts and alliances of those days only brought disastrous results. Bipinchandra with his political foresight and far-sight could visualize the shape of things ahead, and recorded his readings of the impending yellow-peril from over the hump of the Himalayas, which

was just as much ignored as was his warnings about Pan-Islamism. But to-day, when we are about to be throttled by the two malign forces, warned against, we simply wail and weep and whimper and curse our lot; and also curse the adverseries for our own political blunders and intellectual stupidity!

And then, it saddens the mind to reflect, how in the inter-play of political passions and political factionalism, and social prejudice, how in the conflicting confusion of divergent ideological stands, and of the material interests of the different factional groups within the fold of the ruling caucus of the Congress, the wise counsels of Bipinchandra with his usual emphasis on a truly democratic constitution and social and economic justice being available to the humblest of the citizen, not only did fall on his colleagues and co-workers, but his radical views which were little understood by the political pundits and arm-chair adventurers, cost him the high place of political leadership, in which he was held, and brought in estrangements with many of them, and though in a slightly different context, with his political disciple, late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan, an unforgettable name in the history of India's struggle for Freedom, which was perhaps more painful and poignant than the estrangement, between the father and the son, in his early youth, on the question of orthodox adherence to religious principles, ritualistic and sacramental. To those who followed or watched him from close quarters, in those days, Bipinchandra was never known to have made complaints or grievances on that score. These again show him as a man of independent character with unflinching adherence to his ideals. Bipinchandra

was a great humanist, and the sense of his humanism is fully reflected in his political approach to ensuring equal status, political, social and economic, to one and all, irrespective of station in life, through constitutional enactments and a suitable pattern of government. The catholicity of his views has left its mark in the very principles he inunciated for the basic structure of the State. He advocated that Swaraj should be from within, that is from bottom upwards and not from top downwards, which in plain words meant that the humblest of the social unit—the village-common-man—will by a process of continuous election and selection go to the centre and form the government, and not the nominess of the party High Command, arbitrarily selected and superimposed on the electorates at different levels, will be returned to form a Legislature and then a government which, in a fact, would be the dummy set-up of the party which somehow has been boosted up at the helm of affairs. Bipinchandra also advocated recall of a member, elected, if he is subsequently found to be inefficient or corrupt or doing things, prejudicial and detrimental to the best interests of the community. In the present-day context of so-called 'defection' 'floor-crossings' or 'cross-voting' or whatever fanciful expressions they might use for the deserters or renegades, the provision of 'recall' would have definitely curbed the tendencies, whatever be the temptations, to transfer one's allegiance from the party or the electorate which sent him with a definite mandate. But oh, no! Our political pundits who knew what they were after, in parliamentary democracy, did not want to bind their hands and feet themselves. They have

now to thank themselves for the deplorable situation.

The greatest drawback with Bipinchandra if it was at all a drawback, was that he could, unlike the career-politicians, never persuade himself to compromise with his ideals, as in political matters, so also in other spheres, and very often the parting of ways was only inevitable. Years after, this unbending attitude towards compromise found echo in Horniman—Horniman of honoured and hallowed memory, who laid down his life in the cause of our wretched land—when he declared in his usual forthright manner that “the way to hell in politics is paved with well-intentioned compromises”. Compromises, often of an ignoble sort, we have had enough and we are being scorched in that hell fire all right. It is a great tragedy in our national life how Bipinchandra was

sacrificed at the altar of party politics—the party whose motto invariably gets to be “my party, right or wrong”, infected, “with the madness of many”, as Bertrand Russell said in a caustic manner.

Well, when the conscience is subordinated to conventions—and concessions and conveniences, too—and intellect to illusion; such awful disasters occur; and those that really feel that they are being scorched and scathed in the hell-fire of political compromise that imperil their political destiny, can do no better honour to the memory of the departed great, the Philosopher-Statesman, Bipinchandra, than not only to stay the hands of the reactionaries who in order to satisfy a few, sacrifice millions, but also strafe them out, in order to set up a pattern of society which is perfect.



ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF PUBLIC-SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

P. R. DUBHASI

A new interest seems to have been generated in the country in the working of the public sector undertakings. The then Congress President at the Faridabad session drew pointed attention to the shortcomings and inefficiencies in public sector undertakings and thought whether a time had not come to have a second look at the policy of government regarding the role of the public sector in the economy and whether greater scope should not be provided to the private sector in the plans. There was a sharp reaction to this statement and the Prime Minister reiterated the policy of government that the public sector must be built up so as to play a dominating role in the national economy. She, however, conceded that the efficiency of the public sector enterprises needs to be considerably toned up, though she rightly pointed out that mere profitability is not the measure of efficiency or the criterion with which to judge the public sector undertakings. Professor D. R. Gadgil, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, addressing the All India Manufacturers' Organisation found fault with some of the private enterprise critics of the efficiency of the public sector and noted that the average efficiency of private sector enterprises in India has not also been particularly impressive. He cited instances of the Textile and the Sugar industries in the private sector. He, however, at the same time announced the policy of Indian Planning that there would be no further material expansion of the public sector until the existing public sector enterprises broke even and produced a surplus.

While thus the government's position and

policy regarding the place of public sector enterprises in the economy and the ideology behind such policy seem to be still unaltered, there is a unanimity of opinion that the performance of the public sector enterprises is below expectation and needs to be improved. Indeed there seems to be such an unabated criticism of the performance of public sector enterprises that the public sector, once the "blue-eyed boy" of the Indian economy, now seems to have become a "whipping boy".

It is in the context of such criticism of the performance of public sector enterprises that it becomes extremely important to consider the subject of reforms of the working of the public sector undertakings. The Administrative Reforms Commission has appointed a Study Team on the Public Sector Undertakings and based on the report of the Study Team, it has recommended a series of steps to introduce the reforms in the administration of public sector undertakings.

The public sector undertakings, represent an investment of more than 3 thousand crores of rupees and yet a total return on this capital is to the extent of one percent. The most important public sector enterprises—Hindustan Steel and Heavy Engineering—have suffered sizable losses and would continue to be making losses in the future. Apart from the fact that like other business and commercial undertakings the public sector undertakings also should not make a loss, but indeed should have a surplus for the sake of its own development, the public sector enterprises have a special responsibility to contribute to the total corpus of economic

development of our country. The draft Fourth Five Year Plan takes credit for a contribution of Rs. 3400 crores from the public sector enterprises including Railways towards the plan investment. The performance of public sector enterprises has to match these expectations.

Various reasons are advanced to explain why the public sector enterprises do not yield adequate returns. It is in the first place contended that unlike the private enterprises, public sector enterprises are not oriented towards profit. Their purpose is not to make profits for their share-holders but to serve public interest in all respects. Profits are neither the objective nor the criteria of services rendered by the public sector enterprises. In fact the public sector enterprises are precisely established in that area of economic activity which does not yield profit at least in the short run but is nevertheless vital to the economic development of the country. In some sense, this may appear to be paradoxical. The contribution which a concern makes to the economic development depends on the surplus or profit which it makes. Greater the surplus, greater is the availability of investible resources and higher is the contribution to economic development. The paradox, however, can be explained by pointing out that it is not by generating surplus alone that the public sector enterprise makes its contribution to economic development. By developing *basic industries* the public sector enterprises lay the *foundation of self-sustaining growth*. This they do by either providing plants and machinery—machines which make machines or by providing essential raw-materials like iron, oil, chemicals. In other words they have an extensive spread effect or a wide network of linkage with far reaching consequences on the economy. They provide the big push needed for economic development. They cause a decisive breakthrough. They create complementaries in the

economy which make possible for new undertakings and projects to come up which would not have been undertaken otherwise. They open up fresh opportunities to the economy which can later on be availed of for profitable investment by private enterprise. The returns from all these indirect and secondary benefits may not be forthcoming in the short run. They can be realised only in the long run.

The second reason why the public sector enterprises do not pay in the 'short run' is their heavy initial investment. Indeed it is this initial bottleneck which private enterprise cannot break through. Not only is the investment large, the gestation period is also very long. This is responsible for postponing the return on investment in these projects. Thirdly, the public sector enterprises have to maintain a standard of welfare of workers which is higher than the prevailing average. The state has to be a model employer and must offer facilities which will prove a model to the private sector. Fourthly, by producing machinery and essential raw materials within the country, they contribute to autarchy or self-reliance of the economy and by replacing imports save foreign exchange. Fifthly, the public sector enterprises are established with some non-economic but nevertheless essential purposes in view like defence. Sixthly, even for the location of the public sector enterprises certain non-economic considerations like regional balancing have to be taken into account rather than merely the economics of location. Dispersed distribution of economic activity is in the interest of the long-term economic development of the country though location in metropolitan areas or areas already sufficiently developed may be more economic.

It is not that all these considerations would necessarily be valid in every case to justify the losses incurred by the public sector enterprises. There may be many cases of losses

which cannot be explained away on any of the grounds mentioned above, and must be attributed to shortcomings in the standards of managerial efficiency which leave much to be desired. The glaring deficiencies in the management of public sector enterprises in our country have been a matter of worry as reflected in the report of the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Engineering, 1968-69. The Committee on Public Undertakings of the Parliament passed severe strictures on many public undertakings. Thus it described the performance of National Coal Development Corporation, one of the largest public sector undertakings, as a "story of unmitigated inefficiency and mismanagement." The public Undertakings Committee attributed this mess to inefficient top management, wrong personnel, unrealistic purchases of stock and equipment, idle capacity of plant, machinery and men. The Public Undertakings Committee passed similar strictures on the management performance of Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi. From the very initial stage Heavy Engineering Corporation's planning has been clumsy and haphazard. Delay in construction stage increased capital cost from Rs. 100 cr. to Rs. 230 cr. The period of gestation lengthened from 6 to 12 years. The very first principle of project viz. that there should be proper assessment of demand and expansion should be attempted only when there is a possibility of created facilities being fully utilised was ignored. Even 2½ years after its actual commencement of production only 65% of its capacity has actually been constructed. Another major public sector enterprise, Heavy Electrical Plant has also suffered from similar managerial lapses with the result that few orders and losses have beset the concern. The Company did not have sufficient orders to keep it going throughout the year and a large part of the capacity remained unutilised forcing the concern to

undertake manufacturing small electrical goods like refrigerators, small motors and pumps and automatic voltage regulators. It is estimated that the company would continue to run into losses till 1970 when its cumulative losses would amount to Rs. 70 crores. On top of all this, indiscipline amongst workers has also plagued its functioning. The largest of all the public sector undertakings is, of course, the Hindustan Steel. Of the 214 government companies with paid up share capital of Rs. 1241 crores as on March 31, 1966, this concern alone had a paid up share capital of Rs. 528 crores and its sales ranked 120th in the Fortunes list of 200 non-US largest industrial corporations. And yet what was its performance? Manpower surplus, huge overtime bills, theft and poor inventory control bedevil Hindustan Steel Ltd. When the need for spare parts and stores for one year is only Rs. 30 crores the three steel mills have a huge stock of Rs. 70 crores. If these inventories could be reduced to Rs. 40 crores, not only would there be reduction in losses but useful spare parts could be released for other concerns. If employment of 6000 men per million ton of production is the norm everywhere in the world, the figure for Bhilai is 18000 men and for Rourkela and Durgapur 15000 men. High degree of rejection of finished products and high material costs have added to these losses which for the Hindustan Steel Limited as a whole amounted to Rs. 11 cr. ! The low standard of management performance thus takes several forms such as faulty project planning, delays in sanctions and financial and administrative procedures, delays in construction, excessive expenditure on housing and townships, thus resulting in over capitalisation, inefficient top management, the absence of suitable managerial and technical personnel within the organisation as well as the lack of designing and consultancy

ganisations, poor labour-management relationship and also poor quality of manufacture.

How do we explain these deficiencies in public sector enterprises and if we can locate the factors which are responsible for inefficiency, how can we remedy them? This is the problem posed when we begin thinking of the administrative reforms of public sector enterprises. As in any other branch of administration and even of management in general, the public sector enterprises must take care of the three basic factors viz. sound organisation; scientific procedures and competent personnel. If they are taken care of then the basic conditions of efficiency are established and if there are any losses they could only be the result of a deliberate cost-price policy or any other policy and not as a result of low productivity or low efficiency. This implies that efficiency and productivity is not identical with profitability. The source of profit can be monopoly exploitation rather than efficient production. Public enterprises may be monopolistic but if they are deliberately oriented towards keeping the prices of their products low in order to make them cheaply available to their users, then the public enterprises may not be profitable though they are highly productive. But such a distinction has to be consciously made and must be supported with facts and not made use of as a general argument to justify losses or absence of profit.

Let us now consider the three factors of organisation, procedure and personnel in turn. The organisation may be internal as well as external. The external organisation relates to the Parliament to which the public sector enterprises are in the ultimate analysis accountable, the government which is responsible to Parliament and is the controlling authority of public enterprises and any other agencies established by government to evaluate or audit public enterprises. The internal aspects of

organisation relate to the form of organisation and the composition of the governing bodies of such organisations.

All these aspects have been considered in the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission. As regards the form of organisation, of the 76 public sector undertakings as at the end of 1966-67, 70 were companies while 6 were statutory corporations. Thus there is a clear preference for the company form of organisation viz. the department, the joint stock company and the statutory corporation have been a subject of frequent discussion in the literature on public administration. The Gorwala report had preferred corporation as the proper form of organisation for a public sector enterprise. Dean Applby in his report had laid emphasis on the manner in which the administration of the public enterprise runs rather than the mere form of organisation. Some time back the Accountant General had described the company form of organisation of public enterprises as a fraud on the Indian constitution because it enables government to avoid the constitutional responsibility which a state owned enterprise owes to Parliament. The Company form of organisation has come to be actually preferred because of the flexibility that it provides for reorganisation whereas if the corporation form is preferred a specific statute has to be passed and for any modification of any item in the statute which a reorganisation may involve, it becomes necessary for the administration to take the approval of the Parliament. The Administrative Reforms Commission has preferred the statutory corporation. The main reason for the Commission's preference for this form is that it ensures a better accountability to Parliament. It has, however, conceded the choice of a company where there is an element of private participation or where an undertaking is too small to be given an independent legal status. The Com-

Commission has recommended enactment of a separate law for each major area of public enterprises bringing together existing undertakings in that area. As Appby has rightly pointed out what matters is not so much the form of organisation but the manner in which it is working, the spirit in which the enterprise is run rather than constitutional form. With sufficient delegation and autonomy, even a department form of organisation can secure flexibility. On the other hand where public sector enterprises whether companies or corporations, are treated as mere limbs of the Secretariat so that the chairmanship and the membership of these companies or corporations are dominated by Ministers, Secretaries or other officers of government and where the Financial Advisors of these companies and corporations mostly on deputation, introduce government financial and administrative procedures all along, the company or the corporation form of organisation is not likely to be materially useful in introducing more businesslike procedures and providing freedom and flexibility for day-to-day management as against general policy making and final accountability. What matters is the basic organisational framework which facilitates good management and not what the framework is called—Government Department, Public Corporation or State Company.

The internal form of organisation, however, is intimately connected with the external form of organisation. Normally there would be three tiers in the whole set up with the public sector enterprises itself—whether corporation, company or department, the Ministry and the Parliament, with the Ministry and Parliament exercising the necessary control as required by the ultimate accountability to Parliament. This three-tier structure is, however, rendered more complex by a number of recommendations of the report. The Commission has envisaged a Sector Corporation

which will be an additional tier between the enterprise proper and the Ministry. The Sector Corporation would be an integrated organisation in each major sector of industry viz. 1. Iron and Steel, 2. Engineering and Machine tools, 3. Electricals, Coal and Lignite, 4. Petroleum and Petro-chemicals, 5. Mining of iron and other ores and Mining and Processing of non-ferrous metals, 6. Fertilisers and Chemicals and Drugs. The advantages of such a sector corporation would lie in coordinating the economic development in different sectors, ensure economic use of common facilities and reduce the span of government control on raw materials so that it become concentrated at strategic points. While the need for coordination in a particular sector of the economy can be readily conceded, the two adverse consequences of a sector corporation are at once obvious. First it would downgrade the individual enterprise to a mere constituent unit of a larger organisation and may thus discourage the initiative, mobility, manoeuvrability and capacity for quick action of an individual unit. At the same time it would bring into existence giant corporations fairly complex and unwieldy in structure, duplicating in some respects the control exercised by government. The situation is made more complex by the recommendations of the Commission about some other organisations like the strengthening of the Bureau of Public Enterprises and the constitution of special Efficiency Audit Boards for public sector for the purpose of efficiency audit and evaluation. Levers of control would thus be exercised on an individual enterprise from at least four bodies—the Ministry, the Sector Corporation, the Bureau and the Audit Boards. Those responsible for success and efficiency of an individual enterprise would find themselves more and more hamstrung by the decision making of authorities at the higher levels each of which would try to exercise

control over the public sector enterprise in its own manner. This is the surest way of killing initiative on the part of those who are responsible for the direct management of public sector enterprises. It is not difficult to point out overlapping areas between the four controlling organisations. Thus both the Sector Corporation and the Bureau would be concerned with research development, designing, consultancy, advising, reporting and comparative appraisal of performance etc. Similarly, both the Ministry and the Sector Corporation would be interested in the scrutiny of the capital budget evolving common policies and calling returns. The Ministry, the Sector Corporation, the Bureau and Audit Boards would all be concerned with evaluation. Organisational proliferation has always been the surest source of confusion and the recommendation of the Administrative Reforms Commission is likely to lead to just this.

Under the Sector Corporation, would be the public enterprise unit proper looked after either by General Manager or a Committee of Management under the Chairmanship of the Chief Executive. The Sector Corporation itself would be mixed type with a full-time Chairman-cum-Managing Director, full-time and part-time functional Directors including government representatives. It is not clear whether this Board is supposed to be technical or representative. If representative, then the bipartite representation of the government, the workers and the consumers ought to have been suggested by the Commission. But the Commission is chary of having represented either the consumers or the workers and has instead asked for government representatives through officers who may go from one ministry to another and of outside representatives who have no experience in public enterprises. An officer transferred from the particular area to which the sector corporation belongs would not find it possible

to make any useful contribution to the deliberations of the sector corporation and indeed is likely to come into conflict with the officers in the ministry in charge of the sector. The proposal regarding the constitution of the sector corporation therefore appears to be unsound.

As regards the control of Parliament, the Commission has recommended that this be exercised through the annual reports on the lines of a model to be prepared by the Bureau of Budget with reference to standard operational indices. The usual question of parliamentary accountability versus managerial autonomy i.e. freedom in day-to-day operations has been raised and the Commission has recommended that Parliamentary review should not extend to day-to-day administration.

Similarly as regards the governmental control, the Commission has recommended strategic control at key points rather than interfering in the operational autonomy. One of such strategic controls is the selection of the Chairman and the members of the Board carefully by government. No officer of the Ministry should be the Chairman of the public sector undertaking; nor should the Secretary of a Ministry be included in the Board of Management. The appointments of Chief executives of constituents units and financial advisors should be made by the Board of the Sector Corporation in consultation with the government.

The Commission has recommended upgrading of the Bureau of Public Enterprises by merging into it the Management Division of the Committee on Plan Projects, the Projects Coordination Division of the Ministry of Industry etc. The Bureau is supposed to be a clearing house of information and would be available to the various controlling ministries in the scrutiny and evaluation of various feasibility and project reports. It would be located

in the Finance Ministry. The arrangement is inherently unsatisfactory and dilatory. If the intention is to provide a coordinated direction to all the public enterprises, then it would be much better to set up a Ministry of Public Sector Enterprises rather than a Bureau of Public Enterprises. The Bureau with a finger in the pie in all the public sector enterprises and yet responsible for none, operating remotely in the Finance Ministry is not calculated to promote smooth and coordinated action. Division of responsibility is always dangerous. If public enterprises are located in the various ministries concerned, the ministries must themselves have sufficient technical and financial capability to make a judgment regarding the feasibility of the projects and should not depend on an outside bureau which does not directly participate in the administrative and managerial processes connected with the enterprises.

The last of the new organisations proposed by the Commission is Audit Boards, 4-5 in number, to be entrusted with the efficiency audit of specified groups of different undertakings in the corporate sector. The proposal emanates from a distinction between regulatory audit and efficiency audit, the former concerned with the deduction of over-payments, infringements of rules etc. while the latter goes much beyond and looks to the comparison of costs with results. While the efficiency audit is obviously extremely important, one doubts whether division of audit into two streams and making different agencies responsible for them is quite proper. Just as regulatory administration is to be transformed into development administration, so should regulatory audit be transformed into efficiency audit. This may require changes in the recruitment and training of auditors. It is, of course, important that the auditors should not apply wrong and inappropriate principles and smoo-

ther the legitimate financial freedom which the enterprise ought to enjoy. In USA this is circumvented by the provision of Corporation Control Act of 1945 to the effect that public corporation account shall be audited in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to corporate transactions. But a bifurcation between the regulatory audit and the efficiency audit is not desirable. Neither costs nor returns are independent of the so-called regulatory aspects like overpayment, failure to recover dues, infringement of rules etc. These in fact form the basis of the final overall assessment of results with costs. By merely duplicating the audit agency the individual enterprise would be over-audited just as by creation of more organisations it will be over-administered.

We may now turn from organisation to procedures. In spite of planning, programming project formulation, Indian public enterprise have been dependent too much on foreign consultants and modern techniques of planning and project formulation have not been adopted thus resulting in the prolongation of the construction period, delays in reaching target and incurring investments higher than original plans. The absence of detailed planning project formulation and feasibility study is one of the lacunae in the Indian public administration and management system. These defects can only be remedied by systematic training in preparation of feasibility reports, detailed project report, formulation of evaluation criteria etc. The next stage to planning is construction of projects construction of factory buildings, townships and other work. Here again planning of construction programmes leaves much to be desired and scientific procedures like PERT and CPM need to be adopted. Efficient reporting systems for reporting the progress of construction have also to be scientifically devised.

The financial procedures are also to be taken care of. Release of funds for fixed capital have to be planned without any bottlenecks. Similarly public enterprises should have less difficulty in raising working capital by being allowed freedom to deal with banks other than the State Bank of India.

The budgeting of the public enterprises, their contribution of surplus should not be forced upon them but should arise out of the estimates done by the enterprise itself so that they are done in a realistic manner.

The public sector enterprises have been guilty of spending excessively in townships and accommodation which is on a lavish scale. There is a great scope for economy on this.

The most important policy and procedures are regarding the pricing policy. Since the public sector enterprises are likely to be in the monopoly area there should be some scientific basis for the fixation of prices. The usual practice is to have prices on cost plus basis. But the surplus must be fixed with reference to a clear indication to public enterprises about the returns expected and about the need for self-reliance. At the same time when public enterprises are having the monopolistic power there is all the greater need to take into account the interest of the consumer.

The financial procedures need to be improved through a sound budgetary system. Performance criteria against which progress could be reviewed, comprehensive budgets including production estimates, sales estimate, costs of production, manpower budget, capital expenditure budget, profit and loss estimates, cash flow estimates etc. Similarly all the techniques of material management should be employed in respect of maintenance of inventory, fixing up sales-inventory ratio, application of techniques like Codification and Classification and 'ABC' analysis. The application of

all these techniques of scientific management depends on the training of managerial manpower, which must be made possible.

This brings us therefore to the third aspect of administration, viz. personnel—their recruitment, training and retaining. The personnel could be divided into top and intermediate management personnel and the working force. One of the most criticised aspects of personnel management policy is the excessive element of officers on deputation creating tension between the deputationists and direct recruits. The Commission has rightly recommended the need for development of managerial resources from within the public sector, taking care at the same time to inject a few persons from outside and provide salaries and conditions of service which are both attractive and adequate. In a deputationist system the person is not committed or dedicated to the public enterprise but always looks to his fortunes back in the parent service from which he is deputed. But while promotion system should facilitate a regular movement up the rungs of the promotion ladder from potential top-level management personnel, it shall be on merit not seniority.

It is extremely important that the top personnel including Chairman and full-time functional members of the Board as well as the persons in higher managerial positions are enabled to stay for longer periods of tenure so as to make significant contributions.

The Commission has recommended formulation of cadres in the public sector enterprises and conferring powers to the Sector Corporation and constituent units in regard to recruitment training, promotion and disciplinary control. Excepting for higher levels the Commission has recommended that full powers should be conferred on the constituent units regarding recruitment, training, promotion, disciplinary control. This is a recommendation which goes directly against the assumption

of the Commission regarding the need for seeking the advantages of large organisation such as the one which the Sector Corporation can offer. In respect of recruitment, the commission, of course, has recommended the recruitment of the best available men from all areas in the country including private enterprise. There should be flexibility in determining salary structures suited to the requirements of the undertakings.

There should be a proper assessment of the manpower needs of the undertaking including specialists like Applied Economist, Experts in Cost Accountancy, Material Management and Personnel Management experts etc. The various management courses offered by the training institutions should be fully availed of. The public sector enterprises need not assume responsibility for training in general management and training in professions. There should be career development schemes. This measure will enable the public enterprises to stop the flight of personnel.

As regards the workers, the main problem is that of industrial relations. While public sector enterprises should adopt enlightened policy in labour matters, indifferent work and indiscipline should be put down. The Commission has recommended drastic measures to de-recognise any union resorting to illegal strikes.

Labour-management relations in the public sector enterprises should not be viewed from the same angle as in the private sector. There should be a works committee which will provide opportunities to inform workers of the plan of the enterprise and its difficulties so that workers will be interested and responsible for the enterprise. There should be suitable incentive schemes for getting the best out of the employees. A sense of commitment to the enterprise should be developed.

The expenditure on townships and housing etc. has been excessive. It is of the order of Rs. 300 crores or over 10% of the total outlay of these projects. Separate accounts for these should be maintained.



RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE

TETALI RAJESWARA RAO

Religion is a way of life. Philosophy is the science of life. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa said "show by your lives that religion does not mean words or names or sects but that it means spiritual realisation in one's life. So religion is realisation in one's life. Religion and life are not different. It means that the life must be transformed into a divine life and the divine life is the attainment of self-perfection.

There are innumerable ways of leading a divine life. Religion is that which develops God by nature in us. Religion wants us to see God in all. We have been binding our inner divine nature by Raga Dweshas. Sri Swami Vivekananda says "The goal is to manifest this divine within by controlling nature external and internal." We have come from Him as divine sparks and we should return to Him in full glory. So the divinity should be developed. "Sareera Madyam Khalu Dharma Sadhanam". Means that this body is a divine instrument for spiritual sadhanas and it should be treated as His temple.

"If you really want to judge of the character of man, look not at his great performances. Every fool may become a hero at one time or another. Watch a man do his most common actions; those are indeed the things which will tell you the real character of a great man" says Sri Swami Vivekananda. So the transformation should be seen in daily life. In day to day life we have a number of opportunities, when one deals with family members, friends, servants and the public. The events in life educate the person in acquiring the qualities like affection, sympathy, tolerance and so on and make him Jnani in the long run if he seizes the opportunities in the right perspective. One should have right thoughts and the

thoughts must be translated into right actions. Thoughts build character and actions make environment. Sri Swami Sivananda says "You sow an action and reap a habit. You sow a character and reap your destiny. Hence destiny is your own build up. You are the architect of your own fortune."

In day to day life one should have a constant awareness of the self. The continuous process of looking within in daily life is meditation. As one faces the events in daily life, he develops tolerance and tranquility of the mind and he can bear the difficulties and lead a smooth and happy life. Man should do his deeds with sincere devotion, as an offering to the Lord and for the welfare of humanity. Service to human beings with a spirit of brotherhood and love are essential to lead a religious life. If the deeds are performed as offerings to the Lord, they do not bind us in accordance with the law of Karma. One should have sympathetic attitude towards the suffering and the poor and serve them selflessly irrespective of the fruits thereof. He should serve all 'bhutas', gradually learning that everything that he does, is His service. Then the mind and heart get purified. The quintessence of all shastras is "Paropakarah punyaya, papaya parapidanam" as said by sage Vedavyasa. It means that doing good to others is punyam and doing evil is sin.

One should look upon every individual as his own self and visualise God in every man. It can be fulfilled if one has a sympathetic, sensitive heart and Viswa Prema. One should feel that he is a citizen of the world and he should have the concept of 'Vasudhaika Kutumbam'. One should realise the unity in diversity and feel the oneness of all religions, as all paths lead the same goal and thus one should develop religious tolerance. Such an individual is truly religious man.

IMPACT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY ON T. S. ELIOT

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKAR

T. S. Eliot is popularly known as the poet of *The Waste Land*, as the minstrel of despair and disillusion in a war-weary world. Although pictures of broken columns, arid lands and falling bridges : a heap of broken images, haunt readers of his poetry, a discerning critic discovers behind the smoke-screen of despair a tower of faith to which his persistent search leads him. He even feels tempted to call him a religious poet who begins with despair but ends in faith. This element of faith emerges in the form of a religious vision which Eliot's poetry conjures up with the aid of Absolute Idealism of the Hindu and Buddhist Philosophy of ancient India. The concluding lines of his epoch-making poem *The Waste Land* (Which quotes a number of Sanskrit Words from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*) do not merely show off his knowledge of the Indian scriptures, but also communicate a spiritual vision incorporating the idea of man's liberation from the cramping influence of the self through restraint, liberality, and clemency, the highest of all modes of adoration.

As a discerning student of Philosophy in the Harvard Graduate School, and later, as an assistant in the Department of Philosophy, Eliot evinced great interest in the study of Indian Philosophy. In some of his critical works he refers to this pursuit with nostalgia. In *After strange Gods*, he says :

"Two years spent in the study of Sanskrit under Charles Lanman, and a year in the mazes of Patanjali's metaphysics under the

guidance of James Woods, left me in a state of enlightened mystification."

His great esteem for Indian Philosophy accounts for his abiding interest in the *Upanishads*, *The Gita*, *The Yoga of Patanjali* and Buddhism, which often provide the emotional pattern or the releasing mechanism for his poetry. Eliot unambiguously speaks of this influence of Indian thought and sensibility on his poetry in his *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* ;

"Long ago I studied the ancient Indian languages, and while I was chiefly interested at that time in philosophy, I read a little poetry too ; and I know that my own poetry shows the influence of Indian thought and sensibility." Notwithstanding this candid confession of the poet, some critics argue that since the virtue of good poetry is a purely aesthetic one, it does not matter what his philosophical beliefs are. But we must not forget that one of the most important problems for the poet is to find a releasing mechanism for the poetry. Finding a theme is, as Yeats has said, analogous to finding a form ; the theme releases the poetry as the form does. Though ably trained in Philosophy, Eliot was not interested in Philosophy for its own sake. He was not interested in formulating any intellectual or systematic world-view. He exploited his knowledge of Indian Philosophy for giving shape to a spiritual vision or for embodying a pattern of emotions.

The more obvious references to this influence in his poetry and drama, are to be

found in *The Waste Land*, the *Four Quartets*, *The Rock*, and *The Cocktail Party*.

The *Upanishads*, the fountain-head of all Indian Philosophy provided Eliot with the idea of liberation of man from the cramping influence of the materialistic society which suffers from a sense of devitalization. The twin principles of Janana or the knowledge of the ultimate reality and the need for vairagya or complete detachment which the *Upanishads* teach, aim at the annihilation of desire and self-renunciation, which release man from the isolation of material existence. Indeed, the course of right action as indicated by 'What the thunder said' in *The Waste Land*: 'Datta Dayadhvam, Damyata' signifies that one should subdue oneself and give oneself to others, to free oneself from the limitations of the desire.

Now, the idea of self-renunciation or disinterested work (as it is popularly known) has been amplified in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, which has shifted the earlier emphasis from the 'form' of Vairagya to its 'spirit'. Eliot's insistence on inaction, both in his poetry and plays can be reconciled with his insistence on activity within the framework of the doctrine of Karma. The *Gita* synthesises both Pravritti and Nivritti—the active way of life and the life of renunciation. It does not teach renunciation of action, but renunciation in action. It says that actions are our sphere; but fruits are not our concern. We should never be attached to the fruits of actions, and at the same time, we should never be inactive. Similarly, Eliot has insisted on action which we are destined to fulfil, for which we should have no thought of the fruit.

In the Rocks message: "Make perfect your will./ I say: take no thought of the harvest/ But only of proper sowing," or in Krishna's admonition in *The Dry Salvages*: "And do not think of the fruit

of action./ Fare forward," there is the unmistakable echo of Lord Krishna's message to Arjuna in *The Gita*: "You must perform every action sacramentally, and be free from all attachment to results." The doctrine of the Universal Cycle as expounded in *The Gita* with the help of the ancient symbol of the wheel 'the terrible wheel of rebirth and death,' provides Eliot with the recurring wheel-imagery in his poetry and drama. So Becket in *Murder in the Cathedral* refers to the wheel as the pattern of life:

"For the pattern is the action
And the suffering, that the wheel may turn and
Be forever still."

But this idea of life as a pattern of action and suffering seems to be the very foundation from which Buddhism as religion, ethics and Philosophy takes its start. The Buddhist doctrine of Pratitya Samutpada which tells us that everything in this world is subject to life and death, and hence, is in a state of impermanence, also leads to the idea of cessation of plurality through enlightenment. This idea of enlightenment is vaguely suggested in Harry's liberation in *The Family Reunion*. In Eliot's poetry the Key intuition of Buddhism—the unshakeable reality of impermanence or flux is often indirectly hinted at, and only occasionally expressed with directness as in *The Dry Salvages* and in *The Cocktail Party*. Take, for instance, Reilly's speech in *The Cocktail Party* which dramatizes the theme of impermanence both as subjective and objective fact:

"Ah, but we die to each other daily.
What we know of other people
Is only our memory of the moments
During which we knew them. And they
have changed since them."

This fact of impermanence which is associated with the idea of human suffering has been dramatically rendered in *The Family*

Reunion in the image of the painfulness of rebirth of desire in spring. 'The Fire Sermon' of Lord Buddha, alluded to in *The Waste Land* which speaks of the sterile and painful burning of the desires and senses, and the parting message of the dying Buddha articulated by Sir Henry in *The Cocktail Party* tell us of some of the obvious sources of inspiration of Eliot's poetry.

The limitations of the twofold ways of life—the path of active life and the path of renunciation (the Pravritti-marga and the Nivritti-marga) as pointed out by Lord Buddha in his golden mean provide the structural pattern of *The Cocktail Party*. The Yoga of Patanjali attaches great importance

to man's irresistible will for perfection through spiritual discipline through the control of body, senses and mind, by way of the eightfold path of discipline. It saves man from the terrible wheel of rebirth and death. Eliot adopts this idea in the *Four Quartets* with some modifications. Here, the Oriental view of spiritual discipline is juxtaposed with the Christian view of grace to embody the most comprehensive vision of spiritual reality in the poetry of our age.

"The release from action and suffering
release from the inner

And the outer compulsion, yet surrounded
By a grace of sense, a white light still and
moving..."



BARBARIANS DEFEATED THE CIVILISED

AMOD KUMAR KANTH

The ways of human history are strange and there are certain tendencies to be found which usually seem incredible to an ordinary reader. Before the invention of gunpowder and the development of superior techniques, in ancient and mediaeval times generally, the cultured nations and peoples have shown symptoms of degeneration. Dozens of examples may be cited when the barbarians have defeated the civilised races of history in the battlefield. This law of history is in conformity with the law of nature where the wild plants do not allow the cultured plants to grow in their neighbourhood. Physically the cultured plants are less vital and less potential than the wild ones. It is an irony of culture that it prunes down the natural man, who is otherwise more energetic, lively and vigorous. Even the lands which are constantly under the plough have to be left fallow after a gap of a few years to gain vitality needed for better crop.

In the most ancient times the Egyptians had a flourishing culture in the so-called 'old Kingdom'. They had developed wonderful technical skill expressed in their pyramids which even today stand challenging the immutable law of destruction. But a barbarian race came from the East named 'Hyksos' in Egyptian history who ruined the old Kingdom culture. Though the Egyptians were more civilised, the Hyksos were equipped with horse—and more so, with barbaric fanaticism, arising out of the physical needs of the people. The victory of the Babylonians over the Sumerians and that of the Assyrians over the Babylonians may be explained in the same way. Actually, the cultured races always became established and having given up their nomadic ways of life they lost

their adventurous spirit. Naturally enough, security breeds idleness and the essential restlessness which makes a people militant, becomes dormant.

India witnessed the most ancient culture in the Indus valley where the cities like Mohenjodaro and Harappa have been unearthed. No one can deny, as the town planning, drainage etc. shows, that these people were materially far more advanced than the Aryans who came from outside and defeated them. Aryans were then not complacent and peace-loving like in later times. They were in great physical want and were thus spirited and militant. The 'Dravidians', as the inhabitants of the Indus Valley were considered to have been, were driven to other places or reduced to slavery. No doubt in later times the Aryans, too, became cultured, lost their militant spirit and were subjected to foreign invasions and defeats; but their first victories were definitely the gift of their barbaric and nomadic spirit. The barbarians had proved more powerful because they were goaded by their immediate needs. They had nothing to plan; whatsoever they did, they did through their impulses because they had before them the question of life and death.

Between the decline of the civilisations of the ancient world and the rise of the Romans, the Semetic tribes played havoc, same as the Germanic tribes after the decline of the Roman empire. The Semetics were not cultured but they mostly came from the regions which could produce little for the inhabitants, hence they moved towards the river valley regions where the first human cultures had grown. Assyrians were followed by the Persians, the Persians by

the Greeks and finally the Greeks by the Romans—all less cultured but more adventurous than the preceding ones. The Greeks flourished on the ruins of the Persian empire. An Athens could be seen under Pericles which witnessed a remarkable intellectual growth unknown to the World before that time. Not that Athens was militarily weak either, but it was weaker than Sparta. Sparta was a military camp—pure and simple; she made no efforts for intellectual refinement; she busied herself in building up her military strength. Thus when the fratricidal war took place between Athens and Sparta the latter, less cultured but more spirited and militarily better organised, got victory in the Peloponnesian war. Greeks were however lying inactive following the great war. Out of this inaction there arose another military power which was destined to make a world empire. Philip of Macedon united the whole of Greece, and later on his celebrated son Alexander the Great built up a great empire. Macedonians had immense capacity because they were not complacently resting on any highly cultured plan of existence. They had the spirit of an uncultured people to which they added their superior military strength and strategy and left their imprint on the pages of history.

The rise of Rome as a great power and the establishment of the famous Roman empire is a great phenomenon of human history. The Romans defeated Carthage, the last stronghold of the Semetic power, which represented a ripe and an age-old civilization as against their adversaries who had then no culture to boast of. Gradually, however, the Romans built up the greatest empire of the western world and established what we know as Pax-Romana. The contributions made by the Romans to the Western civilizations can not be exaggerated.

At the same time a great empire flourished in China, too, whose greatness in the East was almost like that of the Romans in the West. Though it may seem strange but it is true that the two great empires of the World, the Roman and the Chinese, were destroyed at the height of their power and prestige by the hungry nomads. The Huns who were purely barbarians made their headway into the Chinese empire and the Germanic tribes, the prominent among them being Goths and Franks, entered the Roman empire and created wide breaches beyond all repairs. Actually the whole of the western world was infested by the barbarians and the Roman 'protectors' failed to save themselves or their proteges. Here we are reminded of the famous 'wailing' of the Britons' who wanted the Romans to stay in England to protect them. Against the Germanic tribes physical protection was the main problem, which the Romans failed to give; their culture proved totally infertile.

It is something found commonly in history that the barbarian hordes coming in contact with the civilized races become civilized in turn. The victory in the battle-field, the Marxist historians contend, comes to the side which has superior technology and equipments of war. An exhaustive list of the wars which may be presented to us by history testify that the wild spirit of the uncivilised peoples sweeps the civilised communities off in its forward rush. This tendency was more, active in the ancient world, when man-power counted for more unlike in the present day wars when a pale-looking scientist sitting in a laboratory can annihilate entire nations. It however, goes true even today that the 'truly' cultured peoples are definitely less war-like and that they can be easily defeated by the militant and war-like peoples who represent the spirit of barbarism.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF CEYLON

Dr. P. R. RAO

Ceylon, the mango shaped tropical island covering an area of about 25,000 Sq. miles, is of the same size as the Republic of Ireland or the Benelux countries. The Sinhalese call it "Sri Lanka" or "Holy Lanka" and Tamils "Ilam" or "Elankai".

According to 1963 census the population of Ceylon was about 11 million of which people speaking Sinhala language numbered about 8 million. The remaining 3 million people speak Tamil.

Soon after attaining independence in 1948 the Government of Ceylon like the governments in other newly independent countries of South Asia was confronted with the problem of language. English which was the official language of the administration ever since the British got control over the island could no longer dominate administration and education. The local languages of the island namely Sinhala and Tamil which were relegated to the background during the British rule now sought recognition. Even as early as 1945 it was agreed upon by the national leaders of Ceylon that Swabasha or one's own language was to be the medium of instruction. The term Swabasha was very ambiguous. To Sinhalese Swabasha meant Sinhala language only, whereas Tamils believed that both Sinhala and Tamil would receive official status. This ambiguity was purposely maintained by the national leaders so as to enlist the support of the both Sinhalese and Tamils to displace English from its high posi-

tion. They never imagined that this ambiguity would lead to serious troubles in future.

During the first eight years of independence (1948-56) the United National Party (U. N. P.) or Eksath Jatika Paksha dominated the political scene. It was composed of western educated, upper middle class politicians. Even though it was pro-Sinhala, the Prime Minister, D. S. Senanayake was able to retain the confidence of the Tamil minority by taking Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, the Tamil congress leader, into the Cabinet. This, however, split the Tamil Congress. The break away group formed the federal party under the leadership of S. V. J. Chelvanayakam.

The Prime Minister, D. S. Senanayake died suddenly of an accident in 1952. His son Dudley Senanayake who succeeded him could not long maintain himself. Sir John Kotelawala who succeeded Dudley Senanayake was not a national figure like D. S. Senanayake. He did not take any Tamilian into his Cabinet. The Tamils, therefore, regarded him with suspicion and they felt that their interests are not safe in his hands. More over they realised that progressive implementation of Swabasha in educational sphere was a threat to their own interests, for no Tamilian is likely to be appointed in Sinhala speaking area. To overcome this danger they began to demand for Tamil equal status

with Sinhala. This demand is popularly known as parity.

From 1954 onwards the Tamil demand for parity became more and more vocal. The Tamil leader, Mr. Ponnambalam urged the Tamils not to support Sir John's government as he felt that it was a communal government in contrast with those of Late D. S. Senanayake and Dudley Senanayake.

Sir John could not ignore the campaign of Mr. Ponnambalam, for the latter was a very popular leader among the Tamils. Sir John tried to win over the support of the Tamils during his tour of the northern province. He therefore made a statement on 30 September 1954 at Kokuvil Hindu College, Jaffna, to the effect that Tamil would be given parity with Sinhala and that both would be the official languages of the island.

Sir John's statement provoked a great opposition from the Sinhalese. The movement for making Sinhala as the only official language of the island gained momentum. This in turn made the Tamils apprehensive of their future. The federal party talked of co-operating with the Tamil Congress to fight the parity issue. To make the matters worse, religion was also brought into the language question. The Buddhists felt that their religion was not given a rightful place in the affairs of the nation. They therefore took a leading part in "Sinhala only" movement.

In December 1955 the "Sinhala only" movement reached its peak. The UNP changed its stand on parity and agreed to make Sinhala as the only official language of the island. The UNP believed that by changing its stand on the language issue it had taken the wind out of the opposition sails. The Prime minister felt that he could cash in on the new language policy of the

UNP. He therefore advised the Governor-General to dissolve the parliament and order the General Elections.

The results of the General Elections of 1956 surprised many. The UNP was routed. The Mahajana Eksath Perumuna (MEP) won a land slide victory. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the leader of the MEP, became the Prime Minister.

Soon after assuming office, Mr. Bandaranaike introduced a bill in the Parliament making Sinhala as the sole official language. The federal party opposed the bill. But the bill was passed by 56 voters to 29. All MEP, UNP and nominated members voted for the bill and Tamils and all left parties voted against it. On 7 July 1956 the bill became an act.

The federal party announced that it would launch a non-violent direct action (Satyagraha) in August 1957 for the establishment of an "autonomous Tamil linguistic state within the federal union of Ceylon". As the threatened satyagraha of the Tamils approached the Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, entered into negotiations with the federal party leader, Mr. Chelvanayakam. Towards the end of July 1957 the two leaders arrived at an understanding regarding the legislation to be submitted to the parliament to protect the interests of the Tamil minority. This understanding is commonly known as the language pact. It provided for the use of Tamil in the administration of Tamil speaking areas.

The Sinhalese opposed the language pact so vehemently that the Prime Minister did not dare to take any steps to initiate legislation for the use of Tamil. The federal party thereupon launched the language campaign on 29 March 1958. The campaign was to deface the Sinhalese Symbol 'Sri' from the

registration number plates of the government owned buses. The campaign became violent and led to language riots. A state of emergency was proclaimed on 27 May 1958. The federal party was proscribed and its members were placed under house arrest.

In a new move to solve the problem, the government introduced a bill in the parliament on 4 July 1958, for the "use of Tamil language consistent with the position of the Sinhalese as the state language of the island". The bill was passed by both the houses of parliament in September 1958. The eight federal party M. P. 's who were kept under house arrest were released on 14 September, 1958. The new Act failed to satisfy the Tamils as it failed to promise greater regional autonomy in cultural and administrative matters.

On 26 September 1959, Mr. Bandaranaike died of the bullet injuries inflicted on him by the assassin on the previous day. Thereupon the Parliament was dissolved in December 1959 and general elections were held in March 1960. The UNP emerged as the largest single party in the House of Representatives. It therefore formed the government, but it was thrown out of office within one month on 2 April 1960. As no other party was able to form the government new general elections were held in July 1960.

In the mid-term elections of 1960, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) came out victorious and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike formed the government on 21 July, 1960.

The Governor-General announced that the official language Act and the Act providing for the reasonable use of Tamil language would be implemented so as to make Sinhala in reality the official language of the island. On 1 January 1961, Sinhala replaced English as the state language.

The federal party opposed the official language Act and started Satyagraha on 20

February 1961. This led to riots and the government proclaimed state of emergency on 17 April 1961. The language tension continued. Meanwhile, the government, which had planned to conduct the administration in Sinhala language from 1 January 1964 announced certain concessions to public servants who were not conversant with Sinhala to perform their duties in it.

The federal party was not satisfied with the concessions and announced that it will launch an agitation before 17 February 1964 "to achieve the political linguistic, civil, human rights of the Tamil speaking people of Ceylon". The agitation was however postponed as the government leaders opened informed discussion with the federal party leaders. While the talks were going on the SLFP government was defeated on 3 December 1964. The general elections were held in March 1965. The SLFP was heavily defeated. The UNP made a striking advance but failed to get an overall majority.

On 27 March 1965, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the leader of the UNP, with the help of the federal party and SLFP formed a coalition government. This government tried to solve the language problem by passing the Tamil language (special provisions) Regulations in January 1966.

This Act among other things provided for the use of Tamil language in the northern and eastern provinces for the transaction of all government and public business.

CONCLUSION :

The language agitation was a painful occurrence in the history of Ceylon. Now that the Tamil language (special provisions) Regulation has come into force it is hoped that lasting peace will prevail between both the Communities. The problems facing the island are stupendous. The amity and goodwill of

both the communities is essential for the well being of the island. At the three-day convention of the federal party which was concluded on 25 June 1966, the Prime-Minister, Dudley Senanayake gave an assurance that the language and tradition of the minorities would never suffer as long as he was the Prime-Minister of the country. The Prime-Minister declared that it was his intention to usher in an era when every one irrespective of race or religion can say "this is my own native land".

It is very significant that for the first time since the inception of the federal party that

the Prime-Minister addressed the convention. The general theme of the convention was racial amity and the president of the party Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan emphasized it when he said in his address that there were many pitfalls which they had to avoid and many difficulties they must face with determination and discipline "if we are to reach our goal of just and lasting peace based on an enlightened understanding between Sinhalese and Tamil speaking people of Ceylon".

It is hoped that the racial amity will endure for long and the lovely island will again march with confidence on the road to prosperity and plenty.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND SUFFERING HUMANITY

SAMAR DUTTA

One of the most remarkable traits in the character of Mahatma Gandhi was his boundless love and sympathy for suffering humanity. On several occasions he had been with the lepers on the steps of the temples and in the dust of the streets and wiped their ulcers with his cloth. Not only that. Transcending all the rules of caste he bandaged with his own hands the wounds of an outcaste. At Wardha, a leper colony was started under Gandhiji's direct guidance. It has been doing excellent work since then. At the instance of Gandhiji many other institutions of similar nature were

established in different parts of India. The image of Mahatma Gandhi cleaning the wounds of the renowned Sanskrit Scholar Panchure Shastri with his own hands at Sevagram Ashram would always remain a source of light and inspiration to countless leprosy workers in India and abroad. Such love and sympathy for suffering humanity is the real explanation of the Mahatma's refusal of all kinds of external joys and luxuries. His asceticism had nothing in common with the egoistic absorption of the yogis since his renunciation of all earthly pleasures was

meant only to save his own soul but was the expression of dedication of his life to save his down-trodden and humiliated countrymen groaning under the weight of poverty and distress.

Gandhiji considered untouchability as the greatest blot on the Hindu religion. In order to remove untouchability he had to fight against tremendous opposition. In this connection he said, "I was hardly twelve years old when a scavenger named Uka, an untouchable, used to attend our house for cleaning latrines. Often I would ask my mother why it was wrong to touch him, why I was forbidden to touch him. If I accidentally touched Uka I was asked to perform ablutions and though I naturally obeyed, it was not without smilingly protesting that untouchability was not sanctioned by religion, that it was impossible that it should be so. I was a very dutiful and obedient child, but so far as was consistent with respect for parents, I often had tussles with them in this matter. I told my mother that she was entirely wrong in considering physical contact with Uka as sinful."

Under such circumstances Gandhiji became conscious of the injustice which was the permanent lot of the pariahs in India. He undertook objective studies of Hindu religion along with other religions and he finally came to the conclusion that untouchability was not an important part of true Hinduism. He wrote, "I know no argument in favour of retention of untouchability and I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character in order to support a sinful institution. Indeed I would reject all authority if it is in conflict with sober reason or the dictates of the heart. Authority sustains and ennobles the weak when it is the handwork of reason, but it degrades them when it supplants reason sanctified by the 'still small voice' within." He

was of the definite view that the calamitous fate of India was simply the consequence of untouchability. The Mahatma showed his fellow countrymen that all the injustices and humiliations of British rule in India were nothing compared to the injustice India had inflicted upon the pariahs. The firm determination of Gandhiji to free the untouchables from their degrading position gave him no rest and it became one of the leading ideas in his political activities. Once he had exclaimed that if he were to be reborn after death he would like to come into the world as a pariah to share all their sorrows and sufferings, all affronts levelled at them in order to endeavour to free them from their miserable condition.

Gandhiji also interested himself in the fate of the Indian prostitutes, his 'fallen sisters', in the same way as he had done for the pariahs. Once a deputation of a hundred women from the Barisal brothels sought him out to complain of their sufferings and ask his advice. He wrote in due course, "The two hours I spent with these sisters is a treasured memory to me". He was able then for the first time to observe the great misery of these unfortunates although the women could only convey to him in hints what this life really was. Thence forward Gandhiji demanded that every man in India must guard and protect the virtue of every woman as if it were his sister's honour. At the same time he declared, "All of us must hang our heads in shame as long as there is a single woman whom we dedicate to our lust!" "I will far rather see the race of man extinct than that we should become less than beasts by making the noblest of God's creation the object of our lust. Of all the evils for which man has made himself responsible none is so degrading, or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity. The female sex is

the nobler of the two for it is the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith and knowledge."

Gandhiji carried on equally energetic warfare against drunkenness, gambling-houses and opium dens. Like prostitution they are responsible for the misery of the Indian people. Once the Mahatma had gone to the extent of saying, "If I were appointed the dictator of India for one hour only, the first thing I would do will be to close without compensation all the liquor shops. "Even at the time of Gandhi-Irwin pact Gandhiji did not forget his right to organise picketing of wine shops. Whenever there was famine or flood or some such thing Mahatmaji visited the affected areas and realised thereby that misery and suffering had assumed in India more appalling forms than in any other country in the world. Narrating one of his unforgettable impressions about famine-stricken people at Puri the Mahatma stated :

"The police superintendent took me to the square before a temple where hundreds of men and women were lying worn out with famine. The lamp of life was all but extinguished; they were moving pictures of despair. You could count every one of their ribs and see every vein. No muscles, no flesh. Withered wrinkled skin on their protruding temple bones; no light in their eyes. They seemed to have no other desire but to die and they hardly troubled about the handful of rice handed to them..... They took the food but were unable to eat it. This agonising, slow and lingering death of men and women is the most terrible tragedy I have ever witnessed. Their lot is an everlasting forced fast, and when they occasionally break it with a handful of rice it almost seems as if they were mocking at our way of life".

Often in his wanderings through the Indian villages Gandhiji saw the people, decimated by

plague and cholera, wasting away without any help. Pictures of such suffering of his countrymen made him restless at all times and his only thought was how to bring them relief. He declared that he would be unworthy to bear the name of a human being if he did not place all his strength at their service. Never perhaps since the days of the Buddha has any heart been so shaken by the sight of human misery. It was this profound sympathy with suffering that determined the whole of Gandhiji's thought and action and led him to active intervention in politics.

India is now a free country. She has been enjoying her political freedom for the last twenty two years or so. But freedom for Gandhiji was not merely a political fact. It was a social reality. He struggled not only to free India from foreign rule but free her from social corruption and commercial strife. The free India of Gandhiji's dream is one in which there shall be no problem of hunger poverty and unemployment; one in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; one in which there shall be no high class and low class people and one in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

During the last two decades India has achieved fairly good progress in various sectors of national development. Yet the fact remains that the basic problems of hunger poverty and unemployment are there in the country as they were in the pre-independence days. Further more, there is deterioration and degeneration in every sphere of public and private life. The ethical standard of people upon which Gandhiji laid the greatest stress has gone down like anything affecting most adversely our national well being. On the other hand parochialism, communalism provincialism, caste-mindedness and things like that are discernible in different parts of

the country. The leaders are heard to cry at the tops of their voices for national integration of India. In fact, much thinking, speaking and writing have been done in respect thereof but all in vain. Since the independence of India hardly had a day passed when people had refrained from giving vent to their resentment and from demonstrating their grievances on one problem or another. Thus the overall picture of the country is now absolutely dark and most disheartening.

Paying his tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, the erstwhile Chief Minister of West Bengal observed in the recent past, ".....we have not been able to measure ourselves upto his (Gandhiji's) standard, his rigid discipline and his expectation. We blame the darkness, we do not try to light the torch he handed over to us". This observation of Shri Mukherjee, a well-known Gandhian, is his clear cut admission that the Indian leaders have deviated from the Gandhian path. That is because the disciples of Gandhiji dissociated his 'Satyagraha' from his ideology. It was reduced to non-violent resistance and accepted as a useful technique of struggle. It became a means separated from Gandhian ends and it broke down com-

pletely when the national struggle for political freedom of India was over. This could be so because his methodology had a practical as well as an idealistic aspect while his philosophy was purely idealistic. The latter went far ahead of time and reality. But history moves on. The scale of distress of the people in general and the chaotic conditions that now prevail over all spheres of public and private life in the country make it abundantly clear that a false road has been followed in blind confidence. Thus the leaders who had been entrusted with the responsibility of governing India have failed to do good to the country and its people.

Nevertheless the hope of India advancing towards the cherished goal lies in following with all earnestness and sincerity the path shown by Gandhiji. And in so doing the immediate tasks of the leaders and the followers of the Mahatma should be to merge themselves with the masses from whom they are far away at present, and work like the great Master in the larger interests of the people in general, especially of the suffering masses that stand even today on the verge of starvation and devoid of all that give meaning and value to life.

TEACHING PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH

RAVI S. VARMA

INTRODUCTION :

The Position of English :

English has been studied in our country for more than a century but we have confined ourselves to the study of the literature and left the language to take care of itself. Little attention has been paid to the study of the language as such and we have been content with teaching our students the written form of the language without bothering about the spoken form. It has resulted in a tremendous waste of energy and resources. Our students not only fail to speak English fluently with correct pronunciation, stress, rhythm and intonation, they also find it difficult to use the language efficiently and with confidence for their day to day purposes. Thus we have aimed at achieving half the skill and that too we have failed to accomplish well.

And today the position of English has changed. From 'official language' it has been reduced to 'library language'. As medium of instruction it is fast losing ground and as a subject of study it is attracting only a very limited number of persons. And in these changed circumstances the job of the English teacher has been rendered very difficult. Branding English as a 'library language' has done a positive harm to its study. The phrase implies that reading comprehension of English is enough for our young graduates. It is highly doubtful if English will ever survive and flourish in this country with this attitude. If we don't want to shut the door of a vast expanse of knowledge to our countrymen we shall have to revise our attitude and English

will have to be given its rightful place in the curriculum. The sooner it is done, the better will it be in the larger interests of the country.

The Pronunciation of English :

Pronunciation, unfortunately, has been the most neglected area of English language teaching in our country. The spoken word is the real language and a living language is the spoken language, hence it follows that if we want to study English as a living language we must learn how to speak it.

In social intercourse pronunciation plays an important role. It reveals our culture and the degree of refinement we have achieved. The spoken word tells us so much more about the speaker-his family background, his place of birth, his early environment, his schooling and his mental attainments. Though pronunciation enjoys such a significant position in social behaviour, it is an accepted fact that no two people pronounce exactly alike, nay even the same person may fail to pronounce a word twice alike. But it does not in any way minimise the importance of learning a standard pronunciation, especially so far as the foreign learners of English are concerned.

The Standard English Pronunciation:

Before discussing the standard English pronunciation let us find out which is the standard English. In its written form the standard English appears in all public documents put out in countries whose official language is English and in its spoken form it is heard in announcements from all radio stations which broadcast in English. This English is

not necessarily connected with England nor is it enforced by any authority, but it is maintained as a standard by the needs of commercial, literary, and scientific communication. This standard English, though spoken in a wide variety of accents all over the world, enjoys official recognition and universal intelligibility.

Though there are many different types of accent of standard English as spoken in England, yet there is one particular sort of accent which is widely prevalent among the educated speakers of English. This pronunciation is best known as the Received Pronunciation (we owe this term to Prof. Daniel Jones) or R. P. for short.

In every country wherever English is spoken R. P. is the standard aimed at by all the educated people who have a command of the standard form of the language. R. P. enjoys considerable prestige and is a 'status symbol'. The virtues claimed for R. P. are (i) that it is the more agreeable accent of English to listen to, and (ii) that it is the most widely intelligible of English accents.

Here, a word about Indian English pronunciation. I may at the outset mention that there is no standard Indian English and hence the question of an Indian standard pronunciation of it does not arise. There is no need for it, and it will save our energy if we put a stop to our efforts at devising one. English is not a native language of India and we abhor 'Indian English', so there is no reason why we should hanker after an 'Indian' pronunciation. We have to make efforts to achieve R. P. which is the norm all over the world. The choice of R. P. is also advantageous in other ways too. We have had long contact with English and the English people and R. P. is the accent widely respected in our country. The choice of R. P., also helps us in the matter of textbooks,

readers, dictionaries and grammars. No other accent can offer such a wealth of material. So R. P. is the only choice.

The Use of Phonetics in Language Learning:

Now let us say a few words about Phonetics, the science of speech. The teacher of a foreign language has by necessity to be a good phonetician, but teachers in our country have resisted learning Phonetics because they have failed to realise its bearing on the business of language teaching. As we have been for long the teachers of English literature we have created a feeling in our students that pronunciation is not a very important aspect of language learning and that any pronunciation will do if it is fairly intelligible. This has thrown cold water on the enthusiasm for learning English as a living language, a spoken language. Happily, now a change in outlook is imperceptibly coming and we are making sincere efforts to teach English as one of the modern foreign languages.

The teacher of a foreign language has to take care of pronunciation at every stage so he can ignore phonetics, the science of speech only at his own peril. The teacher has all along to be careful about his own pronunciation for the students take him as a model and absorb his speech habits unconsciously.

Answering the question : How much Phonetics does a teacher need? Prof. Abercrombie says : 'On the theoretical side the teacher needs an understanding of how the vocal organs work, and of how spoken utterance may best be analysed and described for teaching purposes ; and a knowledge of the phonetic structure of English and of his pupils native language. On the practical side he needs an ear sufficiently trained to diagnose mistakes, and vocal organs sufficiently under control to produce isolated

English sounds and imitations of the pupil's mispronunciations and some acquaintance with those tricks of the phonetic trade which provide short-cuts in correcting mistakes'.

So this phonetic proficiency is expected of every English teacher, but he must guard against misplaced zeal and should not forget that he has to teach English pronunciation and not English Phonetics. Phonetic transcription must also be avoided as long as possible. Another important thing is that people vary, to a considerable degree, in their ability to learn the pronunciation of a foreign language. Some people may easily imitate most exotic sounds whereas others may fail miserably even after repeated attempts. Another resistance to learning standard pronunciation arises from a feeling that accurate pronunciation of a language not one's own is not 'good form'. Sometimes the learner has a fear of making himself ridiculous to his fellow countrymen. People pass sarcastic remarks on him. They brand him as 'affected' and say that he is trying to 'show off'. Sometimes the speaker himself is too self-conscious and does more harm than good to himself with his accurate pronunciation. The result very often is that every one has to slip back to the prevalent form of pronunciation to make himself acceptable.

The Goal of Teaching Pronunciation :

And it is true also that most language learners need nothing more than a comfortably intelligible pronunciation. The goal of teaching pronunciation can easily be set as the attainment of this 'intelligibility'. In our country where several hundred regional languages and dialects are spoken, this intelligibility means a common standard of pronunciation. As English is confined to a very small circle of educated people we need not fritter away our efforts in evolving

a standard pronunciation of English for India. The best in the circumstances is to set R. P. as a model and try to conform to it as much as possible. Complexities of rhythm and intonation, may, however be left without detracting anything from the ideal.

For this limited goal, then, it must first be decided which features of English pronunciation are important for intelligibility; secondly, it must be decided which of these features will require the learner's attention and this will depend on the phonetic structure of the learner's mother-tongue. These points should be selected and graded carefully because a random ordering of points would be unwise. Except for these selected points, the learner may use his own native sounds; and even on the selected points it will very often be distinctions that are important rather than the quality of sounds themselves. If we teach English pronunciation with this limited goal, much can be achieved in this sphere which is so badly neglected in our country.

Difficulties in Learning Spoken English :

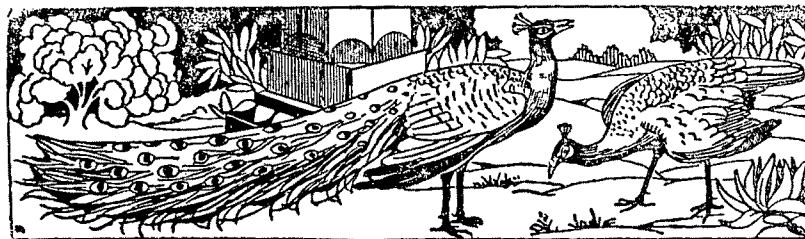
Prof. Daniel Jones tells us that a student of spoken English has to face difficulties of five kinds at the outset. He then suggests ways to surmount them. First, the learner must learn to recognize readily with certainty the various speech sounds occurring in English, when he hears them pronounced. This is a matter of 'ear-training'. Possession of a good ear involves (i) ability to discriminate between sounds; (ii) ability to remember the acoustic qualities of foreign sounds; and (iii) ability to recognise foreign sounds. Training will make the ear more sensitive and help the auditory memory. Second, the learner must learn to make these foreign sounds with his organs of speech. This is a matter of gymnastics of the vocal organs and knowledge of phonetic theory is of great

help in this regard. This must be supplemented with exercises based on theory, which will give greater control on tongue, lips and other parts of the organs of speech. Third, the learner must learn to use these foreign sounds in their proper places in connected speech. This is a matter of memorizing. Phonetic transcription may help here but the learner must be efficient in forming the sounds represented by the phonetic letters. Fourth, he must learn the proper usage in the matter of the 'sound attributes' or 'prosodies', especially length, stress and voice-pitch. This information may be supplied by means of rules and phonetic transcription. Fifth, the learner must learn to join each sound of a sequence on to the next, and to pronounce the complete sequence rapidly and without stumbling. This difficulty is more generally encountered than the rest. It sometimes happens that a student can pronounce isolated sounds correctly, knows what sequence of sounds to use in a given word or sentence, and knows the necessary details in regard to length,

stress and pitch but stumbles over the sound sequence. He needs facility in passing from one sound to another and this ability to catenate sounds can be cultivated by continued repetition of such sound sequences as present difficulty. Lastly, the student who wishes to become proficient in the written as well as the spoken language, has an additional difficulty. He has to learn the relation between the conventional orthography and pronunciation.

CONCLUSION : The Role of the Teacher :

Some features of pronunciation can only be learnt with the aid of a teacher, others can be learnt from books. The teacher acts as a model of pronunciation, gives his pupil ear-training exercises, tells him whether his attempts at the pronunciation of the foreign sounds and sound sequences are sufficiently successful or not, and helps him to improve his pronunciation of the difficult sounds and sound sequences. The teacher who has the sole responsibility of teaching pronunciation of English to his pupils must be well equipped for his job.



IMPORTANCE OF REFERENCE GROUPS IN AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK

V. VEERABHADRAIAH & Dr. M. K. SETHU RAO

In agricultural extension work, the extension workers are concerned with teaching farmers the new ideas and practices in farming. In other words, the extension worker is essentially a communicator; to disseminate information on new ideas and practices. Several extension methods are used for this purpose. Farmers do not form an opinion or decide to adopt an innovation off-hand. They weigh the pros and cons to a considerable extent. In this context, farmers refer to their neighbours, friends or relatives while forming an opinion, making a decision or accepting an innovation. Such crucial groups or individuals whom farmers refer while making decisions, forming an opinion etc. are called reference groups or the referent individual, respectively. They play a vital role in firm practice adoption. The behaviour of an individual is influenced to a large extent by these reference groups.

The concept of reference group was first used by Hyman in 1942 and since then it has gained much importance. Many authors after Hyman conducted studies on reference groups and their influence on farm practice adoption. The concept of reference groups arose from the necessity of ascertaining precisely the groups which provide the main anchorage for experience and behaviour. Actual membership is not a requirement here. In the words of Sherif and Sherif (1948), "If a man were not susceptible to the influence of books, newspaper, radio and other media of communication, if he did not live in a highly differentiated social world, there would be no need to raise the problem of reference groups." The reference groups play two important roles in attitudes. These two important functions of determining the persons' reference groups are : i). Normative function and ii) Comparative function

Normative reference groups are those that affect the persons' conformity (adoption) to certain standards of behaviour or attitude.

Comparative reference groups are those that serve as a comparison reference for an individual in making judgement or evaluation of his own position. It is in this group we are interested in. Reference groups may exert an important influence even though they are amorphous and fleeting in nature.

The reference groups differ from other kind of groups in the readiness of persons to establish a close relationship with them. Reference groups influence on the attitude formation of an individual. In the words of Hubert bonne, 'attitudes could not remain lockedup inside the self of the individual they lead to the performance of new function'. A change in reference groups leads to change in attitude which leads to change in action. The influence of reference groups on individual's behaviour depends upon how the individual attaches to the group, the mode of perceiving the norms of the groups and his expectations regarding the group,

Role of reference groups in agricultural extension work.

Reference groups play a very definite role in agricultural extension work. The main aim of agricultural extension work is to teach farmers the new ideas and practices in farming. People seek information about innovations and improvements in farming from various sources. Although the extension agency or the research stations are the primary sources of new information, farmers refer not only to these sources but also other sources like neighbours, friends, relatives etc. The farm practice adoption process is a process of decision making and

farmers refer only to their credible source when they make important decisions.

Research studies have revealed that reference groups affect the adoption of new practices, consumer decisions to purchase certain products and voting behaviour in political elections. Individuals refer to reference groups as they make decisions and take action. The following are the important reference groups to which farmers refer while they make decisions and take action.

1. Neighbourhoods.
2. Friends and relatives.
3. Family.
4. Individuals such as village leader and farm dealers
5. Extension agency-Gramsevak.

Neighbourhoods :

Neighbourhood reference groups in most cases serve as referent for the individual farmers. In the words of Lionberger, 'the neighbourhoods are ordinarily composed of a few families who know each other personally, who have a feeling of mutual concern for each other, and who belong to the same locality as their place of residence. Marsh and Coleman have shown that the higher the practice adoption rate of farm adopter, the higher the adoption rates of most of his close associates in Kin, visiting and work exchange groups. Holden (1965) found that most of the farmers were more frequently guided by the opinion and influence of neighbours in adopting many improved practices in farming. Another research study conducted in Kentucky, (U.S.A.) indicated that the practice adoption was more (48%) in progressive neighbourhood and less (32%) in backward neighbourhood.

Friends and relatives :—

Friends and relatives also serve as reference groups. When a farmer comes in close contact with his relatives or friends, he has an opportunity to discuss with them freely, exchange information and know the new information and

to come to a decision. Bose and Basu (1963) found that a farmer's adoption rate of farm practices is influenced by the adoption rate of the reference groups consisting of friends, relatives and work exchange groups.

Family :—

Often family members serve as reference to the decision maker. One of the family members who is not a decision maker but is in touch with latest developments in farming may certainly serve as a referent to the other person in the family who is actually a cultivator.

Individuals :—

Individuals also often serve as referents. A referent is a person whose expectations are considered in an individual's thoughts and actions. Farmers refer to their local leaders like chairman of village panchayat, progressive farmer etc. while they make decisions in farming. These individuals by virtue of their authority and goodness influence others in a village. An extension worker may take the advantage of these individuals to reach large number of farmers.

Extension agency :—

This is a formal organization pledged to help and assist the farmers in scientific farming. Gramsevak, who works at village level is a person who can be contacted for new information in farming. Certainly many farmers refer to him while making decisions in scientific farming.

The Extension Agency should evolve means and methods to work through the reference groups, particularly the informal reference groups to provide scope for greater multiplier effect towards the adoption of new technology. Actually the reference groups and referents act as legitimisers giving sanction or stricture to any programme in the community. Hence, identification and channalising the efforts through these groups is a very essential thing for the extension workers to implement the extension education programme in an effective way.

Current Affairs

Crime in India in 1968

The Ministry of Home Affairs Published their annual report for 1968 as compiled by the Central Bureau of Investigation in 1970. Some of the facts published will be found informative and are therefore reproduced below :—

During the year under report (1968), a total number of 8,61,962 cases of cognizable offences (under the Indian Penal Code) were reported in India as against 8,81,981 during 1967 recording a decrease of 2.3% over the previous year. These figures include crime committed by juveniles. Table I presents the comparative position of (i) incidence of total cognizable crime reported, (ii)- estimated population and (iii) volume of crime for one hundred thousand of population during the last six years viz. 1963 to 1968.

Table I
INCIDENCE OF CRIME AND POPULATION DURING 1963 TO 1968 IN INDIA

Year	Population (million)	Total cognizable Crime	Rate of crime per 100,000 of population
1963	456.1	6,58,830	143.5
1964	475.2	7,59,013	159.6
1965	486.9	7,51,615	154.4
1966	498.7	7,94,733	159.4
1967	511.3	8,81,981	172.5
1968	523.5	8,61,962	164.7

A total number of 10,41,257 persons were arrested during the year 1968 for offences (under the Indian Penal Code) as compared to 9,63,716 persons arrested during 1967 showing an increase of 8.0% over the previous year. Table I(a) presents comparative figures of persons arrested and the number of persons involved per case during the last six years viz. 1963 to 1968. It has been observed that the number of persons involved per case during 1963-1967 do not show significant variations but during 1968 it has increased to 1.21 as against an average of 1.10 over the previous quinquennial average.

Table I (a)

PERSONS ARRESTED DURING 1963-68 IN INDIA

Year	Number of persons arrested	Average number of persons arrested per case
1963	7,23,394	1.09
1964	8,40,292	1.10
1965	8,53,473	1.13
1966	8,81,653	1.11
1967	9,63,716	1.09
1968	10,41,257	1.21

CRIME UNDER DIFFERENT HEADS

Table II shows the percentage break-up of total cognizable cases under important heads of crime for the entire country during the year

1964 to 1968. It appears that the pattern of percentage distribution of crime under important heads is more or less of the same nature during all these five years.

Table II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME UNDER IMPORTANT HEADS
DURING 1964-68 IN INDIA

Sl. No.	Heads of Crime	Years				
		1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Murder	...	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.6
2. Kidnapping and abduction	...	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.0
3. Dacoity	...	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7
4. Robbery	...	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
5. House-Breaking	...	20.3	18.9	18.9	19.7	18.1
6. Cattle theft	...	3.1	3.0	3.3	3.0	3.0
7. Ordinary theft	...	33.0	33.4	34.4	35.5	33.6
8. Riots	...	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.8	5.3
9. Criminal Breach of Trust	...	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.6
10. Cheating	...	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5
11. Counterfeiting	...	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
12. Miscellaneous	...	30.6	31.4	30.3	28.4	31.2
Total	...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

There is a lack of sudden and noticeable variations in these figures which point to the fact that crime and criminals are a natural part of Indian life. The people of India do not show much change in character and be-

haviour inspite of increasing education and improved earning power. Prevention of crime also does not appear to be an active force in social life. The Table printed below points to the truth of this assertion.

Table II (b)

NUMBER OF PERSONS ARRESTED UNDER DIFFERENT CRIME HEADS
DURING 1967 AND 1968 AND PERCENTAGE VARIATION FROM 1967 TO 1968

Sl. No.	Crime Heads	1967	1968	Percentage variation over 1967
1. Total Cognizable crime	...	9,63,716	10,41,257	+8.0
2. Murder	...	28,790	33,179	+15.2
3. Kidnapping & Abduction	...	12,107	12,512	+3.3
4. Dacoity	...	27,098	30,120	+10.7
5. Robbery	...	11,358	12,111	+6.6
6. House-breaking	...	98,025	91,173	-7.0
7. Cattle thefts	...	23,695	21,673	-8.5
8. Ordinary thefts	...	1,79,857	1,79,787	-0.04
9. Riots	...	2,18,738	2,67,385	+22.2
10. Criminal Breach of Trust	...	14,207	14,776	+4.0
11. Cheating	...	10,415	10,913	+4.8
12. Counterfeiting	...	423	604	+42.8

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Disposal of cases

During the year 1968, 6,83,877 cases were reported to be true out of which charge sheets were laid in respect of 3,46,907 (50.7%) cases. Trials were completed in 2,89,066 cases during the year out of which as many as 1,89,566 (65.6%) cases ended in conviction.

Atomic Energy Potential of India

The recent change of outlook of the Government of India in the field of Nuclear arms manufacture lend a special significance to the report of the Atomic Minerals Division of the Department of Atomic Energy of the Government. The availability of atomically active minerals is of great importance to the Nation and the following quotations from the above report will be found to be of great value.

Uranium : Underground development work both at the Narwapahar and Bhatin mining prospects in Bihar was intensified. At Bhatin, besides exploration for uranium, investigations were continued for estimation of nickel and molybdenum mineralisation. Exploratory drilling was also continued at Rajgaon, Dudra, Banadungri, Rajdah, Kanyaluka, Bhalki, Bagjata and Purandungri etc. in the Singhbhum Thrust Belt. The total drilling done aggregated about 17,212,61 running metres. Three boreholes completed at Jaduguda during the deep drilling programme initiated last year to explore continuity of mineralisation at depth have given encouraging results.

Geological and radiometric investigations for uranium were also carried out in parts of the Himalayas as well as the Peninsular India regions. These comprised detailed investigations of the uraniferous Motur Sandstones (Lower Gondwana) in Betul and Hoshangabad districts (Madhya Pradesh) and the amphibolites of the Inderwa, Chitarpur areas in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar. Elsewhere, during preliminary investigations, radioactivity anomalies due to the presence of uranium were also reported in the Kolihan Copper Mine in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan and Lotapahar in the Singhbhum Thrust Belt of Bihar.

Thorium : Investigations for estimation of ilmenite, monazite and other heavy mineral reserves in the beach, dune and teri sands in parts of Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Kerala were continued. Investigations of the causes of change in the composition of beach washing at Manavalakurichi, studies of replenishment/replacement rates of heavy minerals and quick and effective methods for estimation of reserves to replace the time-consuming and laborious conventional methods of grain counting have also been taken up side-by-side.

Beryllium : Intensive survey and prospecting for beryl were carried out in the three Mica Belts of Bihar, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh and in parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Gujarat and Mysore. This work helped in the location of many promising beryl-bearing pegmatites in the Jamchua, Kunkuri area of Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh and Dhenkanal district of Orissa. Exploitation of some of the beryl-bearing pegmatites in the Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh has been commenced by the Government of Madhya Pradesh.

Columbium-Tantalum : Survey and prospecting for columbium-tantalum bearing minerals continued, including detailed investigations of some of the important pegmatites viz. Khairidih, Neropahar, Doranda, Tettaria, Telodih etc. in the Bihar Mica Belt. Investigations of the pyrochlore-bearing carbonatite at Sevattur (North Arcot, Tamil Nadu) were also intensified. Systematic surveys and sampling for location

possible deposits of columbium-tantalum bearing minerals in favourable host rocks such as syenites and carbonatites in various other areas e.g. Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Mysore have also been taken up.

Geophysical Investigations : Electrical resistivity, self-potential and radon (soil gas) surveys etc., were carried out in the Udaisagar-Debari area (Udaipur, Rajasthan), Lotapahar and the Western Extension of Narwapahar (Hitku) as well as many other localities in the Singhbhum Thrust Belt of Bihar. Favourable indications obtained at some of the places are being followed up.

Geochemical Investigations : Geo-chemical exploration for uranium was carried out in the Inderwa-Chitarpur-Salaiddih area (Hazaribagh, Bihar), Vinukonda (Guntur, Andhra Pradesh), Villupuram (South Arcot, Tamil Nadu), Dhakni-Saharwani-Boranda (Bhandara, Maharashtra), Delehari, Pandra area (Narsinghpur, Madhya Pradesh) and Umra-Udaisagar (Udaipur, Rajasthan). The data obtained is being processed.

Cooperative Coconut Marketing in Kerala

Mr. M. Kuttappan writing in *Indian Cooperative Review* about the working of coconut marketing and processing cooperatives in Kerala says :—

After the publication of the Rural Credit Survey Committee Report in 1954, the progress of the Cooperative Movement in India has been remarkable. In order to improve the woeful state of rural credit in India the Committee formulated what they described as an "integrated scheme of rural credit". The most important feature of this scheme was that there should be full coordination between credit and other economic activities affecting the farmers, such as marketing and processing of agricultural produce. The Committee felt that the development of cooperative marketing and processing of agricultural produce is an

essential prerequisite for a large scale expansion of cooperative credit and agricultural production. The importance of linking cooperative credit with cooperative marketing and processing has been organised as a measure to ensure on the one hand the recoveries of loans advanced to the farmer and on the other to ensure for the agriculturists a fair price for their produce. About the need for integrating credit with marketing and processing Dr. D.R. Gadgil says, "Credit, marketing of agricultural produce and its processing are all intimately connected with each other. If all of these are managed by cooperative agencies, it becomes possible on the one hand, to give ample credit for production and development purposes because its repayment is assured and on the other it becomes possible to conserve for the cultivator the additional gains obtained through marketing and processing activity and also to give him adequate protection from seasonal fluctuations."*

In Kerala, owing to the dominance of each crop in the cropping pattern of the state, marketing and processing cooperatives can play a more important role in the development of the rural economy than in many other states. More than 80 per cent of these crops are subject to processing before it reaches the hands of the consumers. Of the cash crops grown in Kerala, the most important is coconut. Owing to the favourable soil and climatic conditions of the state, this crop is cultivated in all the districts of Kerala and in India 70 per cent of the production is from Kerala. It occupies a place of pride in the economy of the state both as a source of food and as a source of raw material for a number of industries. In view of the importance of the crop in the economy of Kerala and in view of the deficiency of its production in the country, there is an urgent need for increasing the production of coconut in India. But at

the same time there is a growing awareness that the present system of marketing and processing of coconut by private dealers are more or less imperfect and that constitutes a significant constraint on production. Under the circumstances, cooperative marketing and processing of coconut if efficiently carried out, should help to reduce the price spread between

the producer and consumer and thereby ensure a better return to the primary producer and this will act as an incentive for increased production. It is in this context that we have to view the working of coconut processing and marketing in Kerala.

**Indian Cooperative Review, October 1965, page 640-641.*

IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(13)

We reached Santiniketan on the 3rd or 4th of July. Mother and Ashoke came along with us, but returned to the city after a couple of days. The cottage had three rooms, with a long verandah encircling them. The kitchen and the bath were built on the eastern and western parts of the verandah. The cottage was very near the poet's house and that was its greatest merit. We could see him often and even voices could be heard clearly. A couple of wooden benches—one on the front verandah the other on the green lawn below it—would always attract our group of boys and girls. But we had more work to do these days, as mother lived in

Calcutta. However, our youthful enthusiasm helped us to simplify the household chores and the rest of the day was spent according to our whims. The ashram was rather close knit during those days and there were very few people—so our two-year proximity had drawn most of them very close to us. When we came away the outward ties were snapped but the relationship remained permanent.

Rabindranath was still in Calcutta when we came to stay in Santiniketan. He returned to the ashram after a couple of days I joined the teachers, contingent almost immediately and I happily agreed to teach

history to the smaller boys, when Nepalbabu ask me to do so.

The boys were most amusing. I was barely out of College then and took the matter of 'studying' rather seriously. But for my pupils, there was hardly any difference between playing and studying. History, for them, was a session of story-telling, and when I tested their historical knowledge, the answers were of the most staggering variety and were beyond the imagination of any historian. Once I had asked, "India has the Himalayan range across the northern border—how did the invaders come from the north?" A little boy answered promptly, "They drilled a hole through the mountain wall." I did not have to go to any school room—the boys brought their books and papers and tiny mats and invaded our south verandah, to 'play a game of history learning with me!' In the middle of a chapter, some would jump up to climb a tree, while the others tried to coax them down.

I taught English translation, for a while, to some boys in the school-leaving class. Sri Jibanmay Ray was their teacher then and taught them English literature. He had said to me, "please help them, if you can, and they will never forget you." I did try my best to help them, although I have no idea whether they remember me at all.

Rabindranath returned to the ashram on a Friday. The school had just reopened, everybody was back at work and the busy crowd around him prevented our visiting him that day. But seeing him from a distance was happiness enough for us.

The next evening he himself came to see us. He called out from the verandah, "Hello! are you all in?" My sister and

I rushed out to touch his feet, as father was not in. He went round the cottage, enquired about our needs and returned home.

On Sunday morning we went to visit Kamala Devi and sat with her in the front verandah. We saw the poet come in. "Don't you go for a walk in the mornings?" he asked me. To Kamala Devi he said, "Well! has the mali offered you any more bouquets recently?" When she answered, "No" he said, "What made him change his mind?"

The poet used to amuse everyone with his story about Harish, the mali, and his devotion towards Kamala Devi.

On Wednesday he conducted the prayers in the temple and the boys sang. We went to see him in the evening, but he was not at home. We visited some of the professors and strolled about the fields, expecting to meet him there. When it was growing dark we started for home. We heard the poet's voice when we came near Kamala Devi's verandah. We walked in and saw him sitting there, with Dinu babu's pet dog lying at his feet. I had noticed them and also much later, the love all dumb animals bore towards him. Seeing us he said, "We were to hold rehearsals for 'Dak-ghar' here tonight." I asked, "Isn't Kamala in?" He laughed and said, "No—I have been waiting for them. Neither Kamala nor her beloved is here." He was sitting with some of the professors, so we came away, not wishing to disturb them. The poet did not like us to walk through the fields in the dark, as snakes were not rare things in the ashram in those days. He had often scolded us for our carelessness, but that evening we escaped punishment. The rehearsals

began a little later, but we could not attend it.

Next evening we went for a walk with Kamala Devi. We had a shower of rain earlier, the roads were slushy with reddish mud. We walked cheerfully through all that, chattering furiously. A mehendi bush separated the poet's house from Kamala Devi's. All of a sudden we spotted a bit grey-blue cloth behind the leaves. Our voices, raised to the highest pitch, were lowered immediately. Rabindranath came forward and said, "So, it was you! I was wondering why I could only hear Kamala's voice, all the time. Kamala, you are a permanent resident—why don't you guide them about the ashram?" He scolded us a bit for our walking in the slush. He also enquired about the History lessons.

We came to know that he was leaving for Calcutta, because of his daughter's illness. He was very busy that day, going up and down constantly and also driving cut in his car. The singing lessons used to be held at Dinubabu's, in the evenings and we went to attend them. After some time, the poet came and sat with us. He also taught us a new song.

Early next morning, we saw him, sitting in prayer, but we realised that he would be leaving in the morning train—as the servants were packing his boxes. When we went to wish him good-bye, he was getting ready to go. We sat to wait with Kamala Devi. When he came down, we bowed down to touch his feet. When Kamala bowed, he tweaked her ear, playfully. Patting my head, he asked, "How are you getting along

with Shivaji and Vikramaditya?" He had heard that I was teaching History to the boys. Nepalbabu came in right then and the poet laughed and said, "Well, Sir! the Non-Aryans are drilling through the mountains into our land—and you are doing nothing about it. I am positively worried." Then turning to my father he said, "I take leave of you, Sir," and got into his car.

He stayed for more than a month in the city and, most probably, did not visit the ashram. He wrote his essay, "Kartar Icchaya Karma", at about this time. He read this out at a couple of literary meetings—we heard about it in the ashram. His song "Desho Desho Nandito Kari, Mandrita Tobo Bheri", was to be sung at a Calcutta meeting. He sent a telegram to Dinubabu, summoning him to Calcutta for this. He had also invited my father to preside over the meeting, but he could not go for domestic reasons. We also heard that the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj arranged a meeting to felicitate the poet.

Life was not as interesting for us, in the ashram, in Rabindranath's absence. But the days were not without joy, as we watched the boys in their daily routine, attended the singing classes and even watched the football matches. Walking through the fields, woods and lanes was within our regular routine. We had made friends with several girls and time passed easily.

Rabindranath returned in the middle of August. The car was sent to the station in the afternoon, but he did not come in the early train. We were waiting by the road—seeing the empty car, we returned home rather disappointed.

Indian Periodicals

Some Major Diseases of India

The Report (1969-70) of the Ministry of Health gives us the following facts and figures.

Malaria

Malaria has been the biggest public health problem and it was estimated in 1935 that about 100 million people suffered from the disease every year. Out of these a million died due to malaria and another million deaths occurred due to the debilitating effects of this disease and superimposed infections. Another estimate in 1952 placed the annual morbidity and mortality figures at 75 million and 0.8 million respectively. It was also estimated that due to the loss of manhours both in agriculture and industry, the economic loss to the country amounted to nearly Rs. 1000 crores.

The National Malaria Control Programme was started in 1953, It was intensified and converted during 1958-59 into the National Malaria Eradication Programme, with a view to freeing the country from Malaria. The objective is to be achieved by the ultimate extermination of the malaria parasite from the community by institution of residual insecticidal spray for interruption of transmission and prevention of recurrence of new cases in the community and by active surveillance for detection and treatment of positive cases of malaria.

As a result of the control and eradication measures adopted, the percentage of clinical malaria cases to all diseases as reported has declined as follows :—

TABLE (I)

Year	Percentage of clinical malaria cases to all diseases treated in Hospitals and Dispensaries
1	2
1953-54	10.0
1957-58	4.4
1967-68	0.07
1968-69	0.16

Smallpox

India accounted for about 48 per cent of the total number of cases of Smallpox in the World in 1966. To eradicate the disease, the National Smallpox Eradication Programme was launched towards the end of 1962. The objective is to be accomplished by launching an intensive vaccination campaign with special emphasis on covering the unprotected children in the vulnerable age group of 0 to 14 years, and revaccination of selected groups of the population viz. children at the school entry and at school leaving stages and labour and migratory population. In addition, surveillance and containment measures are to be taken. Approximately 128.72 million primary vaccinations and 600.90 million revaccinations were performed since the inception of the programme in 1962 upto the 31st December, 1969.

Cholera

The problem of Cholera in the country is the existence of endemic foci which contribute a large proportion of the total incidence

reported every year and which are responsible for spread of epidemics to other parts of the country. Large endemic areas are in the seven States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Tamilnadu and West Bengal.

During the decade 1960—69, on an average, annually 30,421 cases and 9,487 deaths due to cholera were reported. The incidence during the recent four years is given below :—

Year		Cases	Deaths
1966	...	13,097	2,788
1967	...	12,647	2,719
1968	...	18,321	2,954
1969	...	14,440	2,413

Leprosy

It is estimated that about 300 million people are living in the Leprosy endemic zones who are exposed to the risk. The prevalence rate of Leprosy is as high as 40 per thousand in some parts of the country. About 25 lakhs are suffering from Leprosy of which about 5 to 6 lakhs are of the infectious type. Nearly half of the total number of cases are from the two highly endemic States of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In six other States, viz, Maharashtra, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and parts of Mysore is moderate and low in the country.

Tuberculosis

According to the National Sample Survey conducted in 1955-58, about 1.5% of the country, is suffering from active Tuberculosis about a fourth being infectious. The disease is equally prevalent in cities, towns and villages. As 82% of the population of the country lives in villages, the problem of

Tuberculosis in our country is predominantly a rural problem.

The objective of the National TB Programme is to reduce the prevalence and incidence of Tuberculosis in the country and to control the spread of infection.

The strategy employed is to treat all the infectious and potentially infectious TB patients in the community so that the source of infection is reduced and to offer protection BCG vaccination to infants and children so that they can avoid infection.

Our Defence Organisation

The Report of the Ministry of Defence for the year 1969-70 give us detailed information relating to matters connected with India's Army, Navy and Air Force. We quote certain portions from the 'general remarks which are introductory to the Report.

Our defence policy is aimed at protecting our borders from any external aggression or threat of aggression. We have no designs on the territory of any other country and have not ever in the past committed aggression against any country. However, we have suffered aggression from two of our neighbours and this threat still continues.

Pakistan has been continuously increasing its armed potential since 1965. It has doubled its Army and significantly increased the size and striking power of its Air Force. Its Navy has also been substantially expanded specially in regard to submarines. It has been feverishly acquiring military aircraft, tanks, artillery pieces and other weapons from wherever she can get them.

Pakistan had obtained massive military assistance amounting to nearly 1,500 million dollars from the USA upto 1965. This

comprised largely of weapons of offensive capability like tanks, bombers, fighter aircraft, modern artillery ; and ammunition. Though the Government of USA have not supplied any lethal equipment to Pakistan since 1965, spares have been supplied, on sales basis, which has enabled Pakistan to reactivate much of the equipment which had been rendered ineffective during the 1965 hostilities. After 1965, Pakistan received large quantities of military supplies from China and is continuing to get them. These include complete equipment for two infantry divisions, about 350 tanks, 120 MiG aircraft two squadrons of IL-28 bombers and large number of artillery pieces, vehicles, spares for tanks and aircraft, etc. China also gave financial assistance to Pakistan for purchasing military stores from other countries. Assistance was also provided for setting up ordnance factories at Joydebpur and Peshawar and a heavy mechanical complex at Taxila. The Soviet Union has also commenced supplies of military equipment to Pakistan. The equipment received from the Soviet Union includes T-54/8-55 tanks, 130 mm artillery guns, spares for MiG aircraft and ammunition and other miscellaneous military stores.

A road is under construction from Morkhun to Khunjerab in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir and a large number of Chinese personnel have been inducted into the area for this purpose. The road would be available to Pakistan as a second line of communication for units in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir. The road is also capable of giving logistical support to the Chinese in Western Tibet through Pakistan. There are thus unmistakable signs of

collusion between Pakistan and China. The assistance given by both Governments to anti national elements in our country, especially in the eastern sector, is clear evidence of the continuing unfriendliness and hostility of these two countries towards us. China continues to maintain a very large force in Tibet estimated at between 1,30,000 to 1,50,000 men and this strength can be substantially increased at short notice. We have therefore, to be vigilant and watchful and prepared for any contingency arising as a result of steps taken jointly or separately by these two neighbours.

The production programmes in the Ordnance Factories have during the year proceeded broadly according to plan. Several new types of ammunition stores including demolition charges, bomb shells, rocket heads and projectiles for the Air Force, Navy and Army are under establishment. The Ambajhari Factory is expected to commence bulk production by the end of 1970. The new Vehicle Factory, Jabalpur is nearing completion and production of components is expected to commence during 1970. The Heavy Vehicles Factory at Avadi is making satisfactory progress and is expected to produce an increasing number of tanks with increasing indigenous content ; also, this factory has a scheme for the manufacture of other medium and light armoured vehicles. Plans have been drawn up for the modernisation of the chemical plants at the Cordite Factory, Aruvankadu, and of the foundry facilities at the Ordnance Factory, Muradnagar.

The seven companies under the Department of Defence Production are expected to achieve a total production of about Rs.

134 crores during 1969-70 which would be Rs. 22 crores more than the figure of the previous year. During the current year, the Accessories Project of HAL has been sanctioned for the manufacture of aircraft instruments, wheels and brakes, hydraulic equipment, ejection seats, etc. HAL has done preliminary work on two important development tasks for the future, namely, the designing of an advanced ground attack fighter as well as the further development of HF-24. An agreement has been signed for the manufacture of an improved version of MiG-21 aircraft. Bharat Electronics has finalised its proposal for establishment of a new factory. It also plans to take up the manufacture of integrated circuits shortly to meet the futuristic requirements of electronic equipment. It is proposed to set up a new plant for the manufacture of anti-tank missiles. At Mazagon Dock, the fitting out of the first frigate is in progress. The second frigate is expected to be launched in May 1970. The work on the third frigate is expected to start shortly.

The Defence Research and Development Organisation has been further strengthened by the setting up of some new establishments. The organisation continued to make contributions on an increasing scale towards the attainment of self-sufficiency in defence equipment by helping indigenous development of military stores, equipment and weaponry.

The Department of Defence Supplies made some further headway in locating and establishing import substitutes to cater to Defence requirements and in the field of electronics in general.

Training of Workers

Prof Navin Kumar of Allahabad University writing about Training of workers in the Labour Gazette says.

It is accepted on all hands that workers must be systematically trained in order to do their job efficiently. Recent researches made in field of Industrial psychology bear testimony to the fact that no matter how carefully workers have been selected or how much aptitude they may possess for their assignment, systematic training is imperative. If they are to reach a satisfactory level of job performance. In the past when there was a little industrialisation, it was conceived to be standard practice to have training done by the supervisors and it was incumbent on him to see that new workers were given necessary training. But just as modern Scientific management has found that expert training should supplement the work of the foreman in making the job analysis and setting rates, so that also, management is finding that the use of expert training is advantageous as a supplement to the work of the foreman. Training as we find is a continuous process. The nature and purpose of training vary a great deal but purposes can be grouped into the following category.

1. Developing skills (the abilities of the employees to perform their work.)
2. Transmitting information (Such information about the factory's products or services, its policies and attitude)
3. Modifying attitude.

As we said that training is a continuous process because of dynamic nature of our economy, organisational changes, job changes, changes in business, volume changes, methods changes, all require modification of understanding attitudes, and skill on the part of workers. Over and under emphasis of training stems largely from inadequate recognition and determination of training needs and objectives. Training needs, according to the Dale Yoder represent specific employment problems which can be overcome by training of workers.

Foreign Periodicals

Cashew Nuts

The following excerpts are taken from INTERNATIONAL TRADE FORUM published by UNCTAD-GATT International Trade Centre, Geneva

As an export crop, cashew offers uncommon attractions. When natural conditions are right—as they are in many places—the cashew tree flourishes with little care, and it can grow where most other cash crops cannot. Its nut finds a ready market and faces little direct competition. Consumption has been expanding at a smart pace, even while prices have firmed at a high level, and this enviable situation bids fair to continue even if new suppliers enter the market.

Despite these attractions, only a handful of countries have been active in the cashew export business.

But now the whole trade is in the midst of dramatic change. A major technological breakthrough has opened the way for more countries to enter the lucrative cashew club.¹

Compared with trade in many other commodities, cashew exports are not enormous. In 1966, total world exports of cashew nut kernels were only about 60,000 tons (half the volume of almond exports), valued at about US\$65 million. Raw cashew nut exports came to another \$30.5 million.

The nature of this breakthrough and the export opportunities it is creating are detailed in two recent, complementary studies:

CASHEW MARKETING, published by the International Trade Centre; and WORLD OUTLOOK FOR CASHEW NUTS, by B. PARRY, commissioned and published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. They are available, respectively, from the Centre and from the FAO, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, Rome, Italy.

But only five countries are now sharing in this export business to any significant extent, and for some of them it is a very big business indeed. For India, the biggest factor in the cashew trade, kernel exports account for some 3.5% of total exports and bring in net foreign exchange earnings of about 30 million a year. The Indian cashew industry employs as many as 200,000 workers.

Cashew exports are even more important to Mozambique. Its cashew exports were about 19% of its total exports, and some 12,000 workers earn their living processing the nuts, with many others employed in cultivation and packing. Even Tanzania, with a business only half the size of Mozambique's, earns 6.6% of its total exports with raw cashew nuts, and looks forward to much higher foreign exchange earnings from exporting kernels.

The primary value of the cashew lies in the kernel, which must be extracted from the raw nut, shelled, and peeled. Commercial cashew processing started in India 40-50 years ago and until very recently India domi-

nated world cashew exports. At the beginning, India only processed its home-grown nuts. But as its kernel export business gradually expanded, mainly because of demand from the United States, India had to begin importing raw nuts to fill out its own supply. Over the last 10 years or so its raw nut production has levelled off at around 70,000 tons a year, and local processors have had to import about two-thirds of their requirements.

India's main raw nut suppliers are Mozambique and Tanzania. In 1966, India imported 140,700 tons of raw nuts, of which 77,400 tons came from Mozambique and 60,800 from Tanzania. Kenya supplied another 1,800 tons (in normal years it has been supplying about 6,000 tons), and only about 1,000 tons came from other countries.

What Lenin Would Have Thought

Most great men are admired after their death in a manner which would not have had the approval of the great men were they there to protest against their glorification. THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY says, about the glorification of Lenin that has been flooding the world on the occasion of his centenary :

"Lenin would not have approved of the fanfare, the eulogy, and the sycophancy that surrounded his centenary.....In all the speculation about his likely attitude to today's world, if he were to step out of his glass coffin in the Red Square, that is one safe assumption. He would have been revolted to find himself an ikon. The deference, the self-abasement the humiliation of workers and peasants outraged him in the Russia of his boyhood. To liberate people from mystification and superstition was a main aim of his life's work. So he

would have been angered at the way his own writings have been made an ikon too, like a body of received and quasi-religious dogma, or a quarry to which his successors in the Soviet Union have turned to dig out any quotation to justify their current policy.

"Lenin was nothing if not a pragmatist. He was superlative tactician.....Lenin was a rare combination of a clever theorist who had at the same time a brilliant flair for practical action. His determination to lift the working class to power in Europe was indeed single-minded and monolithic—a goal for which Lenin was prepared to make a greater sacrifice than most men, in years of exile and wandering from one dreary lodging-house to another. But his tactics were infinitely varied.

"It is this that makes it hard to speculate on Lenin's likely attitude to-day. As a Marxist he would have argued that historical circumstances are more powerful than the force of one man's personality. To say that the mistakes and crimes of Russian policy in the thirties and forties were due to Stalin's personality, Lenin would have put down as sloppy thinking at best, a deliberate attempt to avoid the issue at worst. He would have wanted to know how and why the forced collectivisation, the purges, and the secret trials took place. He would have wanted to know why even now tens of thousands of Russians are in labour camps and others in special Psychiatric hospitals. He would probably have read Solzhenitsyn's 'the First Circle' with horror.

"At the time of the civil war, when Russia was invaded also by the West, Lenin was prepared to destroy civil and political liber-

ties. But at the end of his life there were signs that he was worried by this, by the increasing bureaucracy in the party, by the 'Great Russian Chauvinism' which led to the forced annexation of Georgia. He was never of course, a liberal and believed in the need for the subordination of the individual to the collective when the two clash. But he would surely have questioned whether in the Soviet Union of to-day such circumstances applied so rigorously. He might have been disappointed that the standard of living remains so low. He would have been unhappy at the creation of a new class of privileged bureaucrats and aparatchiks with access to their own special shops, able to pass on money and savings to their children in their wills, enjoying an inflated style of life at State expense. Russia's achievement in cutting the grosser capitalist contradictions of wealth and poverty would probably not be acceptable to him as an excuse for the rise of a new class.

"On the international front, he would no doubt be pleased that the Soviet Union has survived. In his life time he was acutely conscious of the massive external and internal threats to the new republic. But he would surely be disturbed at the Soviet Union's image abroad.....Would Lenin not be disturbed at the Breznev doctrine and the invasion of Czechoslovakia? Would he not be likely to say, with the Rumanians or the Communists of Western Europe or the Third World, that there are several roads to socialism, appropriate to each country's needs and circumstances? No one country has a monopoly of experience..."

Jerzy Zulawski

We reproduce from POLISH PERSPECTIVES the following paragraphs about Jerzy Zulawski a famous Polish author who wrote a novel about the conquest of the Moon. :

Now that man has set foot upon the Moon, we look afresh at the many efforts of his mind and imagination which preceded that historic moment. Thus, for example, we turn with new zeal and a new kind of interest to the old novels of Jules Verne and H. G. Wells. Another member of the same family of writers is Jerzy Zulawski, author of the first Polish novel about the conquest of the moon. This book, entitled *The Silver Globe* and first published in 1903, brought its author considerable fame and was extremely popular with readers of the day. Later, too, it had several new editions: two in the period between the wars, and three since the end of World War II.

A few years after its publication, Zulawski resumed the 'Lunar' motif of his novel in a second volume, *The Conqueror* (1910), and then a third, *The Old Earth* (1911). While *The Silver Globe* was a fantastic account of the first expedition to the moon, whose members stayed there and even gave rise to a new 'Lunar' generation, the subsequent volumes transformed the whole into a philosophical work about the fate of human civilization—on which the writer's views were frankly pessimistic. Already then Zulawski saw that technical progress, incommensurably quick as it was in comparison with man's spiritual and moral development, carried with it the danger of uniformism, of suppressing individuality, and in *The Old Earth* he gave—with truly

prophetic foresight—a vision of the annihilation of the world by an individual armed with a power similar to that made available by the discoveries of the age of nuclear fission.

These pages of Zulawski's old novel, however, are not the ones to awaken our keenest interest. At a time when we can look at genuine pictures and films taken on the Silver Globe, what fascinates us most of all is a comparison of these authentic documents with the imagination of an author writing at the beginning of our century. A poet and essayist thoroughly educated in philosophy and science, Zulawski based his Lunar fantasy on the astronomical knowledge of his time, which he took great pains to study. While writing his book he was a regular visitor to the Cracow observatory, and in his room hung a large map of the Moon, drawn with his own hand (a reproduction of this map still adorns some editions of the novel).

Jerzy Zulawski was born in 1874 in southern Poland (then Galicia, forming part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). He graduated from high school in Cracow and studied philosophy in Berne, where he obtained a doctor's degree for the dissertation *Das Problem der Kontinuität bei Spinoza*, which appeared in print in 1899. Some years before he had made his debut as a poet. It is significant—especially against the background of his time—that in his poems he sang the praises of human thought. He also wrote over a dozen plays. His theatrical fantasy *Eros and Phryce*, inspired by Apuleius, made the round of all Polish stages. Finally, Zulawski was the author of numerous essays on philosophy and art which—recently reprinted—make interesting

reading, many of the ideas contained in them having well stood the test of time. However Zulawski owed most of his popularity to his 'Lunar trilogy', and in particular to its first volume, *The Silver Globe*.

Lenin in Bulgaria.

The SOFIA PRESS AGENCY Bulletin says:

A month of Bulgaro-Soviet friendship, devoted to the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, was officially inaugurated on March 23. Various events to honour the anniversary are being organized by the National Committee of Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship, the National Council of Fatherland Front, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions and other public organizations.

Several jubilee scientific sessions about the life and work of Lenin will be arranged in April. A festival of Soviet films about Lenin is to be held, and the Composers' Union will organize a cycle of gala concerts under the motto 'Lenin and Bulgarian Music'.

Publishing Houses specializing in philosophy, social and political literature will offer the reading public a number of monographs, treatises and collections describing Lenin as a philosopher of genius, an outstanding thinker, statesman, politician and theorist. Many literary works about Lenin are being published, both new books and new editions of older books.

The Sofia Press Agency is preparing for publication several books in English, French, German and Russian that examine various aspects of Lenin's important work.

Special stress has been laid on publications that furnish documentary evidence of Lenin's contacts with Bulgarians, the

distribution of Lenin's works in Bulgaria, the influence of Leninism on all spheres of our social, economic and cultural development.

This year's theatre season is also dominated by the glorious anniversary. Almost all theatres in Bulgaria have mounted highly artistic productions of works about the leader of toiling humanity. The Bulgarian writer Georgi Karaslavov has written a play, *LENIN IN OUR HOME*, specially for the occasion.

In the days before the great anniversary, the Film-makers' Union has made it its task to popularize Lenin's great heritage, to propagate Lenin's ideas about art embodied in the finest works of the Soviet cinema. The Union has organized a special theoretical conference on 'Lenin's Conception about Art and Our Times', a series of Lenin nights under the general headline 'Lenin in the Cinema', and has a nation-wide Lenin Festival, a programme under which films about Lenin will be shown in all Bulgarian towns and villages.

The Museum of Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria has opened an exhibition of Lenin's works, published in this country between 1896 and 1944.

An art competition among teenagers drawing or painting Lenin, sponsored by the Komsomol Central Committee, was followed by an exhibition in Sofia of the best works of high school students. The young artists have represented Lenin at various moments of his life in drawings, sculpture, graphic works and wood-carvings.

A steel scaffolding with the concept model of a Lenin monument, to be built soon in red granite, rising 10 metres high, has been erected in the centre of Sofia. The

monument has been designed by an eminent Soviet sculptor, Lenin Prize Laureate Professor Lev Karbel.

Monuments to Lenin are being erected in all parts of the country, in the towns of Plovdiv, Varna, Pleven and Sliven, among others. The first monument to the leader of the revolution was raised in 1953 at the entrance of the Lenin Metal Works in Pernik.

The Cambodian Coup

The following account of the Cambodian Coup as published in the *SOFIA PRESS AGENCY* bulletin will be found interesting by our readers.

While Prince Norodom Sihanouk was abroad, General Lon Nol, known for his extremely rightist anti-communist views, and Sirik Matak, First Vice-Premier, usurped the power in Cambodia. Their dissatisfaction with the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by Prince Sihanouk made the two leaders unite and stage a coup d'Etat.

For many years Cambodia has been subject to incessant aggressive actions on the part of the United States.

These actions are part and parcel of a well-conceived strategic plan aimed at compelling, through brutal pressure, the Cambodian government to give up its policy of neutrality and to side with the United States. Such a change in state of affairs would have greatly facilitated the US imperialists to establish their domination over the whole of Indo-China.

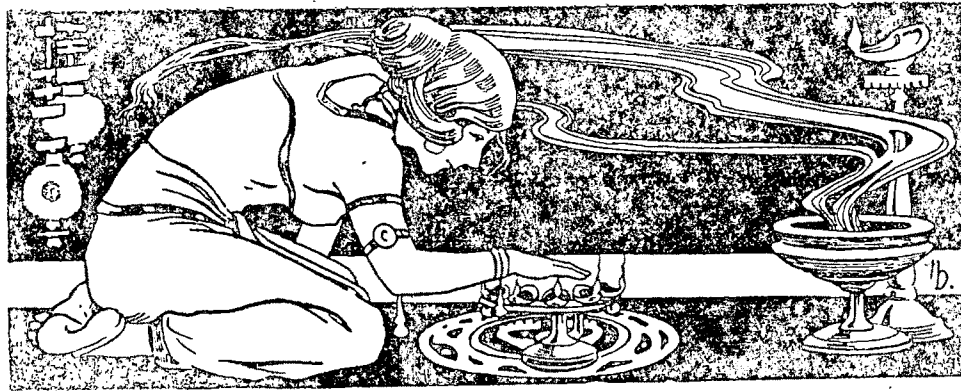
The US ruling circles were dissatisfied with the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by Norodom Sihanouk. They could not reconcile themselves to the fact that

Cambodia condemned US aggression in Vietnam and Laos. On the other hand, in the present day situation, which is not favourable to the United States, the pentagon could not risk an open military intervention against Cambodia, an intervention of the type of that in Laos. On March 11, 1970, rightist elements attacked the embassies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in Phnom Penh. On the following day, prince Sihanouk who was in Paris, spoke on the French Television and condemned the forces 'that availed themselves of my absence in order to change Cambodia's political and ideological orientation and to include it in the American camp.

Sihanouk added that 'the contacts between the rightists and the Americans cannot be doubted. This incontestable truth

was confirmed on the day following the coup d'etat by the London newspaper Evening Standard which wrote that the hand of the CIA can be felt in the latest events in Phnom Penh. This view can be further confirmed by other examples of Washington's secret interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states. The speed with which Washington recognized Cambodia's new rulers was quite remarkable.

In their struggle against imperialism and its puppets, the Cambodian people bravely defended their independence and neutrality, their right to live and work in peace. The reactionary coup d'etat of the rightist forces, obviously engineered with the direct participation of the CIA, no doubt makes still more acute the situation in South East Asia, which is complicated enough, and creates a new danger to peace and security in that part of the world.



Founded by Ramonanda Chatterjee

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE—1970

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**A RAPID PICK-ME-UP
FOR WORN-OUT ENERGY**

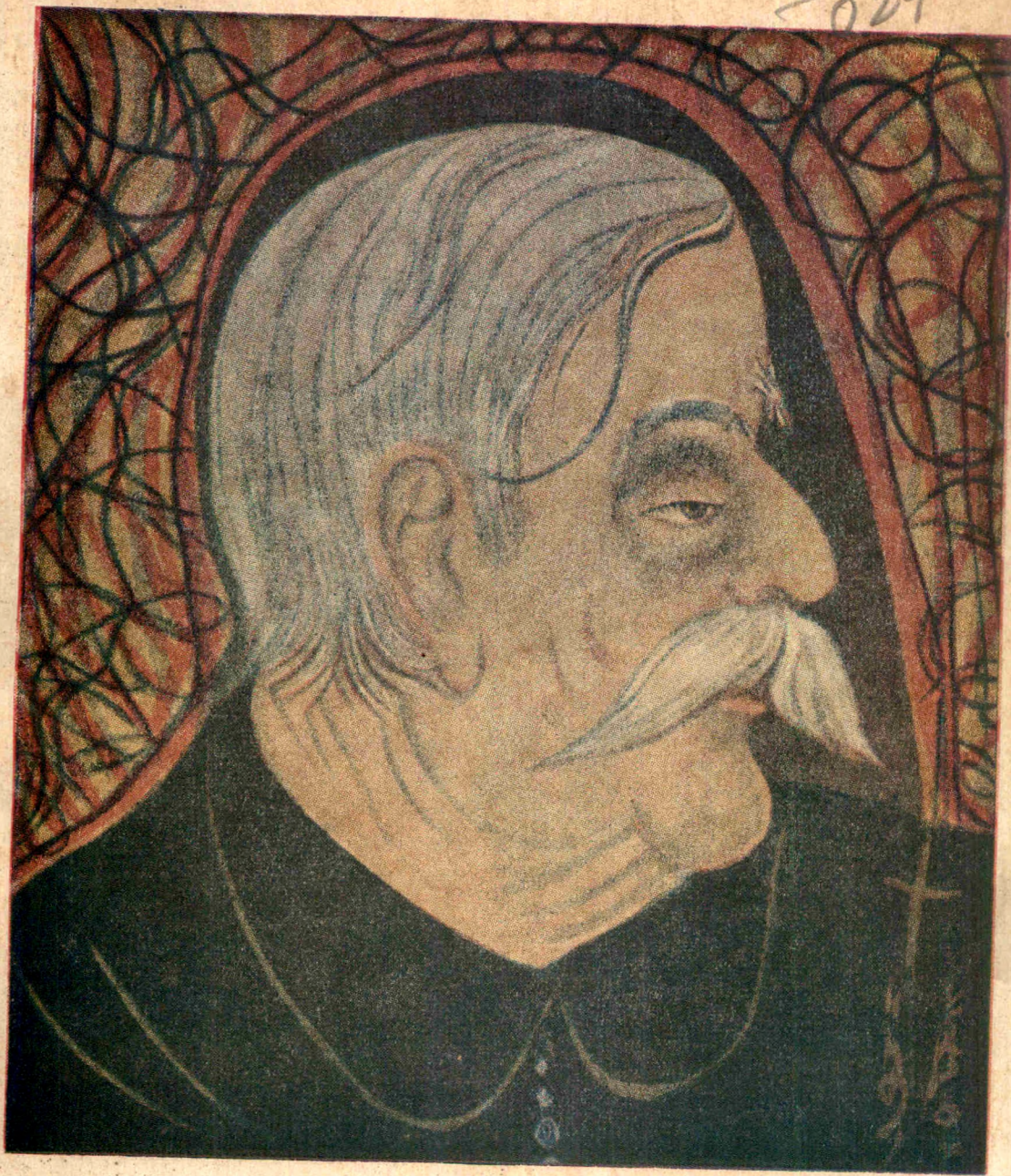
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NOTES

Raja Rammohun Roy

Raja Rammohun Roy was born in Radhanagar, Bengal in May, 1772. He was a most remarkable man and was rightly called the path-finder of modern India. Swami Vivekananda referred to the Raja as "the first man of new regenerate India". Raja Rammohun Roy's idea of an India reborn was at once spiritual, mental and physical. He realised very early in his life that India's spiritual aspirations had found a very clear expression in her ancient holy books; but due to lack of proper education Indians had reduced their great philosophical thoughts to meaningless symbols as far as their socio-religious practices were concerned. Rituals had replaced the intensive realisation of spiritual truths. Rammohun Roy, therefore tried to devote himself to a clearer under-

standing of the UPANISHADS and collected a number of thoughtful associates round him who eventually came to form the Brahmo Samaj. He studied the holy books of other religious communities too and mastered Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Pali to achieve this objective. His knowledge of Tibetan, English, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and one or two other modern languages was also extensive. He expounded the monotheistic ideals of VEDANTA in a very capable manner and wrote some books in Persian and Arabic to place his ideas before the people of India. Quite often he got involved in controversies, but always succeeded in proving his case to the hilt. When he was a mere boy, he had gone to Tibet to study the intricate philosophy of the MAHAYANA Buddhists. There his life was in danger for expressing ideas

which displeased the Lamas. Some Tibetan ladies saved him by giving him protection. He championed the cause of women all his life and thus repaid his debts to these ladies many times over. In India girl children were often killed by people on account various evil social systems. Raja Rammohun Roy carried on intensive propaganda against these evil practices, and due very largely to these initial attempts at rousing public feelings for doing justice to women, India progressively stopped many unjust and criminal practices affecting women. The burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands (Suttee) was a terrible social evil which was stopped by the Raja's efforts in 1829. Polygamy was also greatly discouraged by his propaganda. Spreading women's education, prevention of child marriage, the prevention of the persecution of child widows and the introduction of widow remarriage were some of the other reforms that Raja Rammohun Roy set in motion. His contributions to modernising India in various other ways were extremely important and valuable too. So valuable in fact that one may assert rightly that had Raja Rammohun Roy not been born India's change over from irrational medievalism to scientific modernism would have been delayed by long decades. He developed public opinion in favour of freedom of the Press, up-to-date general and scientific education of the Western Type, economic and political reforms and for a wise synthesis of classical knowledge with Western Science.

The British were at that period of Indian history trying to stimulate Sanskrit learning and a large number of Indians understood by education the study of Sanskrit grammar,

classical literature, philosophy, ancient law, logic and so forth. Raja Rammohun Roy had understood that the coming of the British could be a way out of the decadence that Indian culture and civilisation was steeped into as a result of Muslim overlordship for several hundred years. This would be possible, the Raja knew, if English education was introduced along with the study of the various sciences, mathematics, history, geography, hygiene and all the rest of the subjects that Western schools taught. The controversy over the choice of methods and subjects of education eventually worked out in favour of Western education. Raja Rammohun Roy, himself was a great classical scholar and a master of English. He developed a modern outlook and wished that all Indians could similarly maintain intimacy with their own culture as well as acquire knowledge of the sciences and such other subjects as would enable them to build up a modern community of progressive men and women. Raja Rammohun Roy therefore objected to the introduction of a system of education which excluded the teaching of scientific subjects and those branches of learning which were essentially useful for developing modern community life. Rammohun pointed out to the Government that the grants for education should be spent for "employing European gentlemen of talents and education" who could teach "Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences." He criticised the spending of much money for establishing "a Sanskrit School under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India." There were plenty of TOLS and CHATUSPATHIS to teach "gramma-

tical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use." Raja Rammohun Roy's agitation progressively introduced modern education in India. Rammohun Roy's protests against the invidious distinctions embodied in the East India Jury Act and against shutting out "numerous employments of trust, dignity and molument" from Indians, prove how alert and conscious he was of the political rights of his countrymen. He pointed out that even the Moslem rulers did not put such bars against the Hindoos.

Rammohun Roy's political ideals can be discovered easily from his various writings about political incidents of the world. When news reached Rammohun of the crushing of the Neapolitans by Austrian forces he wrote to Mr. Buckingham, "I am obliged to conclude that I shall not see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than they now enjoy. Under these circumstances, I consider the case of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful." He sympathised so actively with the Spanish liberals that when a copy of the famous constitution declared at Cadiz in 1812 was published by the Philippine company (in Spanish) it was dedicated to the Liberalissimo (most liberal) Noble, Sabio (wise), Virtuoso (virtuous) Bramma (Brahman) Rammohun Roy" (called:— Raja Rammohun Roy; quoted by A. K. Sen Raja Rammohun Roy, the Representative (19).

Raja Rammohun Roy was the right type of reformer. He was neither blind to our own national faults and weaknesses; nor did he ever try to justify or protect anything that was not broadbased on truth and fundamental goodness. He was great because he was so utterly truthful and just. He never feared to face social ostracism, official disfavour or economic losses when he went forward to establish what he considered right. He risked his life to get SUTTEE prohibited by law. He thought it was homicidal and never stopped his campaign against it which lasted from 1811 to 1829. Alokmani Devi, the Raja's sister-in-law, was forced to die on the funeral pyre of her husband in 1811. She was a playmate of the Raja since their childhood. Her "murder" in the name of a false social ideal gave such a shock to the Raja that he could never forget the gruesome incident while he lived. His fight against SUTTEE was greatly intensified by this tragedy.

India will observe the bicentenary of Raja Rammohun Ray in 1972. How far this will be a celebration befitting the greatness of the Raja, will depend largely on many factors. The most important condition of the celebrations being properly organised and carried out will be the Government in power at the time of the celebrations. A stamp or two, a few meetings in the big cities and some books will hardly do justice to the memory of a man who at once glorified the ancient civilisation of the Indians by putting their theology and philosophy in proper perspective before the world; and introduced the thoughts and the way of life of modern nations to India. Without him India might have continued to remain in

the mental and spiritual darkness of the mediaeval ages for much longer. Without him the great men who were born in India in the nineteenth century would have lacked proper inspiration and guidance and could not have therefore served the cause of progress in the manner that they did. And without these nineteenth century stalwarts India's struggle for freedom would not have acquired the direction and the momentum that it needed and secured. In fact Rammohun Roy showed India the way to spiritual, moral, economic, intellectual and political regeneration. The bicentenary of his birth should also be celebrated in a manner which will grant due importance to all these aspects of the character of the great personality that was Raja Rammohun Roy.

Communalism

Racialism and Communalism become rampant and destroy the unity and solidarity of a nation only when such feelings of antagonism are allowed to be developed and strengthened by the activity of persons who hope to gain by the creation of such disunity. There are many countries in the world where many races live together, many languages are spoken and many religious communities coexist. Canada has a mixed population of French and British origin. The Belgians are similarly multiracial and multilingual. In Switzerland there are the German-Swiss, the French-Swiss, the Italian-Swiss and the Romance-Swiss. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have also more than one race and language. Among larger countries the USSR have many races and languages and so has China. But in none of the countries mentioned above do we find any racial or

communal antagonism. It is only when we come to India or Pakistan that we find people attacking one another because of religious or linguistic differences. There is also the USA where white men try to keep persons of African origin down in an unfair and unjust manner leading to fighting and disturbances. In Pakistan the Muslims try to keep the non-Muslims as underdogs and also take away their property and persecute them in many other ways. Even non-Muslim women are not spared insults and dishonour. The non-Muslims dare not fight back for the reason that the Pakistan police and army are entirely Muslim and assist the Muslim hoodlums in their lawless acts. India has Hindu-Muslim riots but the fights are not one sided as the Indian police and army are not recruited from a single community. Some times the Muslims, who are a minority community, take the offensive and the initiative in such fracas. It is believed by many persons that Pakistani agents provocateurs incite communal trouble on some occasions and base their anti-Indian propaganda on exaggerated accounts of communal fracas in India. Racial and linguistic antagonisms are not expressed in violence in the normal course of events. But due to the unsound manner of dividing India into many states, the question of minority and majority communities has taken an ugly shape in many states. This has been caused by the unfair treatment of the minorities by the majorities in most cases. And the Central Government have taken no steps as they should have had, to safeguard the rights of the minorities in these multi-linguistic states. A good example is Bihar

in which there are many minority communities like the Bengalis, the Santals, the Oraons and others. The majority of the Biharis speak various dialects of Hindi, like Bhojpuri, Maithili, Maghdi etc. and consider Hindi proper to be their mother language. They also try to ram Hindi down the throat of all these non-Hindi speaking minority groups and deny them many privileges on the ground of their ignorance of Hindi. The areas in which these minorities live had always been the natural and time-honoured places of domicile of these minorities and Bihar proper has no ethnographic connections with the Bengali speaking or the tribal districts of the state of Bihar. If India could be redivided into fewer administrative zones and if these linguistic preferences were done away with, racialism and linguism will automatically vanish from India. But the politicians of India will then find their occupation gone. For the more numerous the states or the administrative zones would be the more demand there could be for members of legislatures minister and officials. But the unity and solidarity of India should be considered first.

Racialism, linguism and communalism are symptoms of feebleness of patriotic and nationalistic feelings. In the USA persons of widely different racial and linguistic origin merge their differences in their newly adopted nationality. Their patriotic feelings override all divergent racialities. People in India are allowed to drift in their patriotic emotions—and they drift. Some will say this is a sign of greater freedom. But an overdose of such freedom soon converts a nation into a rabble.

Rebellion, Revolution and Constructive Genius

Whenever people preach revolution they take it for granted that they have the ability to build a better world than the one that they want to break up by their revolutionary activities. In fact very successful rebels and revolutionaries are quite often totally incapable of doing any constructive work. But when they start their revolutions and rebellion they confidently assure everybody that they have the necessary expert knowledge, skill and ability to carry out all the post revolutionary constructive work in order to fulfil the promises of a better society and state that they declared to be the objective of the revolution. Such confidence of course is seldom backed by the knowledge, skill and ability required for putting up more effective structures to replace those that the revolution destroys. Revolutions, therefore, are not quickly followed by constructive activities of genuine usefulness; for the reason that the revolutionaries lack clear cut ideas about what should be done and how. They fumble, they begin things only to give them up in an unfinished state and they argue and speculate without actually doing anything.

Revolutions, therefore, may be started by enthusiastic reformers in the name of Sri Ramchandra, Shivaji Maharaj, Guru Gohinda Singhji or in the name of Karl Marx, Lenin or Mao t'se Tung but when the old order is set aside, the new order fails to take shape or roots. What the unfortunate "beneficiaries" of the revolutions get are usually half-baked ideas institutionalised in an inexperienced manner leading to political and economic experiments that constantly fail and cause

misery and suffering to the masses. The recitation of world moving slogans, therefore, usually fail to move anything on to a better position and people spend great labour and undergo tremendous suffering but achieve nothing much. Revolutions usually have some great objectives but they don't usually achieve those objectives on account of the failure of the revolutionaries to deliver the goods. One should therefore be more inquisitive about the capabilities of those who call for a revolution. If such revolution makers have no background of knowledge and achievement it would be risky to agree to their plans of destruction in the hope that they will be able to build a greater and better social order after breaking up the existing one.

The French revolution is a good example of an attempt to destroy a monarchical set up with a view to establish liberty, fraternity and equality. After destroying the monarchical society by killing the nobility and overthrowing the church, France eventually became an imperial state under Napoleon. There are many other cases of revolutions which did not work out as planned by the revolutionaries. There are also some which eventually succeeded in recreating a stable order after taking the people through decades of misery and suffering. In any case, one cannot agree with persons who consider revolutions to be a sure, certain and humanly inexpensive way of effecting reforms. Revolutions are seldom sure or certain in their ways of development and they can be mentally, morally and physically utterly unprofitable. The mere citing of passages from the great books of social philosophy cannot guarantee their practical and fruitful

application. Assumed conditions don't always exist and expected developments seldom follow the tracks that are laid down for them in theory. Social progress demands great caution and constant assessment of ever changing circumstances. One cannot plunge into progress.

Battle of Britain Reenacted

Enoch Powell has excelled himself this time by referring to the immigration of non-white persons into Great Britain as Battle of Britain. In his propaganda he tries to make people think that unless stopped by legislation coloured immigrants will soon outnumber the white British and take over the islands as their own homeland. Already, says Mr. Powell, immigrants of West Indian, African and Indo-Pakistani origin have reached the two million mark. This number will reach the 10 million mark by natural increase of population within a few years and the percentage that this will bear to the total population of Britain will go on increasing for the reason that the white population will not increase at the same rate as the non-white. So Mr. Powell thinks this slow process of increasing in numbers comparatively which will ultimately enable the non-white to outnumber the white population of Great Britain; will be a slow and silent war for the conquest of Britain by the coloured immigrants. This of course is a figment of Powell's imagination. There is no chance that a community of fifty million whites will be at any time outnumbered by two million non-whites by natural increase. The whites, about whose future Mr. Powell is so concerned are also very capable of growing in numbers. Considering that white

Europeans have during recent centuries populated several vast countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia, the United States of America and helped to create a vast population of mixed blood in many South American and other countries ; we feel that it is the non-white races of the world which need protection from white population growth. The British are in no danger of being outnumbered by coloured persons and Mr. Powell's propaganda is just racialism running wild. If the race prejudice that he is trying to stimulate is reciprocated by the peoples of India, Pakistan and other countries, the British will lose much and gain nothing.

Going through statistics of increase of population of certain countries to which British emigrants have gone in large numbers throughout their history, one finds that the growth of British population, as indicated by the probable British contribution to the

population increases of these countries, has been considerable during recent times. There is therefore no fear of the British being outnumbered by non-white immigrants at any time. Moreover if the British leave their own country in order to find new homes in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Rhodesia and the United States of America, steadily and persistently year after year ; why shouldnot immigrants come into Britain to fill up the void so created ? Why does not Enoch Powell try to stop British emigration to other lands, in order to assure that the British Isles would remain packed with white people for ever and ever ? The following Table prepared from the figures published in THE STATESMAN'S YEAR BOOK would show how the population the countries mentioned above have increased during the last three quarters of a century or so. Quite a substantial portion of the increases would be the result of British emigration.

Country	Population in	Population in	Difference
Canada	1891 : 4,833,239	1966 : 20,014,880	15 million
			(apprx)
Australia	1891 : 1,127,137 in New South Wales	1968 : 12,030,820	9 m. (conjectural)
	1966 : 4,233,822 " " " "		
New Zealand	1891 : 668,632	1966 : 2,676,919	2 m.
South Africa	1904 : 1,117,234 (whites only)	1966 : 3,481,000 (white only)	2 m.
Rhodesia	1911 : 23,606 (whites only)	1961 : 221,504 " "	2 m.
USA	1890 : 55,101,258 (whites only)	1960 : 158,821,732 " "	103 m.
Total Increase			131.2 m.

The population of England and Wales increased from 1821 when it was 29 m. to 46 m. in 1961. Scotland had a population increase from 4 m. in 1891 to 5 m. in 1961. The apparent slowness of the growth of population is largely due to emigration to other countries. The main target countries of this emigration have been painted out above.

The non-white people who go to Britain find employment and business opportunities in that country quite easily. That is largely due to the reluctance of the white Britishers to work for the wages they get in their own country. They find that they get higher wages in the countries to which they migrate for the reason that those countries have created certain monopolies for white people. If the British prevent non-whites from coming into Britain, that will not prevent the migration of whites from those islands to other countries. There will therefore be a shortage of workers in Britain as white emigration will continue and coloured immigration will be prohibited.

Officially acknowledged figures of emigration from Great Britain show that during the years 1815-1842 3,463,592 persons emigrated from Great Britain. From 1853 upto 1988 the number of persons migrating was 16,710,072. These migrants helped the white races to exploit, expropriate and even annihilate the original dark skinned inhabitants of many lands. The USA, Canada and Australia are important examples of white inroads into the lands inhabited by the Red Indians and certain primitive races. The Spanish Conquistadores were perhaps the world's worst perpetrators of genocidal orgies. They committed such inhuman crimes in the lands of the Mayans, Aztecs,

Toltecs and other Indian tribes that their name has gone down in history as the worst killers, plunderers, treacherous betrayers of persons who trusted them and soulless destroyers of all ethical considerations. The British committed similar acts in India, Africa and America and it will do their soul good if they acted hospitably to the non-whites now for a change.

Tea Sales Transferred from Calcutta

Assam Produces about 50% of India's total output of tea. It is inferior grade tea but is much in demand for blending on account of the strong liquor it gives. Tea sales are effected through tea auctions held at Calcutta and the Calcutta port also organises most of India's tea exports. The state of Assam supported by the Government of India is now trying to organise tea sales at Gauhati, instead of Calcutta, and thereafter to arrange the export of tea from Kandla port as against Calcutta. They are now saying that tea exports have been held up at the Calcutta port on account of constant labour trouble at the docks of Calcutta; but these troubles have become intensive only very recently, while the organisation for shifting tea sales and exports from Calcutta have been planned much before all that happened. The real reason for doing this was boosting up the economy of Assam and to create movement of ships from the various ports of the world to Kandla which the Government of India wish to develop as a major port. The Calcutta tea sales organisation with its subsidiary organisations for tea testing; and the various tea export

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A FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LIFE TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN HUCKLEBERRY FINN

Dr. S. D. KAPOOR

Until the late nineteenth century writers in America and England, in the words of Matthew Arnold, were contributors to one great literature—English literature. "To him, talking of American literature, as if it were a separate entity, appeared odd as it did appear to most of his contemporaries. Barrett Mendell in *A LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA* (1900) treated American writers as though they belonged to the Genteel Tradition. He found that the American writers still looked up to the British writers with reverence. Van Wyck Brooks writes in his *DAYS OF THE PHOENIX* that "Thackeray and Tennyson were treated as twin kings of our literature and all the American writers as poor relations" as late as 1920. In fact, most American writers, modelled their works on one or the other English writer, and continued to show "an acquaintance with the writers of the mother country." What troubled the intellectual hierarchy of New England was that in spite of their having distinctive opinions of their own, they were dependent on a foreign people for their literature.¹ Soon after independence the American thinkers tried not only to "snap asunder the leading strings of our grandmamma" but also to locate and define the "differences between American and European writing."²

It was not all of a sudden that the Americans established a tradition of their own in the field of literature. It took them

pretty long to have a corpus of literature that would establish their claim for independent literature. A. C. Ward writes "Before 1880 American literature was on the whole dominated by Europeanism; by 1930 it had on the whole freed itself from that domination."³ No one can fix a date for this mutation. During this period there came writers who chose to write on native subjects and also tried to study the local speech. Eggleston in *HOSSIER SCHOOL MASTER* wrote on the lives of agrarian and democratic Hossier of Indiana. He even made a study of the local speech. There were other writers, living in different parts of the country—Far West, Middle border and the South—who showed considerable interest in the immediate problems that faced them, and thus paved the way for a regional movement which was to culminate in Mark Twain.

Emerson echoed the sentiments of his countrymen when he advised the College students at Cambridge, Massachusetts on August 31, 1873.

Our day of independence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions, that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests.⁴

Between 1776 and 1873 when Emerson spoke "the United States had entered into whatever benefits attached a Political free-

dom without enjoying any corresponding intellectual independence." What he meant by using such prophetic words was that Americans must aspire to "intellectual independence," and must not be satisfied with "echo literature." Although Emerson continued to feed himself on the "sere remains of foreign harvest" and to pay "attention to the courtly muses of Europe," he wanted his fellow-writers to take up American subjects that were awaiting their attention. He did not mean to suggest that American writers should separate themselves root and branch from European literature; but he did mean to suggest that they should have "a new attitude of mind" and a "new manner of expression."

One might ask: in what way should American literature be different and why? "Ideas have crossed the Atlantic as freely as men and merchandise, though sometimes more slowly." And as we know until the end of the nineteenth century the difference between the two literatures was not so striking. "The amount of divergence is a subtle affair, liable to perplex the Englishman. When he looks at America, he is looking at a country which, in important senses, grew out of his own, which in several ways still resembles his own—and which is yet a foreign country."⁵ American literature should be different because America is a nation of diverse ethnic groups, each trying to retain its individual stamp of character, yet sharing certain common traits with others that hold them together as a nation.

The answer to the question why America should have an independent literature is that "no nation has yet produced a great literature until it found a new voice to express a new vision and a new inter-

pretation of the universal kaleidoscope." The very fact of their living with "clashing ethnic and regional strains" gave them a new attitude to life. Then their aspirations, their dogged perseverance towards the distant land gave their lives an aura of romance. It is on the basis of this heterogeneity of culture and a common ideal that Richard Chase worked out his thesis. "The American novel," Chase writes, "tends to rest in contradictions among extreme ranges of experiences. When it attempts to resolve contradictions, it does so in morally equivocal ways."⁷ These qualities, according to Richard Chase, help to account for the strong element of romance in the American novel.

It was William Dean Howells who gave the much needed direction to the writers of that age in regard to the subject matter of their novels. He rejected "the mania of romance" and insisted that the writers should have nothing more and nothing else than the truthful treatment of material." Howell's advocacy of realism helped other writers in discovering the common man. Realism was to become the main current of the American fiction for at least half a century. Howells suggested that the commonplace rather than the unusual afforded the best material for fiction, and that it was at its immediate level an expression of their experiment with democracy. At its deeper level it was an exploration "of the unoccupied territories of the intellect." It would be too much to believe that Mark Twain wrote on the insistence of William Dean Howells. He came to write his masterpiece in his own way and it was just a co-incidence that he came to write it at that very juncture. However, he became one of the protagonists of this school.

of writing. In his writings realism became a "serious representation of contemporary social reality against the background of a constant historical movement." Thus it was evidently clear that there was no "poverty of materials" or "paucity of ingredients": it was the absence of writers prepared to cope with the materials actually at hand.

So the climate had been created for a native literature which would be different in tone. Almost all the new England writers, as also of the Middle Border and the South, "staggered under the European incubus" and made vain efforts to create native literature that would not only vie with the European literature but would also have the aroma of Americanness about it. In his *AMERICAN LITERATURE* the Scottish critic John Nichol deprecated the "degenerate style" of the American humourists and singled out Mark Twain as one "who had done perhaps more than any other writer to lower the literary tone of the English speaking public." That such a criticism should come from a Scottish critic was a sign that Mark Twain and the others were writing in a tone different from the genteel tone of English letters.

Mark Twain was the first American writer who consciously tried to bring the "informality of the national idiom" into literature and thereby created a prose style that was "suited to the American ethos." In the words of Richard Chase the language of *HUCKLEBERRY FINN* is a kind of "joyous exorcism of traditional literary English which shifts with wonderful abruptness from the traditional literary English to colloquial American. "Hemingway's bold statement that" all modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called

Huckleberry Finn," is an expression of a vital truth.

Here I would like to draw an analogy between Negro literature in America and American literature in general. In the beginning American writers, modelling their works on some European, particularly English, writer, wrote for the readers in Europe, because their books would not find any audience in America; or if there was, their number was very small. Similarly, Negro writers in America, in the beginning, wrote not for the Negro community, for most of them were uneducated, but for the white readers. In both these cases literature struggled to acquire an independent status.

The contemporary Negro writers are trying to commemorate in fiction those qualities that are abiding and enduring in Negro situation. Similarly, white Americans were struggling to preserve those human qualities which they had acquired, as a result of their confrontation with new environment, during the early period of their history.

Another point of comparison is the language which these writers were trying to use. One way of asserting the individuality of a nation is to recreate "their original language where they may express their complex emotion. This is the manner in which the poet makes his contribution to literature, and the greatest literary creation of any culture is its language. Further, language is most alive when it is capable of dealing with the realities in which it operates. In the myth, God gave man the task of naming the objects in the world. Thus one of the functions of the poet is to insist upon a correspondence between words and ever-

changing reality, between ideals and actualities."⁸

The time had now come for an American to behave differently. How should an American conscious of his place in society, behave? What then is an American? This new man Mark Twain came as an answer to this question represented by the ragged orphan boy floating down the river with Jim, the runaway Negro slave. There are a number of questions that crop up when we study *HUCK FINN*, which has been called the central document of American culture the question of American identity, the question of confrontation with reality (I have the Negro situation in mind) and well, the question of alienation. ".....Somewhat bewildered by both their power and their responsibilities Americans have been impelled to see in art shared images that can help them become aware of their identity as a people. This is a conclusion that has occurred to more than one observer".

The first characteristic of this new man was that he was never satisfied with his present state; he was always on the move. In most cases it was a movement Westward. The American (I am taking advantage of Jackson Turner's thesis) had a fondness for the mobile home. Huck is always moving down the river, away from his home. He is on the move throughout the narrative, and even at the end he is to set out again for the territory ahead of the rest. Another characteristic was that he had no authority to which he could refer things. The past did not come to him as a guide, and he had to improvise decisions, always facing questions and problems on the basis of their merit. While dealing with Nigger Jim,

unlike Tom Sawyer, he is guided by his sound heart and not by social code. He would have delivered Jim into the hands of Miss Watson but for his sound heart that forced him to tear up the letter saying "I will go to hell." At best *HUCK FINN* represents the American dream of a world where limitations of society would not exist.

On the one hand Huck is trying to free himself from the mores of St. Petersburg, and on the other trying to create a society on the raft—a society which would not be based on inequality. This book brings to the fore that peculiar problem—the problem of the Negro in American society—which the white Americans have not been able to solve in a satisfying manner even to this day. What status should a Negro enjoy in society? Should he be treated like a second rate citizen, or should he get the privileges of the white population of America? Both these tendencies are peculiarly American.

Thus it is evidently clear that Mark Twain did not look to England for any pattern of the novel or any pattern of life. And whatever pattern he used in the novel was given to him by his environment. He, thus, gave direction to the novel in America and also a new approach to the material around. The subject of his novel came out of his experiences in the environment.

By using the dialects of the various people he converted the comic jargon into a "finished literary weapon, unemphatic, visual, and deceptively simple, sounding like speech and yet not quite the same."⁹ In the explanatory note at the beginning of the novel the author talks about a number of dialects that are used in the book. "The Missouri dialect; the extreme form of the backwood's

South-Western dialect; the ordinary Pike—County dialect, four modified varieties of this last. The shalings have not been done in a haphazard fashion, or by guess-work; but painstakingly and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech." I would not hazard to study the various dialects because that would require a very intimate knowledge of the dialects used in the book. I shall content myself with studying the dialects used by Huck and Jim.

"Hello, Jim" and skipped out.

He bounced up and stared at me wild. Then he drops down on his knees, and put his hands together and says :

"Doan hurt me—don't : I hain't ever done no harm to a ghos' I awluz liked dead people, on done all I could for 'em. You go en git in de river agin, whah you b'longs, en doan' do nuffin to Ole Jim, at uz awluz yo' fren."¹⁰

In HUCKLEBERRY FINN we find a narrative prose that is based on "American vernacular speech." It is exhilarating to find how the local speech has been converted into literary speech.

Thus Mark Twain liberated the American mind from the European incubus by writing his novel on a strikingly American subject in a strikingly original style. The flaws and

achievements are those of any American writer in those days.

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DRINKS PREPARED FROM WILD ROSES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dr. (Miss) APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

It is interesting to note that in Czechoslovakia, people prepare drinks from the fruits of wild roses which grow in abundance there. A hot drink like tea and also wine are prepared from these fruits and both are quite popular drinks.

Rosa canina (Latin)—*Sipkova ruze* (Czech)
—*Ruza sipova* (Slovak).

In Czechoslovakia, *Rosa canina* grows in abundance. It is a bush about 2 metres high with many branches. The branches are covered with thorns just like the branches of rose plants. The leaves are egg-shaped and the ends of the leaves are just like the ends of the leaves of rose plants. Pink flowers of *Rosa canina* have fragrance which is somewhat like that of roses but in the case of *Rosa canina* the fragrance is somewhat milder. Each flower has five petals and also five green leaves under base. It grows almost everywhere, on the road sides, on slopes, on the borders of forests, and it is considered as an uncultivated weed¹.

The fruits of *Rosa canina* are called "Sipky" in Czech (*Fructus cynosbati* in Latin). Inside the fruit there are many seeds. In Czechoslovakia a drink commonly called "sipkovy caj"² is prepared from these fruits. From the heap of collected fruits, those which are good, are selected. The fruits are dried first in the air in a shaded place and not in the sun; then those are

dried in artificial heat on an oven or in a special room. After the fruits are properly dried, those are boiled in water. Two teaspoonfuls of fruits can be boiled for one cup of the drink. After the boiling, the liquor looks pinkish. And it is drunk with sugar. Some people add cherry syrup to it for flavour and taste. No milk is added. The fruits contain lot of acids and so adding milk, while the liquor is hot, will turn the liquor into something like curd. It is regularly drunk in canteens in Czechoslovakia.

The fruits contain plenty of sugar, acids, oil (in the seeds), dye and a considerable amount of vitamin C., and because of all these properties contained in them, the fruits are collected and used for hot drinks, which the Czechs call "tea of sipky" (*sipkovy caj*). A Norwegian scientist recently termed these fruits as the oranges of the North, because of the high quantity of vitamin C found in them. The seeds found inside the fruit also contain a good amount of this important vitamin.

All the details given above are about the uncultivated *Rosa canina*. As regards the cultivated Rosas, the petals called 'Flos rosarum' in Latin, are used for gargling and also as contracting means and for making perfumes. And these cultivated rosas originating mostly from the *Rosa canina*, are the so-called "Roses of the hundred petals" and also Turkish roses⁴. The branches of the

Rosa canina sometimes have tumors called by some as "Rose fungus", which were used in ancient times against insomnia⁴.

As regards the effects of the hot drink produced from *Rosa canina*, the personal experience of the present writer is that it produces a very comforting and soothing feeling. The feeling can be compared to that produced in the physical system of one who is not used to alcoholic drinks, by drinking one or two teaspoonfuls of brandy with milk. It relaxes the nerves and makes one feel a bit sleepy. One does not feel hungry for a long time after drinking one or two cups of this drink along with a very ordinary or poor meal.

If introduced in India the drink, most probably, can be useful for those who want to control diet to reduce obesity. Since the drink lessens hunger, those who suffer from excessive hunger and thus go on putting on weight, will be benefited by it.

Secondly, for those who suffer from the bad habit of drinking too much of tea at the cost of their health, this drink can act as a remedy. Thirdly, since the fruits contain plenty of vitamin C, it will be useful for those who suffer from deficiency of vitamin C. As noted above, the petals of cultivated rosas are used in Czechoslovakia for gargling; perhaps the same can be recommended in India also. And probably the liquor of uncultivated rosas, drunk as tea in Czechoslovakia, can be used for gargling and for mouthwash especially for those who suffer from teeth or gum troubles or throat troubles.

The twigs of the *Rosa canina* probably can be used by the Indians, as 'tooth-brush' twigs and thus the fresh juice of the tree will be doing good to the teeth and the throat. Finally, as acids are contained in the fruits probably the drink will help digestion and

some digestive medicine can be prepared from it.

WINE PREPARED FROM ROSA CANINA IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA :

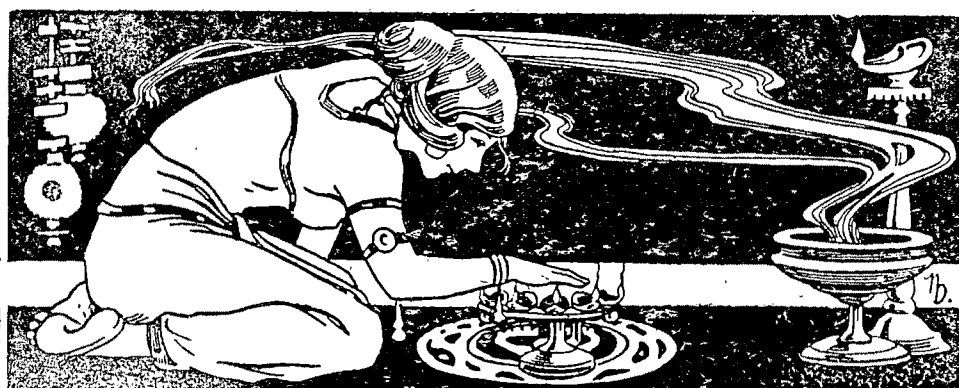
Wine from the fresh fruits of *Rosa canina* is prepared by the Czechs at home. The fruits are collected in autumn when they are ripe. 1½ litres of the fruits (good ones) will be cut lightly from four sides crosswise with a knife, without separating the fruits into four parts, and then the fruits along with 1.3 kilo of pure crystal sugar will be placed in a bottle (which can contain 5 litres of liquid) and then water, first boiled and then cooled, will be poured into the bottle; then a special kind of yeast used for fermentation will be added. The mouth of the bottle then will be closed with a paper tied to it. In olden times people used to make holes in the paper for enabling the gas to go out. Nowadays people use special kinds of glass tubes or buttons. So the purpose of the new method is to prevent wild germs from penetrating into the bottle and to preserve that cleanliness of the yeast. The filling of the bottle should be such that 10 centimeters on the upper part of the bottle will remain empty. For about five weeks the fermentation should be done in a temperature of 20 or 25°C. The remains of the fruits will be deposited in the lower part of the bottle. So only the clear part of the liquor should be used for the purpose of drinking. The liquor should be filtered twice to make it perfectly clear. After the first filtering a little amount of sugar will be added to the liquor. And it is the finalisation of the process of fermentation. The liquor should be kept in the bottle for 3 to 6 months and then it is fit for drinking. Of course, it can be drunk immediately. But it will be less tasty if drunk before the period

of at least 3 months. It is considered to be good for stomach and for general health. It is, however, a strong drink and it is not given to children.

In Czechoslovakia people make jam also from the fruits of *Rosa canina* after removing the seeds from inside the fruits. It is generally made on X'mas festival and mostly used for pastries.

REFERENCES

1. Tea of Sipky.
2. Ruža sipova je ker asi 3 m vysoký, rozkonarený, pokrytý tvrdými ostrými dole zahnutými trnmi. Listy sú nepárno perovitozložené, jednotlivé listky sú vajcovité, na okraji pilkovité. Na báze stopiek majú listy charakteristické prílistky. Vonave ružovkaste kvety stoja jednotlivo alebo sú zoskupené v riedkych vidliciach
- na koncoch konaríkov a majú na spodku bankovitu ciasku, ktorá nesie päť kalisných listkov a päť koruných lupienkov. Tycínok i piestikov je mnoho. Po opelení dozrievajú semenníky na tvrde, chlpaté nazky, ktoré ako drobné kostocky vyplnia dutinu ciasky. Ciaska zdúznatie, scervenie, uzavrie sa, a tak sa premení na známú sipku. Sipka je nepravý plod ruže. Pravý plod tvoria tvrde, chlpaté nazky.
- Jan Macku—J. Krejca, Atlas liečivých rastlín, vydavateľstvo Slov. akademie vied, Bratislava, 1965, p.138.
3. Sipky obsahujú mnoho cukru, kyselín, olej, farbivo a i., najmä veľké množstvo vitamínu C, kvôli ktorému sa sipky predovšetkým zbierajú a v čaji pozývajú.
- J. Macku—J. Krejca, Atlas liečivých rastlín, page 138.
4. Ibid, p. 138.
5. Ibid.



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

On the Way to Kabul

From my ancestral house in Vill : Brahman Rangdia, Khulna.

It was on a clear and bright morning of February, 1922 (Falgun) that I started for Kabul from my ancestral home in a small village named Brahman Rangdia, in the District of Khulna (now in East Pakistan).

How and why Kabul ?

While serving as a Science Teacher in Tilak Chand Jain High School in Indore, (Capital of Holker State in Central India). I had seen advertisements by the newly established Independent State of Afghanistan, for Professors, Engineers, Doctors, Science Graduates etc. I was not in mood to apply as I had settled down at Indore and planned to work on the same line as had been done by Shri Arabinda Ghosh and Barin Ghosh in Baroda, but was induced by Shri Brajendranath Dutta of Paikpara, a village adjacent to ours, who was also a teacher in the same School in Indore to apply. I had sent the application in a Nishkam spirit not expecting any reply and had practically forgotten about it.

Then came the Non-Co-operation movement in its full force, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In Bengal, Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das gave up his most lucrative legal profession and led the N.C.O. movement, with Shri Subhas Chandra Bose as his right hand man. For offering Civil Resistance thousands were being arrested in Calcutta in 1921, the Bengal Volunteer Corps was declared

illegal and Deshabandhu Das issued a clarion call to all Bengalee youngmen to enlist themselves as members to the Bengal Volunteer Corps. I was restive and wanted to join in the Resistance movement. I applied for long leave, but as it was refused, I resigned and came to Calcutta to participate in the movement. But by this time Government found it impossible to keep all the Civil Resisters in Jail and so the arrested persons were being taken ten or twelve miles from Calcutta and were dumped in Dhapa or other outskirts. The Congress leaders in Calcutta advised me that under the circumstances, I should go to my District or village and work from there. I reported my self to the District Congress authorities in Khulna and they advised me to work from Khulna Town as my centre. I was, however, attracted to Daulatpur, a great educational centre built up, brick by brick, by late, Braja Shastri. Here I could contact thousands of college students. Another attraction was that Shri Debendralal Roy, a teacher and also a brother-in-law of mine, had started a National School at Daulatpur and I was welcomed there and I joined enthusiastically. After I lived there for a short while, I came in intimate contact with Shri Arun Guha, ex-M.P., Bhupen Dutta (Jr.) and other colleagues of the great revolutionary late Kiron Mukherjee of the Jugantar Party.

Letter of Appointment

While in Daulatpur, a letter was delivered to me in August of 1921, redirected from my village home. It was a peculiar envelope,

with pen, inkpot and a sword as symbol. On opening the letter, I found it was an appointment letter from the Afghan Govt. Terms were very attractive. The applicants were requested to apply stating minimum salaries expected. I did not venture to claim more than Rs. 200/- (two hundred) per month. It would amount to about Rs. 2,000/- today in these days of soaring prices. Together with it travelling expenses on a very liberal scale were offered. I would have gone to Kabul, whatever might have been the emoluments offered. But my friends, specially late Sarat Ghosh of Karnapur, my best friend and colleague in those days, dissuaded me from going to Kabul at that time. He was sure that Gandhiji would bring Swaraj, by 31st December, 1921 as promised by him, and only four months still remained. After Independence, he said "I would be sent to Kabul not as Lecturer, but as Indian Ambassador there". (It has not happened yet, though India has become Independent, true not by 31st December 1921, but by August 1947, about 26 long years later. Though not at all hoping to get Independence by 31/12/21, I did not wish to disappoint or displease my close colleagues and friends and did not go to Kabul. However, I wrote back, thanking the Afghan Govt. and explained that I was very busy with some very important matters for several months. I promised to write to them when I was free and in a position to go to Kabul, and if needed I would be glad to go. I had almost forgotten about my application to Kabul and so it was a very pleasant surprise, but even then I could not avail of it.

After 31/12/21, when Independence did not come and the movement was practically dead and Gandhiji himself was sentenced to six years imprisonment and the Secretary of State for India had the cheek to say that "not a dog barked, when Gandhiji was sent to prison,"

I wrote to the Afghan Govt. with the consent of my friends that I was ready to go to Kabul, I was written back to hasten to Kabul. Many persons even then tried to dissuade me, but late Kiron Mukherjee implored me and encouraged me to go. His plan for me was to arrange to smuggle arms to India. I took my decision to go. It was five long months after the first offer was made in August, 1921.

My Village

My village was, and I believe, still is a very poor one, with about 1000 inhabitants. Though the name is Brahman Rangdia, yet only about one-fourth were Brahmins and the same percent were Muslims at the time of Partition. One fourth were Namasudras or Harijans and the rest one fourth were traders, weavers, artisans and lower middle class people. It is about 18 kilometres from Khulna and 12 kilometres from the sub-divisional town Bagerhat and five kilometres from Fakirhat, the big trading centre where 'Hats' were held twice every week.

This village had only a primary school and I was the second Graduate in the village in 1918. But there were dozens of Kabya, Smriti and Byakaran-thirthas in the village, mostly receiving education in the Tol or Chatuspathi started by my Grand-father, late Loknath Nayapanchanan, and continued for more than a century at the time of Partition, by my Senior uncle, late Umanath Smriti-Siromoni, my father late Dwarakanath Vedantaratra and my junior uncle late Sitanath Kabyatirtha.

The occupation of most of the villagers was cultivation, either of their own lands or mostly as share-croppers or Bhagchasis, or on fixed rentals. A few lived by weaving and trading and also a few as teachers and as priests, as part-time occupation. People used to catch fish for themselves in the ponds or

stagnant waters specially in the Mirkhali Bill, a long stretch of marshy land running along the full length of the village covered with dhap or floating grass on top on which not only men could walk, but even cows grazed safely. Rest used to buy fish in the market $2\frac{2}{3}$ miles away. Many people had cows in their houses and some had ducks, hens and goats. Most people had vegetable gardens to supplement their food or income. Coconuts and beetle nuts were sources of decent money income for many without doing anything as these grew in abundance, being in the Sunderban area. Most of the villagers were poor and just made their living anyhow, living in thatched huts, often leaking in the rains; only half a dozen had tin sheds and only two had pucca buildings. No Zamindar or big jotedar lived in the village. At the same time there were no regular beggars in the village. I was born in 11th July 1897, so, I was 24 years 6 months when I left for the unchartered world.

Village Farewell

The farewell was simple. I saluted my seniors and got their blessings and I got pronams from juniors and they got my blessings in the traditional Indian way. There was not much of emotion from my stoic father but there was much of it from my affectionate and fond mother, who said good-bye with lots of tears. My loving wife bravely tried to control her emotions at the time of starting, though she had given profuse expression to her grief the previous night. My sick daughter, one year old, did not understand what was on. The previous day I had been to the houses of about 50 of my friends and village relations and bade good-bye to them. Even then some of them had come to our house in the morning at the time of parting and starting for the Railway Station.

My own heart was jubilant that I was at last able to start for Kabul after months of

suspense, but at the same time I felt sad that many of those familiar and fond faces in the village, I may not see, when I came back after two or three years. It had actually happened as was only natural.

Brahmanrangdia Railway Station

Now Khan Jahanpur

I had not much of luggage and not even a tin suitcase and all my belongings were put in a bundle which I could easily carry myself as a Kabuliwala did. One reason for this Spartan arrangement was because I had been told that it was risky to take much luggage for fear of dacoits on the road to Kabul. A few of my relations accompanied me to the Railway Station which was less than a kilometre from my house. It is a toy Railway of narrow gauge and that was the only transport available for villagers from far and near. Formerly, country boats or steamers were the only alternative along the Bhairab River. I met a few more friends and acquaintances of adjoining villages at the Railway Station. Soon the train came from Bagerhat, the terminus and I got in the train with my bundle after another round of mutual salutations. The train started with waving of hands from both sides. The train moved at ten to twelve kilometres per hour and that was a great boon to us, compared to two or three kilometres per hour by country boat or even $4\frac{1}{5}$ kilometres on foot. (The name of the Railway Station has now been changed to Khar. Jahanpur after the name of Khan Jahan Ali, who was a big Zamindar and had two large artificial lakes excavated named Ghora Dighi and was also the builder of Shat Gambuj, an unique mosque with sixty minars) It is about 8 kilometres from our village.

The people of my village were rather apprehensive about my going to Kabul. Had it been England or Germany or America,

none would feel any fear, though none had gone from our village to these countries till then, but others from villages nearby had gone to those countries and had safely returned. They had seen Kabulis in the village, with their huge sunburnt red bodies and their large Pagrees and lathis and still bigger bundles containing warm clothes, which they sold to the villagers on credit at great profit. They spoke broken, strange Bengali and they usually drew crowds of curious villagers, mostly children, who were kept laboriously at a distance by the cautious elders. My explanations removed much of their apprehensions, but I had some in my own mind also, but these were pushed aside by the very familiar faces and sights of fields and villages I passed through slowly. The third class compartment had no doors or windows and sun and rain had free access in the train.

Rupsa East Khulna and Daulatpur

In two hours, I reached the terminus, viz. Rupsa East about 8 Kilometers from my village. I crossed the river Rupsa in a Steam Ferry and reached Khulna Town at noon. My mother had taken special care to see that I took my noon meal in the morning served by her and had not to bother about a meal at noon. I went to the Congress Office, met my co-workers and Congress leaders like late Nagen Sen, whose house had been an open kitchen for me and also Jamini Mitra, Jyotish Ghosh, Nani Bhattacharjee etc. and bade them good-bye and received their felicitations. They all knew that I had this offer to go to Kabul months earlier, but did not go due to their request, during the Non-Co-Operation year. From Khulna, I went to Daulatpur and met all co-workers, who were still working as teachers and volunteers to the Indian National Congress and

specially the members of Satyashram of Late Kiron Mukherjee and had conspiratorial talks about how to smuggle arms from Kabul, where there was no Arms Act and anybody could carry and buy or sell Fire Arms without any licences. I stayed one night at Pabla the house of my co-worker and relation late Deben Roy. Next morning I left for Calcutta.

Calcutta

I reached Calcutta, the next day and stayed with my intimate friend late Kanailal Choudhury, then a medical student in Mikado Club at Mirzapur Street. I met the Congress leaders here also and told them about my program. They were sorry to let me go, but congratulated me for my bold adventure. I had been a Congress volunteer for about one year, when I had no income and I used to get only my food and tea from the common kitchen. I was short of funds for defraying the expenses up to Peshawar. In the appointment letter, I was told that on reaching Peshawar, I should see the Afghan Post Master who would give Second Class Railway Fare, Mule Fare etc. My problem, I thought, was only to reach Peshawar. But I had not collected my dues from Jamshedpur where I had worked for 23 days and also my pay for the part of the month I served in Tilak Chand Jain High School at Indore. I wrote to both the places and were glad to receive replies that, I would be paid my dues whenever I went there. I had need only for expenses to go to Jamshedpur. I had enough for this from my friends in Calcutta and also a little more to spare.

Jamshedpur

At Jamshedpur, I got my dues of about RS. 35/- without much difficulty. I met the Manager, who had appointed me and also sacked me (for indulging in political talks in

the factory and for wearing a Gandhi-cap), who was extremely polite and even praised me for my energy and hard work and wished me success in my mission.

Indore

Then I proceeded to Indore and lived with my Bengalee friends, who were very happy to see me once more and learn of my good fortune in getting a job outside India in Kabul. I had to wait for two days and had to go to the school twice to get my dues of about Rs. 55/-. The teachers and students were also overjoyed to meet me once more. It was a very warm re-union, though only for a short period. The farewell was also warm and sincere. Now I had over Rs. 100/- with me and I decided to see a bit of historical India, viz., Chitor, Jaipur and Delhi, before going out of India, one never knew for how long.

Chitor

From Indore, I went to Chitor of Rana Pratap and a galaxy of heroes who had been inspiring the patriots of this country for generations, I climbed the hilly road being inspired in the presence of a halowed place and went to Padmini Jhil, where Padmini and thousands of Rajput heroines burnt themselves in the pyre and the men rushed at the enemy and to certain death, as they were out-numbered by their numerous enemies. They would not return alive as there was nowhere to return and no purpose in returning to empty homes. Such bravery is legendary and unequalled in the history of any country. I was standing on the rampart of the Fort, when the sun set. I wondered, when it will rise again?

Jaipur

From Chitor, I went to the beautiful and

symmetrically built Jaipur of red stone. Chitor was a deserted cremation ground, and Jaipur of Mansingh was a beautiful city, but I had all admiration for Chitor of Rana Pratap and nothing but hatred for beautiful Jaipur of the traitor Mansingh; Here also I saw the sunset from a high building. What a difference in my subjective mind, between the two sunsets on two consecutive evenings.

Delhi

Next day I was in Delhi. Imperial Delhi, the 13th one, starting with Indraprastha. It is so, as the popular saying goes. I am not a historian and do not know why it is called the 13th Delhi. I went to the Delhi Fort and walking round, was shown the position of the previous 12 Delhis. At a distance of several kilometers, I could see the top of the buildings of the then, Imperial Delhi and also the high cranes building the present New Delhi. Again sitting on the rampart of the Fort, I saw the sunset. It was the third successive sunset, at Chitor, Jaipur and now Mughal Delhi. I started thinking and was quite philosophical. Pratap, Mansingh and Akbar were all dead with all their success and failure. It was only their deeds or misdeeds, which remain as lessons of history.

Kabiraj Haridas Shastri

At Delhi I was staying in the house of late Haridas Bhattacharjee of our village. He was just like my elder brother. His younger brother, late Krishnadas Bhattacharjee, was about my age and was one of my best friends in our village. Haridasda's career was also quite unusual. He went to Benares for Sanskrit studies and passed five Tirtha (final) examinations one after the other, in Byakaran, Kabya, Smriti and Vedanta and got the coveted Title of Shastri from Benares. With his brilliant academic career, one would have expected him to teach others in a 'Tol' or

'Chatuspathi'. But he was restless and started studying Ayurveda or Kabiraji. He passed the examination in Ayurveda very well, being a very meritorious Sanskrit scholar, but he did not succeed much as a physician or Kabiraj. He aspired to the success of late Hakim Ajmal Khan, but it was a day dream. When Hakim Sahib founded his Unani Tibbi and Ayurvedic College in Delhi, Haridas Shastri was appointed as Principal of the Ayurvedic Section.

I stayed only for two days in his house in Delhi and got good hospitality and much affection and encouragement to go to Kabul. I discussed frankly with him one problem, which was troubling my mind. It was about food and what to do about beef-eating. He informed me that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of Benares Hindu University and a great authority on Hindu scriptures, had given his considered opinion in favour of beef eating while in exile, to Raja Mahendra Pratap, who was the President of the first Provisional Government of India, formed in Kabul with late Maulanas Mahammad Hussain and Obeidulla Deobandi (Sindhi) as Prime Minister and Home Minister respectively. With the latter, I came in very intimate contact in Kabul and Moscow. My mind was at rest about beef-eating though superstition could not be overcome easily. I had become an agnostic while I was only twelve and a confirmed and aggressive atheist at the age of 18, when I was a B.Sc. student in Hecghly College, but superstitions die hard.

I was eager to reach Kabul as quickly as possible, but even so I could not check the temptation of staying another day in Delhi and see as much as possible of the 13 Delhis. I was very lucky in getting as a guide a student of Ayurvedic College—named Ram Sevak, or something like it. He was so sturdy and painstaking that he showed me almost all the Delhis in one day, mostly on foot too! He

was a guide, the like of which I have never found in my extensive travels throughout the world. He took short cuts, through jungles. It was fairly well during the day but after sunset, sometimes my feet would sink in the graves, lightly covered with earth and jackals would be gliding past us. There could be snakes also. But he was undaunted and I did not wish to show that I was less courageous. We had started in the early morning and took our frugal breakfast and lunch in some way side eating houses and occasionally had some tea-breaks, otherwise it was a non-stop expedition of walking and climbing on tombs etc. At about 9 p.m, when we had finished major part of our task, my guide lost his way and direction. We were going through a jungle to the site, where the present New Delhi was being constructed. I was almost at the point of suggesting, in sheer exhaustion to my guide to stop further expedition, but he with quick presence of mind got on top of a Babul tree and shouted in joy that the big cranes, building New Delhi were visible and were close at hand. And we started again and soon reached the place, where foundations were being laid of the palatial and grand Moghul buildings, the present Rashtrapathi Bhawan, Parliament Building, the Central Secretariat, etc. we see now. From there, we took a 'Tonga' and reached my residence before midnight. Ram Sevak proved to be a good Shiva-Sevak, with the powers, prowess, perseverance and fearlessness of the original Ram Sevak—Hanumanji.

Peshawar

The next day I started again by train, though my body ached due to previous day's super-human effort. I reached Peshawar in the next morning. I tried always to plan my journey in such a manner that I spent the night in the railways or railway stations, thus saving the hotel charges. As a matter of fact,

even with such economy, I had spent all my money c.e. about Rs.100/- on the way and had just Rs.2/- when I was about to get down at Peshawar. On the way I had a desire to halt at Rawalpindi and go for a look at Kashmir, called the Heaven on earth. But for want of money I had to forego the pleasure. I had also not seen the Tajmahal, another world famous monument, I was often put to shame by foreigners, when they enquired as to how these looked and other details.

From Atok river, one could see the change in the landscape and also amongst the passengers, who were mostly Sikhs from Delhi or at least from Amritsar up to Atok but from Atok, it was more and more Pathans. The fast flowing Atok river, seems to be a natural defence against the advancing enemy from outside, after crossing the Khyber Pass.

Before getting down at Peshawar, I asked a Sikh gentleman the name and address of a good Dharamsala or Kali Bari in Peshawar. I was in Bengalee dress and he expressed his great surprise, that being a Bengalee, I was thinking of a Dharamsala to stay in at Peshawar. I know that in whichever city the Bengalees lived in large numbers outside Bengal, specially in North India, they had erected Kali Baris, which were social centres for Bengalees and invariably there were guest houses where tourists could stay for 2/3 nights on token payments. These are to be found in Delhi and other cities of North India and also in Peshawar and even in Kabul. But with only Rs.2/- in my pocket I could not think of even the token payment for stay and so I was in search of a Dharamsala, which is usually free.

Dr. Charu Ghosh

But that Sikh gentleman happened to be a good acquaintance of Dr. Charu Ghosh and insisted that almost every Bengalee, who

came to Peshawar lived in the house of Dr. Charu Ghosh. I explained that as I did not know him at all, how could I go and live in his house. The middle aged fair looking Sikh gentleman who spoke English very well, insisted that I must go to Dr. Ghosh's place. He disarmed all my objections by saying that if Dr. Ghosh knew that he allowed me to live in a Dharamsala Dr. Ghosh would be offended with him. So, I had to agree to go to Dr. Ghosh's house at Peshawar city, where we both got down. The Sikh gentleman was a businessman. We went to Dr. Ghosh's place in a Tonga and he insisted on paying the Tonga fare also, inspite of my vigorous protest.

To my further bewilderment, we found Dr. Ghosh was not in Peshawar and had gone to Calcutta. But Shri Bhattacharjee, his compounder welcomed me, heartily and I sincerely thanked the Sikh gentleman for his voluntary and enthusiastic help to me. My gratefulness increased day by day, as I had to stay at Dr. Ghosh's place for nearly ten days and I got no money from the Afghan Post Master, as assured in the letter of appointment.

Mrs. Ghosh observed purdah much more than I had expected, specially outside Bengal. I have never seen her face, which was always covered with 'Ghomta' or the veil of the Sari, but she talked to me rather freely, from behind her veil. She was very hospitable indeed. I became very fond of their three chubby, lively sons ranging between 2 to 5 years. I did not see Dr. Ghosh at Peshawar as he did not return within the ten days I was forced to be a guest in his house, though a welcome one. I met him many years afterwards in Calcutta on his invitation to a marriage of a nephew of his. It was a very pleasant meeting and the sons had grown up in the meantime. I had sent a basket of

fruits to him from Kabul through a driver who had brought some political friends to Maulana Obeidulla from Peshawar.

After a heavy and refreshing breakfast, I had my bath and shave and change of dress. Then I went to the Afghan Post Master, with the letter of appointment. His office, little known in those days, was very near to Dr. Ghosh's house. I was shown the place by Shri Bhattacharjee, the Compounder of Dr. Ghosh, a short, healthy, jovial and helpful young man living as a member of the Ghosh family. He was not only the Compounder but also the deputy manager of the family. He knew all about Peshawar and the surroundings.

The Afghan Post Master (whose name I can not recall) was middle aged, plump and clean shaven. He received me in his office. It was in English style. He welcomed me with a warm handshake and inevitable cup of tea. But when I showed him the letter of appointment and asked for the money, as per instruction in the letter (in English), he said he did not remember to have received any such letter. He instructed his office to find out the letter if it had come and asked me to come the next morning. I was very much disappointed, not to get any money, as my rich fund of Rs. 2/- in my pocket had dwindled to Rs. 1/8/- after paying the Tonga fare. I had nothing else to do, but to come back with grimness in mind but showing a smiling face. He knew Dr. Ghosh well and was glad I was staying in his house.

The task of the Afghan Post Master was analogous to that of an Ambassador, but at that time he was receiving mail from Afghanistan and despatching them to different parts of India and abroad and also sending all postal materials from India and abroad to Kabul. It was a curious stop gap arrangement, which I have never seen anywhere else. Those who were going to Afghanistan with Afghan

Passports, or Indian or other Passports, had to get them endorsed there. In that sense, it was an important post.

Maqbul Huq

Next morning I walked (pocket being very light) to the Afghan Post Master's office and learnt with consternation, that no such letter was to be found in the office. He informed me that he had already written to Kabul for instructions. He would also arrange for pony, if I wished to go on horse back. Kabul was about 300 kilometres from Peshawar and I must confess that I was not a good horseman. The alternative was to go by a bus which would start for Kabul in 2/3 days. I preferred to wait, more so, because he was not agreeable to pay any money in cash, even on account.

But I was glad to meet a young man, Maqbul Huq, who had also got an appointment letter from Kabul. He was a fair looking young man with beard and mouchtash, in long Achkan and Pajama with a red Turkish Fez, with its pig-tail dangling from it. He was an I. Sc. and was appointed on Rs. 150/- per month, i. e., on whatever he had asked for. I felt in my mind, I should have asked for Rs. 300/- or at least Rs. 250/-. On reaching Kabul this feeling was strengthened, when I found that people with less academic qualification than mine were appointed on Rs. 250/- or Rs. 300/-.

Maqbul Huq had come two days earlier and had been given similar information and assurance as was given to me and he was very dejected. I was happy to meet him, but he was simply delighted to meet me and to get a companion for the journey to Kabul. He was lacking in confidence, which was in abundance with me, even with almost empty pocket. I was 3/4 years older to him also with some experience. Immediately w

became good friends and companions in adversity. He was staying in a medium Muslim Hotel and had enough money in his pocket. We used to meet daily in the morning at about 11 or 12 noon after lunch at the office of the Afghan Post Master to know the progress of the repair of the Bus or any news from Kabul. Every day, we went out disappointed and strolled together in the city and suburbs.

Loan of Rs. 20/-

I used to walk with Maqbul avoiding Tonga or other conveyance and also tea or snacks on the way because of my 'pocket' situation. He offered to pay for me, but I declined. On the second or third day, I was forced to explain my financial position and he voluntarily offered me a loan. I took only Rs. 20/- which was a fortune to me at that time and a wind fall at that. It was very generous of him for he had about Rs. 100/- only left with him. However, I could move freely then and buy some lozenges for the children of Dr. Ghosh. I even spent Rs 10/- for a Pugree of the type of the 'Maharaja' of Air India, as I did not know how to bind a Pugree tightly and properly.

Delay Causes Apprehension

There was inordinate delay in getting any reply from Kabul and also in the repair of the Bus. I was getting apprehensive as I was a political worker and an active Congressman. I was also afraid that I might be stopped from going to Kabul. But there was no remedy and there was endurance test for ten days, before the Bus was ready and we started. Even then no reply from Kabul had come and no money was paid from the office of the Afghan Post Master.

Sight Seeing

I utilised those days in sight-seeing, in and around Peshawar city and cantonment.

I went to Kali Bari and found the arrangements in the Temple and also in the Guest House fairly good. The houses were mud built but often two or three storied. The streets were not clean and there were very few parks. But outside the crowded city, the fields attracted me. My almost constant companion was Maqbul Huq, but Shri Bhattacharjee, who knew Peshawar very well, also joined with us or at least draw up our plans, but with one serious warning that I should never return home after sunset. Dr. Ghosh's name had magical effect on Afridis, who mostly live in and around Peshawar but it was not safe to rely too much on his name, for the mischief might be committed before you get a chance to explain who you are.

Dr. Ghosh was also a Congress man, suffered imprisonment, was elected M. L. A. from Peshawar by electors, who were 95% Muslims. He also had become a Minister of N. W. Frontier Province in 1946 election under the premiership of Dr. Khan Sahib, brother of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. I met him in several Congress Sessions also. Even in the hey day of the Muslim League the people of this Province mostly Muslims and Pathans, Indian National Congress had absolute majority in the Assembly. It was a pity that at the time of partition of India this staunch Congress Province was pushed into the embrace of Pakistan under the leadership of late Mr. M. A. Jinnah. It was a tragedy and Dr. Charu Ghosh, the veteran leader of the Pathans had to leave Peshawar. One could go out only during the day, when the City belonged to the British, but at night it belonged to the Afridis. Dr. Ghosh was extremely popular among the Afridis as he gave them medical treatment—payment was 'as you please'. In the case of poor patients,

he would give treatment free and also medicine and diet. His name was a 'safe passport amongst the Afridis during day or night.

We Start from Peshawar

At last the Bus in which we were to travel to Kabul was ready and we were bundled into it along with all personal belongings. I was luckily given a front seat and could get a good view of the surroundings. There were many Indians among the fellow passengers, but the rest were mostly merchants having Afghan Nationality and Passports. We were ready in the Bus for over two hours before it actually started. I was very happy indeed when I received a packet of food and sweets, etc. from Mrs. Ghosh through Bhattacharjee while waiting to start. It was a sisterly present and much appreciated though she never talked to me directly, nor had I seen her face properly.

The Bus started with about 30 passengers and 60 maunds of merchandise. My luggage was very light, a small tin box and a blanket; the latter was very useful on the way specially near Kabul at an altitude of 5000 feet and when it rained and there was strong wind.

Fort Jamrud

We passed by the side of the Fort Jamrud, guarding the historic Khyber Pass. It was captured from the Pathans by Hari Singh, a Sikh General of Raja Ranjit Singh. Hari Singh's name is still taken to frighten the children saying "Hari is coming" just in as they said Europe "Bona comes" (Bonaparte). We passed Ali Masjid where there was a College specially for the Pathans. Then we entered into the Khyber Pass proper of historic memory. All the invaders of India by land, from Alexander the Great onwards, Chengis Khan, Taimur Lane, Babar, etc., came via this Pass. It is a narrow pass with

high rocky mountains on both sides. The motor bus or truck route is, in most part of the pass, separate, while the caravan route for mules, camels and pedestrians is by another parallel way, but both in the Khyber Pass, a few miles long. All the movements were during the day. At night all traffic was stopped. There were Pill boxes on hill tops on both sides manned by regular British soldiers, so that every point of the few miles of Khyber was within rifle range of at least two Pill boxes or pickets and also visible and protected from these hill tops. Even then, often the Afridi tribesmen attacked the caravans, in lightening raids braving the British rifles and melting away in the hills with the booty. In the caravans, one could see a mule, with a whole family of husband, wife and children with all belongings of the family including a portable tent on its back. Sometimes, when the load was too much, the husband would walk, leading the ass or mule. On our way we passed Landi Kotal (Kotal means peak in Persian) upto which Railway had been constructed and there was also a small fortress there. The next halt was at Landikhana (or low level at Landi) and then the border.

Afridi

The Afridis are one of the most daring Pathan sects. They are very good shots even with guns of their own make. They are quite as tall as the other Pathans and often clear shaved. Their most prized loot is a rifle. They managed to steal or rob British Rifle from Peshawar, Jamrud and other Forts in spite of all guards.

Border

On a simple wood plank which indicated the border it was written in English in bold letters "It is absolutely forbidden to cross this line without orders." Two British soldiers with fixed bayonets were there on the Indian

side facing two Afghan soldiers on the Afghan side and a barbed wire gate in the middle which was the border. There was striking contrast in the dresses and appearances between British and Afghan guards. The driver told the British guard that it was Afghan Bus and we were allowed to pass after the pass (papers) of the Bus was examined. The Afghan soldiers did the same as the British soldiers. The Bus then crossed over and stopped at the Afghan side of the border to take water for cooling the engine. The shelters for the guards were a furlong behind the border for both the British and Afghans. In between there was supposed to be no man's land.

Maqbul got down and said his prayer in a reverential manner as a token of deliverance from 'Kafir-raj'. I too was much moved for being able to cross the border and come to an independent country and walked erect to and fro on the free soil and took deep breath of a free land's air. It was sentimental and childish, but it came quite spontaneously. The thought when we would be able to make Mother India free, was uppermost in my mind.

The land on both sides was hilly and rocky with practically no vegetation. Nor was there any line of demarcation or line of pillars between India and Afghanistan apart from the sign board on the road at the frontier and the barbed wire gate. All along the frontier one could pass in and out without any hurdle, but the risk of being shot from both sides was there.

Docca

Our first stop in Afghanistan was in the evening at the caravan sarai at Docca, a small border outpost dirty with secretion of generations of camels, horses, mules, asses and

also of human beings, turned partly into dust. The Officer in charge of the place was very polite to us. He spoke English and Urdu and was very helpful. His office, a walled one, looked like an Oasis with green garden and a flowing canal through it. He gave us tea in Afghan style and with fruits etc. He examined the papers and documents of Maqbul and myself and put his seal of O. K. Soon after as we came out of his simple decent office and back to the Caravan Sarai, a severe dust storm started. It is called Andhi in Hindi and is found in North India. For minutes it darkens the atmosphere, with dust and you have to cover your face in clothes for protection.

During the War of Independence against the British known as the 3rd Afghan War, the British Army had come up to this fortified town, Docca, captured and occupied it. They set up long range guns on the hill tops and fired upon the Afghan Army which having no answer for such long range guns and being ill equipped, retreated and started guerilla war in which they are experts. This led the soldiers of the Afghan Army at Jalalabad, about a hundred and fifty kilometers (100 miles) from Docca, to loot their own town and to disperse to their villages. But the British Army did not dare to go further than Docca for fear of being cut off by guerillas and to re-suffer the sad experience of the 1st Afghan War, when all British soldiers were ambushed and killed, except only one, a doctor, who somehow escaped to tell the sad story. The British had of course, sent a second Army to Kabul itself to retaliate, and burnt Kabul but did not stay there for long and had a hurried return. In this 3rd Afghan War, the Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan

Army, Sardar Nadir Khan, had in the meanwhile captured the Fort of Thal by direct assault from the British. It was in the South midway between Peshawar and Quetta. The dust storm continued long in the night and due to this we could not get out, and get our food and had only bread and 'dahi' (with lots of dust) from the shop of the Sarai. The doors of the Sarai did not close well and I covered myself fully from head to foot with the blanket to save myself from the gust of wind and dust. It was over in about 2 or 3 hours. Then we all slept well in the first night in an Independent country. In the morning I had a refreshing bath in the running canal-passing nearby. It was from Kabul river, the sixth tributary of the Indus. Bath was followed by a good break-fast with bread, eggs, fruits and tea. Docca is a small garrison town for border protection.

Docca to Jalalabad

We started at about 10 a.m. rather late. There was practically no roads from Docca for many miles. These had been washed away by the melting snow and only the tracks of the roads were there, following the course of the Kabul river. Often the track was full of rounded stones and sand. And our truck engine developed the inevitable trouble on such rough roads. Often the wheels revolved on the axle but the truck did not move forward or backward as the wheels slipped. On many occasions chains had to be put round the tyres, transforming the Bus into some kind of catterpillar, which could be described as a semi-tank.

Volunteer

I volunteered to help the driver, when the Bus stopped and valiant attempts were made

by the driver to make the Bus move forward with the aid of some passengers. It was appreciated by the Bus driver but frowned upon by Maqbul, who thought it very derogatory. The driver was a very sturdy Afghani. I had travelled by Bus to Shillong from Gauhati and back 200 k. m. and the Sikh driver, would sit in his seat, would not get down and the helper or cleaner would draw water and do whatever was needed. Here the driver himself, did everything along with the helper and often without him.

Jalalabad

With good roads and if we started early we could have reached Kabul the same day in the late evening. But it took us four days. We had to move very slowly about 50 kilometres. Then the road became better and we reached Jalalabad in the evening. It is the winter Capital of Afghanistan, Kabul being the Summer Capital. It is a beautiful small town with palaces of Ameer, the rulers of Afghanistan. There were tall pine and poplar trees and spacious parks and gardens of the Mogul style. I was midway between Peshawar and Kabul, about 150 kilometres from both. We had a hot meal, the first we had after Peshawar, hours earlier. Pollao and Dumka Kabab, curry and even fried fish! It was not very costly either in the small hotel. The lunch had been of bread, tea and fruits in a way tea shop (or hotel if wish to say so). At night, I slept well in the Caravan Sa where our Bus was kept.

Royal Park

We started early next morning, quite fresh and proceeded along the road, hoping to reach Kabul in the evening.

fate willed otherwise. When we had proceeded about 50 kilometres we were stopped by another stationary bus, which had developed some serious trouble. It was a Government Bus carrying a few lakhs of Kabuli rupees (worth about 2/3 of an Indian rupee) to Peshawar to pay for some foreign imports. It had a dozen armed guards with Rifles. So our Bus was taken away by Afghan Government. 'Requisitioned' in legal parlance 'commandered' in military language, or 'hi-jacked' in plain criminal terms. The Government Bus was emptied of the cash in silver basin in wooden boxes and put in our Bas, after we had taken out all our belongings from our Bus and put in the defective Government Bus. We had to wait till it was repaired, which took quite a few hours. I resented it but could not give expression to it. Fortunately it was near a beautiful old garden of the Moguls. It was a spacious beautiful garden with trees which were hundred years old. We had some fun there, utilising the time in playing and eating. It was an ideal place for picnic. Many picnic parties were there, both Hindus and Muslims and had the view of many Pathan women with their veils (Borkhas) off. When they saw us they would either stare at us or would giggle, put their veils or Borkha on and run away. It was a garden with walls all around and it was the garden house of the Ameer and had canals with running water for watering the flower gardens and a good bungalow in the centre. We enjoyed the bright sunlight in the flowering garden and also the food in the small restaurant there. Many cooked their food under the shade of the ancient trees.

Jagdalak

In about two hours the Government truck was ready and we started again and by night fall reached Jagdalak, an inspection check post with a bungalow. We were given VIP treatment there with bed and food and bath in hot water. It was located on a high hill and we could see the surrounding rocks and hills with small specks of green where clusters of a few huts stood, but always surrounded by mud walls—for safety from attack by other villagers or clans. It was about 4000 feet high and was rather cold. The road after Jalalabad was good and well kept.

To Kabul

After spending the night at Jagdalak, we started after breakfast for the last lap of our journey to Kabul. At Peshawar we were told that it was about 300 kilometers and we could reach Kabul easily within two days. But with washed away roads between Dacca and Jalalabad and engine trouble throughout and giving precedence to Government truck carrying cash to Peshawar, we took actually four days to cover the distance. The last lap was pleasantly smooth motoring but quite cold due to occasional drizzle and strong wind. Being in the front bench I was shivering, even with the blanket wrapped all around me. But the blanket was an ordinary one and my feet were getting cold within the shoes. I had to endure anyhow --I took off my shoes and brought my feet on the engine to warm my feet and through it my body also. The worst part of it was that it rained occasionally. I had a sweater in the trunk but it was next to impossible to bring it out from under the heaps of luggage and to stop the Bus to achieve this. So I

endured. When the Truck stopped twice for taking water, I warmed myself with steaming tea.

Gumruk

In the evening after sunset, we reached the Gumruk or customs check office at Chaman or Maidan. The officer was very busy but quite polite to me and my colleague. He allowed us to take our luggage with us without much search. We were advised to go to the house of the Principal. So we did in a tonga and we got a very warm reception.

Kabul at last

The Chaman is a beautiful open space, corresponding to Garermath (Fort ground) in Calcutta. It was brightly illuminated by electric lights. I liked Chaman and also Kabul. I was happy that I was at Kabul at last.

We reached the house and sent word through the servant at the gate. The Mudir came down to receive us. Our belongings were taken up to a room for guests. Later on to my dismay, I found that my only blanket was missing. It was loose and the servant must have left it in the Tonga and the Tongawala was benefitted by our confusion. We met several other Professors who were already there and there was a dinner party. We too joined. It was a delicious dinner—more so as we two had very scanty and poor meals for the last four days of the journey from Peshawar to Kabul, except at Jalalabad, where I had even fried fish. The meal was sumptuous and the dinner talks were mostly introductory and of the journey etc.

I was very happy to hear about the career of Mudir Sahib. An Afghan by birth,

his father was domiciled in India as a refugee. He was an M. A. in English from Lahore University. He spent 12 years in jail in Kabul for organising the Unity and Progress Party in Afghanistan, following the Turkish Party of the same name, which had been started by Mustafa Kamal Pasha, Enver Pasha, Jamal Pasha and others. It was in 1905 or 1906, when the movement was at the highest in Bengal against the British as a result of the partition of Bengal. Several times it was decided to blow him up from a cannon, but Court intrigues saved his life and at last in 1919, when Amanulla became the Amir, he not only set Mudir Sahib free, but put him at the head of the Education Department though a step-brother of Amanulla, a non-matric, was nominally the Education Minister. But the Minister was only a figure-head; all management and control was in the hands of the Mudir Md. Hossain.

He was a rather dark complexioned man with moustache, with occasional smiles in his otherwise grave face. He had no beard, as Amanulla also had none. The story of his boldness and sacrifice at once endeared him to me. Prof. Suja, M. SC. of Lahore University of grave look with moustache and no beard, Prof. Abdur Rashid, B. Sc. of Aligarh University, a fair complexioned, bearded, volatile young man in Khaddar, both new comers, were also there. There was also Choudhury, a brother-in-law of Mudir Sahib, who had been a teacher there for two years already. There were some others but unfortunately I cannot remember them now. The meal consisted of Polao and Korma, Chicken curry, Parotha, etc. We ate in Pathan style, (or Muslim style), all

food on the floor on huge plates and all squatting round the food on the floor and taking the food from the same receptacles in a collective way. Though it was not quite new for me, I was not yet fully accustomed to it and was a little shy and slow, but being very hungry did good justice to the delicious food. The talks were in Urdu and English. It was only after the meal and when we retired late to sleep that I noticed the loss of the blanket, but good bed with good blankets etc. were supplied by the host and I slept soundly in the house of the host, Mudir Md. Hussain, on the first floor of a mud house. Brick houses were very rare. The other Indian Professors and Teachers retired to their Mess after the meal. Only Maqbul and myself remained there.

Professors' Mess

Next morning after a good breakfast, both of us shifted to the Mess where the other Professors, who had come earlier, were lodged. It was near Kabul river on the first floor with large rooms. Maqbul and myself

were put in one empty room. There were about a dozen of us. Soon a few amongst us rented houses and started living independently.

After the others had breakfast in the Mess, we all walked together to Habibia Collage once a Palace with a high tower surrounded by a large garden of apples, grape-vines and other fruits. The Palace, now University, was 25 feet above the ground. From that vantage point one could get a good view of the surroundings, particularly from the tall tower. It had a good library there, and the books included the Encyclopedia Britannica. I got much valuable information about Afganistan there. It was my favourite place of rest in the Habibia University.

There were students from Primary to B.A. and B. Sc. classes, all in uniform—Amanian style. The younger boys with their chubby red faces jumping and frolicking round was a pleasant sight. I was happy to learn that education was absolutely free, with free tuition free books, free uniforms and also free lunch.

HE WAS NOT OF AN AGE BUT FOR ALL TIME

PRABHU RANJAN BASU

"It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world; I thank you in the name of the mother of religions; and I thank you in the name of the millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects."

Those rhythmic words came out of the voice of a great personality who, in the midst of all privations and tribulations, in the midst of hatred and apathy, appeared before a large audience, braving the gusty wind of an all-pervading superiority and affectation that hovered in the sky of the affluent West. And the consequent cheers echoed back his voice in an atmosphere surcharged with emotion.

Who was that great man, attracting a curious glance from all quarters? It was Swami Vivekananda who spoke eloquently, standing on the platform in the great Hall of Columbus at the World's Parliament of Religions held in Chicago on the 11th day of September, 1893. He had practically no credentials for joining the Sessions. But it was all for one Prof. Wright of Harvard University who could recognise his genius and feel that the world must hear him. "To ask you for your credentials," wrote this Professor to him later, "is like asking the Sun to state his right to shine." When he stood on the platform on his first day to deliver his great speech, his whole being rang with a sense of failure and apprehension which lasted a few seconds, but gradually it petered out and there rang in his voice a note of confidence, courage and supreme command.

He was the only representative of Hindu-

ism proper, and the religion of India poured from his lips that very day. Sister Nivedita wrote of him: "When he began to speak it was of the religious ideas of the Hindus, but when he ended, Hinduism had been created." She declared that it was through him that Hinduisim received unity, definition and form. He infused new life and vitality in Hinduism and enabled it to mobilize the people and throw a challenge to the mightiest and haughtiest religion i. e. Christianity. He appeared to have been born into his role—a role of making and unmaking—and can be characterized as a phenomenon as his own Master was whose perfectly ordinary qualities expressed divinity in an enchanting comprehensiveness.

India had been practically totally steeped in ignorance, superstition, class hatred and bigotry during the 17th and 18th centuries. The way to her advancement was closed, nor was she strong enough to accept the dawn of new light; she was rather plunged in mental stupor; always acquiescent to accepting reverses. And the West did not remain idle. She made the best use of India's vulnerability. Naturally, the image of India, though it began acquiring a place of honour on a very few altars of civilization, was given a black colouring by the deft hands of the missionaries who came to reclaim the down-trodden India by conversion. They as faithful and dutiful servants of Lord Christ started converting the ignorant heathens. They looked pityingly at the masses and their religion. So, their aim and mission were to draw them into their own fold, and in the process, all was considered to be grist that came to their mill. Then, with the advent of

English education and civilization in the early 19th century a new throb of life beat in Indian hearts. India received a new outlook in her education, culture, mental development, and her religion was born anew, proven by scientific reorientation.

India was not free from the claws of superstition and persecution none the less. Much was left to be done for her amelioration. Hinduism among all other religions in India suffered most silently, and the fanatics as well as the priesthood thrived on the weaker sections of the people. So, the essence of Hinduism was completely lost upon them on the one hand and on the other, Christianity became powerful. A great wave of western thought and culture gradually began to sweep over the wealthier English educated classes of people, drawing them closer together to form an isolated group of their own who did not hesitate to cast aspersions upon the society that was not yet prepared to accept the English way of life. Thus with the introduction of a new language and culture a newly advanced trend of thought and its direction, that was already shaping things to come, left India exposed to the wrath of the radicals, who felt the impact of westernization but understood its better implications towards the welfare of their degraded society. While India was passing through such a state of affairs, Swamiji appeared on the scene and acted superbly, bringing his motherland to the forefront of the West's quest after a new spiritual outlook.

He was not opposed to the idea of liberalism. His outlook was of a catholic nature altogether. He never took a dislike to the mores and traditions of the past that were essential or vital to a social group. He

never wanted to change them. Instead, he wanted only to make a new synthesis of these and inculcate a modified concept and spirit of life, following which would be an ideal path for every human being. He wished practically to deliver something positive in his line of action.

He did not, finally, choose the path of iconoclasm, rather preserved image-worship. "Man, he says," is to become divine by realising the divine. Idols or temples or churches or books are only the supports, the helps, of his spiritual childhood", as "Each soul is potentially divine." He showed the difference that others devote their whole lives to their idol of a church and never rise higher, because they mean their religion to be an intellectual assent to certain doctrines and doing good to their fellows, but the aim of the Hindu is to realise his religion within, not without." Religion, he says, "is not in doctrines, in dogmas, nor in intellectual argumentation; it is being and becoming; it is realisation." The dimension of his thought widened into further realisation, and he said again:

"It will be a religion which will have no place for persecution or intolerance in its polity, which will recognise divinity in every man and woman, and whose whole scope, whose whole force; will be centred in aiding humanity to realise its own true, divine nature."

To be pure, to be unselfish and to do good to others was the aim and object of his life. So he uttered: "He who sees Shiva in the poor, in the weak, and in the diseased, really worships Shiva; and if he sees Shiva only in the image, his worship is but preliminary." These qualities are the true test of

one's religion and he who, thus he explained to the enlightened world, has more of this unselfishness is more spiritual and nearer to God (Shiva). But mere selfishness is a deterrent to his becoming one with God in spite of his performing religious functions and making pilgrimages. To show unselfish love towards human beings is to show love towards the Almighty. So he spoke of an all-embracing religion, realisation of which is the fulfilment of attaining Divinity.

Some of the Western erudite people had perceived the values of Hinduism at that time, but they were not yet ready to divulge this secret realisation of their own, perhaps for the reasons that the values of their own religion as well as the preponderance of their thoughts on it would naturally decline if Hinduism had its full sway once again. They took only the poetic value of the Hindu religion. Spiritual development as well as material advancement could have, in their view, no access to each other. Its practicability was quite absurd to them. But it was Vivekananda who dispelled their misconception by defining the inscrutable Vedanta with scientific precision, and opened up a new vista of religious thought and wisdom to the West. Good of anything, visible or perceptible, was in his and his Master's eyes, the manifestation of that Supreme Being towards whom everyone is advancing one way or another. This concept was not confined to his mere learning but was verily translated by him into reality. Marie Louise Burke in her account (SWAMI VIVEKANANDA IN AMERICA : NEW DISCOVERIES) wrote :

"To make Vedanta inclusive of all human aspirations, efforts and achievements, to comprehend the universal dimensions of

his Master's life and teachings, and to equate the two, was one of Swamiji's supreme contributions to the world—a stroke of prophetic genius which not many of Sri Ramakrishna's devotees understood at first and which some, one suspects, do not understand yet."

And she in her same account wrote again :

"Never before Swamiji's time had the term (Vedanta) been given such universal significance as he gave it. Never before had it been broadened into a philosophy and religion which included every faith of the world and every noble effort of man—reconciling spirituality and material advancement, faith and reason, science and mysticism, work and contemplation, service to man and absorption in God. Never before had it been conceived as the one universal religion, by accepting the principles of which the follower of any or no creed could continue along his own path and at the same time be able to identify himself with every other creed and aspect of religion."

Therefore, the religion that he spoke of was not only universal in character and challenging in spirit but a matter of reconciliation as well.

Man can never commit a mistake, because he is divine. He is only travelling from truth, from lower, to higher truth. The Vedanta says that every soul, every object animate or inanimate, seeks to find some unity where its components lie and once if that unity is fulfilled it would go no farther. So manifestation and not creation is the ultimate revelation of the Supreme Truth. By defining this most modern concept to humanity he stood as a bridge between the East and the West. He tried heart and soul

to make the whole mankind understand his ideals, that he diffused all his life, that the aim of one's life must be to bring perfection to one's living. This philosophical teaching quickly paid off in his lifetime.

He was out and out a reformist, not a founder of religion. He may be called a true Vedantic, and an auxiliary of Raja Ram Mohan Ray who was in the vanguard of the Reformation of Bengal. He always accepted what was new, scientific, that enlightened him. He was a votary of truth; of dynamic force and of rationalism.

It was, indeed, the most propitious time to unveil the dusty eyes of the purblind, to strike at the religious myopia and musty ideas of the so-called progressive thinkers.

He was not immune against attacks of criticism but yet remained invincible, and the whole gamut of his teachings brought the people on to a commoner and simpler plane of human understanding—never to be forgotten—and thus made him exclusive in his way of thinking.

The concept of his founding a true socialistic democratic society was based on the fact that unless every Indian was embraced as his own brother, the nation that he belonged to would crumble, and a spell of disunity would soon shake the whole structure of society in which the first germ of his universal brotherhood generated, and this concept, he realized, could only be a reality if the process of educating the masses be on the intellectual plane rather than on mere book-learning. Here the ideas of Karl Marx and Vivekananda bear resemblance to each other, but with a difference. Swamiji held that spiritualism is the only prop of a nation and the other one held that material advancement can sustain it. Class struggle, according to Marx, is the only way to uplift the masses,

but according to Swamiji, there need not be any conflict of interests. To achieve its well-being, it should look inward, and for this matter, it should be morally and mentally developed. The rest will come automatically. Equality can never stand on the progress of materialism permanently, there must be a synthesis of the two—spiritualism and materialism. He said: "What will save Europe is the religion of the Upanishads." Spirituality would be the basis of her life.

The yearnings of humanity for peace, tolerance, forbearance, mutual understanding, friendship, affinity and love are still overlaid by fears, suspicions, enmity and misunderstandings. But his discernment in India's future attainment of greatness and prosperity through sacrifice by her own people will at least fill up the void left in our hopes and aspirations for the betterment of mankind. Is it time now to act upon his ideals? He left a panacea for all ills—and that is his saying: "We require super-divine power. Superhuman power is not strong enough. Superdivine strength is the only way, the one way out. By it alone we can pass through all these intricacies, through these showers of miseries, unscathed. We may be cut to pieces, torn asunder, yet our hearts must grow nobler and nobler all the time."

That is why, he presaged before the world:—
"The hour comes when great men shall arise and cast off these kindergartens of religion and shall make vivid and powerful the true religion, the worship of the spirit by the spirit."

He came to be known as a monk when he entered the Hall. But as he emerged from it he became not a legendary hero, but a true and vivid symbol of truth, bliss, love and purity, charity and affability and a true embodiment of spirituality and religion. He was not of an age but for all time, under whose guidance many a people were nursed spiritually and mentally.

U. N. CHARTER HAS EVOLVED WITHOUT AMENDMENT

D. R. SHARMA

The U. N. of to-day is certainly not the UN of 1945. The change has come not only because the number of its members has increased from fiftyone to one hundred twenty six but mostly because the UN has undergone intrinsic and organic changes which could have hardly been imagined at the San-Francisco Conference. It could have hardly been prophesied in 1945 that the political position of the UN would entirely change and the real balance of power would be maintained by the smaller nations. Rarely would anyone have thought that the power of maintaining peace and security would be gradually going from the Security Council, i.e. from big powers to the General Assembly i. e. smaller nations, and that the latter would exercise so much authority in this direction. The difference between the two Super Powers could not have been overlooked at San Francisco Conference but it could have hardly been visualised that in case of their differences the Secretary-General would become all powerful and UN would grow towards becoming a Super-State. The difference between the colonial countries and Colonial Powers could easily be visualised at San-Francisco Conference but it could have hardly been foreseen that the efforts of the Colonial countries would succeed in bringing major changes in the original provisions of the UN Charter and would influence the Big Powers to act in the same way as the Colonial Countries wished to do. The breach of international peace by the Big powers could

have definitely been foreseen while framing the UN charter but the use of force by the UN against Big Powers and in general maintenance of peace could have hardly been imagined. These and many other important issues have posed a question before us as how the intrinsic and organic changes have come in the life of the UN.

The Charter of the UN, like the constitution of a country, provides the rules and procedures of its composition and functions. As the constitution of a country is the governing law with which the rules and procedures of the principal organs of the government must conform, so is the charter of the UN by which the principal functions, rights, powers, rules of representation and the rules of procedure of the important organs are defined. The apparent difference between the Charter of the UN and the constitution of a country is this that the constitution of a country is sovereign whereas the Charter of the UN is the embodiment of the international treaties and agreements which the Member States have concluded. But the rules of procedure i. e. 'Parliamentary Law' of an international Organisation may probably be considered as a part of international law of the same general legal character as treaty law and therefore are legally binding upon the Member States of the Organisation. Moreover, the Charter of the UN, like the national constitution, is subject to an amendment according to its Articles 108 and 109. But the careful examination of the change

brought forth in the organisation, powers and functions of various organs of the UN suggests that it is more than the uses, conventions, the demand of the time, the pressure of smaller nation etc. which combined together have brought enormous changes in the life of the UN than the constitutional process of amending the Charter itself. Like the constitution of many states, the Charter of the UN has evolved without amendment.

The growing independence of nations, their observance of various agreements concerning navigation, quarantine, civil aviation, telecommunication, arrangements of defensive attacks, common economic planning, trading, their acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international law, treaties, conventions, their adherence to inspection, negotiation, arbitration etc. limit the old conception of sovereignty. The numerous welfare works performed by various organs of the UN in bringing all round developments of human society and its acceptance by the State governments is also subjected to the limitation of the principle of State sovereignty. Thus, the UN by undertaking a variety of welfare work and their acceptance by the Member States has brought modification of the traditional concept of state sovereignty. This flexible attitude of the Member States, whatever may be its various reasons, has certainly helped UN and Member States both to come close and to co-operate with each other which is the real key of the success of the UN.

The General Assembly of the UN is a great platform of the nations. It is developing as a forum from where the world public opinion is focussed and exposed as a national Parliament is a platform of national opinion.

Although it is a fact that the General Assembly is not a sovereign parliament as the National Parliament, it may be visualised that there is growing tendency to make it more effective. According to the Charter, the Assembly does not possess the decision making power of the council, it can make only recommendations to the Security Council or to the Member States on matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, a programme of international co-operation etc. The Assembly is not entitled to make recommendations without the request of the Security Council concerning a dispute or situation while the Security Council is exercising its functions on it. But a major step was taken by passing the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" on November 3, 1950 (during the Korean crisis) to enable the Assembly to perform more effectively and vitally the functions entrusted to it by the Charter in the field of international peace and security. By this resolution, which constitutionally speaking was not an amendment of the UN Charter, the Assembly assumed a more important status and position than the Council and it becomes vocal where the Council is ineffective. The Emergency Special Sessions during the crises of Suez, Hungary, the Lebanon, the Congo etc. of the General Assembly are clear indications of the growing powers of the General Assembly. A more significant change was automatically made in this provision in June 1967 during Arab Israel war. Under the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" the Emergency special session of the General Assembly was to be convened when there was use of veto by any permanent member in the Security Council on a particular

problem concerning world peace and Security and where the solution of the problem was not possible in it. But during Arab-Israel war in June 1967, without a deadlock in the Security Council i.e. without the use of veto by any permanent member, a special meeting of the General Assembly was considered to be necessary by the Soviet Union and the proposal which was not opposed specially by the US, a special meeting of the General Assembly was convened on 18 June, 1967. Thus, a new convention was established to convene special session of the General Assembly even under a normal condition where there is no deadlock situation in the Security Council particularly a problem concerning world peace and security.

The enhancement in the power of the General Assembly without bringing amendment in the UN Charter is still challenged by many Member States particularly by the Soviet bloc. On the constitutional ground that it is not the General Assembly but the Security Council which is authorised to take major steps towards the maintenance of world peace and security, the Soviet Union and France refused to advance their financial assistance to the UN in its military operation particularly in the Congo. This stern attitude of both the major powers certainly brought a constitutional deadlock in the UN in 1965 which caused the postponement of the xixth. session of the General Assembly. Though in principle the Soviet Union refuses to accept the legality of the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" by which the General Assembly has been given a wider power in maintaining world peace and security, it certainly accepted this resolution in practice when it voted favourably on such

resolutions in cases of Suez and the Lebanese crisis when the big powers failed to bring solution to the problems.

The UN is not a world Government but it is now much more than a mere talking shop or a convenient forum of negotiation. Not only in the realm of economic and social affairs but also in political and security matters, the UN has been entrusted with operational responsibilities in difficult situations. Not only has it been authorised to care for refugees, to provide technical assistance and funds for economic development, to patrol frontiers, to expel mercenaries, to maintain law and order, but it was authorised even to provide a temporary executive authority for West Irian. It was certainly a new development in the power of the UN.

When the question of the revision of the Charter comes up for consideration, the evolution of the General Assembly is also likely to add weight to the question of the role, the composition and procedures of the Security Council.

During the Suez and Hungary crisis, a development took place through which increased responsibilities were temporarily transferred for the Security Council to the General Assembly. Since it is difficult for the General Assembly to act expeditiously if it is required to engage in detailed consideration of complicated legal and technical problems, the Assembly found that the most adequate way to meet the challenge, which it had to face was to entrust the Secretary General with wider executive tasks on the basis of mandates of a general nature. In the Lebanese crisis the General Assembly came into the picture only at a very late

stage, while executive action in the earlier phases of the crisis was guided by the Security Council, which for the purpose availed itself of the services of the Secretary General. Likewise, the first part of the Laos crisis was entirely in the hands of the Security Council. In the Congo crisis also the Security Council had been to a greater extent exclusively seized.

In the Suez crisis, the UN and particularly the General Assembly played a decisive role. It was the first time in the UN history that a notable precedent was given by the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force. This certainly enhanced the prestige of the General Assembly as well as of the Secretary General who, on the advice of an advisory Commission was authorised to from the UNEF. In the Lebanese crisis the function was discharged by the Security Council which authorised the Secretary General to establish UNOGIL. Since the session of the General Assembly could not be convened earlier and since the Super Powers in the Security Council were divided the responsibility of maintaining peace and organising UNOGIL came directly in the hands of the Secretary-General. The Secretary General, more than on any other occasions, became all powerful. The Congo crisis was a typical example when the powers of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General seemed to be divided. Hence the Secretary-General refused to work on his own initiative until his interpretation of the mandate of the Security Council was accepted and also a clear mandate was given to him. All these examples show that the powers of all the three UN organs rotate and the part played by them is condi-

tioned more by the existing situation of the crisis than that of the conditions laid down by the UN Charter.

Whoever might be responsible for maintaining peace and security in Suez, the Lebanon and the Congo, one thing was striking that the UN adopted unique and bold steps towards that direction. Beginning from Suez and coming to the Congo, the UN appears to have gradually vitalised its strength and energies. Its functions in Suez and the Lebanon were confined only to observe the disputed border areas but in case of the Congo it took major military action in a civil war situation in a sovereign country. Such bold military actions taken by the UN against a sovereign country certainly helped the UN growing towards a Super State. The UN by possessing such vast powers certainly got real teeth. Such bold actions by the UN also undermines the concept of traditional national sovereignty. The interplay between parliamentary operations in the UN, political action, diplomatic negotiation, military operations and administrative measures has been subtle and exacting. To the extent it may be said to have worked and to have led to the desired results, it bears witness of a flexibility in the organisation of the work of the UN which is encouraging for the future.

The reconstruction of the Mandate system or the establishment of a similar system for the administration of dependent countries of Asia and Africa was an important item of discussion at the San-Francisco Conference. The Colonial Powers were opposed to a new colonial policy to be conducted under the auspices of the international organisation. The Colonial Countries wanted the elimina-

tion of foreign rule and realisation of a liberal ideology. The clash of interests between the two resulted in a compromise solution of the problem. Out of 19 Chapters of the UN Charter three were devoted to the subject of dependent peoples. Two of them—Chapters xii and xiii—were concerned with the International Trusteeship System while Chapter xl consisted of a "Declaration Regarding Non-Self Governing Territories."

The provision of the Charter was not free from contradictions. Provision was made in the UN Charter for political advancement, development of political institutions and political autonomy but the information that the administering powers were obliged to transmit was confined only to economic, social and educational matters. Even it was not made clear to whom the information would ultimately go and who was the real authority entitled to judge the information. Responsible powers were not bound to submit their reports because the reports to be submitted were only for "Information purposes" and no provision was made as to what would happen if the powers failed to submit their reports. The responsibility was assigned to Administering Powers but the Charter remained silent as to who was to define these responsibilities.

It was this condition that on the initiative of the Colonial Countries a resolution was unanimously adopted in the first part of the General Assembly which made it clear that the obligations assumed by the Member States under Article 73 were neither moral nor indicative but the Administering Powers of the Non-Self Governing Territories were duty bound to comply with the requirements of Article 73 (4).

The matter did not end there. The tug of war between the Colonial Powers and the Colonial Countries still continued as regards the competence of the UN to consider and judge the information submitted under Chapter xi. The former claimed that the UN had no competence while the latter not only did the UN have that right, but that a special organ should be set up to exercise it and that information should be submitted not only on social and technical subjects specially mentioned in the Charter but on political matters as well. In spite of the opposition of the colonial powers, an ad-hoc Committee was set up to examine the information transmitted under Article 73 'e' of the Charter and to make recommendation to the General Assembly regarding this matter. Such sort of Committee was not provided by the Charter and also there was strong opposition by the Colonial Powers but in spite of all these the Committee was ultimately given a permanent basis in 1955. It was named as "Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories."

By adopting unanimously a draft resolution on November 3, 1948, the General Assembly made it obligatory on the Colonial Powers to "inform the UN regarding the constitutional position and Status of a territory." This included constitutional, legislative and executive orders providing for the government of the territory and the constitutional relationship between the two. This became important as it included even political matters in the information list. All these resolutions had the nature of amending the Charter. But they were certainly not adopted for that purpose. This enhanced

the authority of the General Assembly and added a new phase in the life of the UN.

The adoption of the "Declaration of Human Rights" and the "Declaration on Colonialism" had also their nature of the amendment in the Charter but such resolutions were brought not for the same purpose. These were the result of the strong demand of the smaller nations. But certainly these provisions were no less important than the Charter itself.

The General Assembly of the UN is a great platform of nations. It is developing as a forum as a national Parliament is a platform of national opinion. The appearance of voting groups in the UN shows the individual features, attitude and view points that distinguish one group from the other. The new conditions, new opportunities, new needs, besides the common interests, traditions and political history are the favourable factors for the formation and solidarity of a group. As the framers of the US constitution did not like to see the development and interference of political parties in many of the national problems and interests, the framers of the UN Charter also did not visualise the emergence of pressure groups in the UN. But the policy groups were as certain to develop in

the UN as in the Parliament of any country which is not under dictatorial control. Now the Members of the UN inevitably fall into one or the other group. So, the General Assembly of the UN has become the House of all Nations based on democratic principles. Very nearly like the national parliament, the General Assembly of the UN is placed where international negotiations and decisions are carried on under fixed rules and procedure. The different pressure groups in the UN act as effectively as the political parties in the national Parliaments and they try to secure UN decisions in their own favour. This has added a new charm in the life and functioning of the UN with which the Charter has almost no concern at all.

In comparison to these developments in the life and functioning of the UN, the actual process of amendment in the UN Charter is very insignificant. The actual implementation of Article 108 and 109 of the UN Charter has rarely been found save and except in case of the reorganisation of the principal UN Organs. Even this case may be considered as an example of the natural evolution in the life of the UN. The flexible character of the UN towards its natural growth is a healthy sign of its vitality, development and long life.



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Dr. D. AWASTHI

The period between 1939-1941 in India witnessed more of disbelief in British honesty than there had ever been before. While the World War II was being waged in the name of democracy and for the rights of man, in India there was the strange spectacle of government by officials. With the legislatures suspended, the common people were "exposed to the tender mercies of incompetent, and not unoften corrupt, officials unhampered by any fear of exposure at the hands of representative men able to function in a privileged form to exert constitutional pressure on those in power."¹

The worsening situation in India was watched with growing disquiet in America by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt who had a genuine sympathy for the independence of India. After the outbreak of the II World War political considerations made him still more sympathetic towards India. If we analyse as to what were the factors which made him take interest in Indian liberation movement, it can be concluded that firstly, he felt that British colonialism in the subcontinent would greatly weaken the moral leadership of Western democracies, and secondly, he also feared that political unrest in India might encourage Japan to launch an all out attack in South-East Asia. On May 5, 1941, A. Berle, the U. S. Assistant Secretary of State, also expressed the view in his draft *Aide Memoire* that the status of India was of crucial importance since "the degree to which and the methods by which she become integrated into a common co-operative effort of free peoples undeniably will affect the attitude of the Middle East countries".²

Under these circumstances the State Department sent a note to the British Government early in 1941 in which the advantages of the solution of the Indian problem were suggested. Following were some of the important suggestions:³

1. It would create favourable public opinion for England in the United States ;
2. India's independence would strengthen the nationalist forces of the Near and Middle East against possible German or Russian expansion ;
3. Along with China, Australia and New Zealand, India would defend the Far East and South-East Asia against Japanese aggression.

But since pressure on England might strain Anglo-American relations, Roosevelt, whose position was extremely delicate, preferred to take up the matter privately with Churchill instead of making a public issue of India's independence. He therefore, took up the matter with Churchill privately during the famous Atlantic Conference of the two leaders in August, 1941.⁴ Both the leaders drew up the Atlantic Charter and the 3rd Clause of it provided self-determination for all peoples of the world. But Churchill categorically confined Clause 3rd of the Charter to "nations now under the German yoke"—not under the British yoke.⁵ This was declared by him in his infamous speech in the British Parliament. "At this late stage", said Pandit Nehru "to talk of coming to terms with the British Government is out of the question." Churchill's speech also created considerable dissatisfaction in the minds of the President and his advisers and a diplomatic note was

sent to the British Government which maintained that the United States did not accept Churchill's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter.⁷ Thus despite Churchill's known sensitiveness on this question Roosevelt raised it once again in January 1948 and at his insistence India was made a signatory of the United Nation's Declaration of January 1948.⁸

Japan's sudden attack on Pearl Harbour and her spectacular victories in the Far East, leading to the surrender of Singapore on February 15, 1942, vastly increased the American pressure on the British Government on the Indian question. Churchill, who on his assumption of office, had proclaimed his determination not to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, was forced to do precisely the thing he so heartily detested. Then on February 23, 1942, Roosevelt declared that the Atlantic Charter applied to the whole world, including the peoples of Asia living under European imperialism.⁹ In the meantime, Churchill also admitted the fall of Singapore as "the greatest disaster to British arms." The war was taking a heavy toll of human lives and of the Empire's resources. Robert Sherwood recorded that England's balances, which had amounted to four and a half billion dollars before the war, "were gone, including the holdings in America of British individuals which had been appropriated by His Majesty's Government and liquidated."¹⁰ A bankrupt Empire could not be a desirable heritage.

Churchill, who had to lean heavily on American aid to win the war, could not summarily reject the U. S. statements of Indian affairs. The formidable Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary of State, missed no opportunity of telling the British leaders how important it was to meet Indian political aspirations. He advised Halifax, the British Ambassador in the United States, that India should not be excluded from the

Atlantic Charter since any such omission would be invidious.¹¹ At his many meetings with Churchill, President Roosevelt impressed upon the British Prime Minister that American opinion felt strongly on the Indian question. In his message of February 25, 1942, to John G. Winant, U. S. Ambassador in Britain, the President expressed concern over the Indian situation, "especially in view of the possibility of the necessity of a slow retirement through Burma into India itself."¹² He had been told that the British defence would not have "sufficiently enthusiastic support from the people of India themselves."¹³

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, who visited India in the same month, made an open appeal to the British Government to liberate the country "as the wisest policy." Commending his appeal to the notice of Roosevelt, he requested the President to reinforce it by telling Churchill how deeply he, the Marshal, was shocked at the Indian military and political situation. He therefore urged that unless the Indian nettle was grasped "immediately and urgently the danger will be daily increasing."¹⁴ Accordingly President Roosevelt asked his Special Representative Averell Harriman to raise this question with Churchill. Churchill's reaction to this diplomatic pressure is recorded in his War Memoirs.¹⁵ In reply Churchill expressed a desire to solve the Indian problem, but argued that the Congress Party was very unpopular with the Muslims who contributed 75%¹⁶ of the Indian Army so that he could not make any settlement which should alienate the Muslims from war efforts. An immediate transfer of power without an understanding between the principal political parties of India would result in chaos and confusion and would seriously hamper war efforts. Churchill also sent the views of the leaders of the Muslim community in support of his contention.¹⁷ Roosevelt's reply to this letter reveals his great concern for the solution of the Indian problem

but it betrays an ignorance of the exact nature of the Indian communal tangle. He suggested that the Indian problem might be solved by modeling new ruling bodies on the American Continental Congress and Articles of Confederation, to be followed after a period of trial and error by a constitution to establish a permanent government. He gave a brief history of the constitutional experiment in the United States from 1776 to 1787 and hoped that the injection of a new thought might be helpful to Churchill in the solution of the Indian problem. He was careful however, not to offend Churchill's sensitiveness about India. He added: "As you can well realize, I have felt much diffidence in making any suggestion and it is a subject which, of course, all of you good people know more about than I do, . . . For the love of Heaven, don't bring me into this, though I do want to be of help. It is strictly speaking none of my business (Churchill probably agreed here) except in so far as it is a part and parcel of the successful fight that you and I are making."¹⁸

Forced to respond to such influential pressure, the British Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942, that Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, would proceed to India with a Draft Declaration of the British government for the solution of the Indian problem. Although Churchill said on this occasion that "the crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance, has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader", his principal motive in sending the Cripps mission may be understood from his letter to the Viceroy of India :

"It would be impossible owing to unfortunate rumours and publicity and the general American outlook to stand on a purely negative attitude and the Cripps mission is indispensable to prove our honesty of purpose and to gain

time for necessary consultation."¹⁹ It is also to be noted that the British government sent to President Roosevelt a copy of the Draft Declaration before it was sent to the press.

Roosevelt's keen interest in the success of the Cripps mission is revealed by the fact that just at this time he sent (with the consent of the British Government) Louis Johnson, a former Assistant Secretary of War, as the Personal Representative of the President of USA.²⁰ The Cripps Proposal, however, was not acceptable to the Indian National Congress,²¹ and all the parties concerned were about to publish their views on the Draft Declaration. At this stage Louis Johnson arrived in New Delhi and began to take part in the negotiations at the invitation of Cripps and Nehru.²² His participation revived interest in the negotiations and it was believed in the political circles of India that he was trying to mediate between the British government and the Congress party at the instance of President Roosevelt.²³ Johnson indicated in a despatch that Cripps had indirectly asked him for Roosevelt's intervention with Churchill to modify the Draft Declaration for the sake of a settlement. But Roosevelt hesitated at this stage to put further pressure on the British government, lest that should strain Anglo-American relations. He also hoped that war situation would induce Indian leaders to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Cripps Proposal.²⁴ As the events were to show this hesitation proved fatal for the Cripps mission. However, Johnson and Cripps evolved a compromise formula whereby the objection of the Congress party with regard to the management of the Defence Department might be overcome. The formula was :

"The Defence Department shall be placed in charge of a representative Indian member with the exception of the functions to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief as War Member of the Executive Council. A War Department will be constituted which will take

over such functions of the Department as are not retained by the Defence Department. A list of all the retained functions has been agreed."²⁵

This formula formed the basis of renewed negotiations and a settlement seemed in view. But at this stage the Congress party began to insist that the proposed Interim Government must act like a National Government and that the Viceroy should give a pledge that he would not exercise his veto power.²⁶ This demand created a new complication. The Viceroy felt that he was being ignored and that Cripps would ultimately succumb to the pressure of Nehru and Johnson. He complained to Churchill that Cripps had presented a new proposal (Johnson—Cripps Formula) to the Congress party without consulting him but with the assistance of Johnson, who acted as if he had been sent to India by Roosevelt to mediate in the Indian crisis.²⁷ Churchill protested to Hopkins who happened to be in London at that time about the role of Johnson. Hopkins assured him that Johnson was acting in that matter in his personal capacity, that Cripps was using Johnson in order to bring Roosevelt into the picture and that the President would not like to be driven into the problem except at the personal request of Churchill and only if he had an assurance from Indian leaders and the British government that his mediation would be acceptable.²⁸ Churchill promptly cabled to the Viceroy that Johnson was acting in the personal capacity in this negotiation and that he would not agree to the modification of the Declaration without the endorsement of the Viceroy.²⁹ This cable coupled with Congress party's additional demand regarding the suspension of the veto power of the Viceroy led to the breakdown of renewed negotiations. Thus it is clear that it was impossible that this high priest of imperialism (Churchill) would readily agree to

release India from Britain's apron-strings. Colonel Johnson's message to the U. S. Secretary of State on April 11, 1942, throws much useful light on the Cripps fiasco, besides exposing the absurdity of blaming Mahatma Gandhi for it. "Cripps", wrote Johnson, "is sincere, knows this matter should be solved. He and Nehru could solve it in five minutes if Cripps had any freedom or authority. To my amazement when satisfactory solution seemed certain, with unimportant concession, Cripps with embarrassment told me that he could not change original draft declaration without Churchill's approval and that Churchill had cabled him that he will give no approval unless Wavell and Viceroy separately send in their own code cables unqualifiedly endorsing any change Cripps wants."³⁰

Thus Johnson informed Roosevelt in a despatch that Churchill had sabotaged the negotiation at the final stage. The despatch made a tremendous impression upon Roosevelt who had a constant fear that he might be manoeuvred into defending British imperialism.³¹ Consequently when Churchill cabled to Roosevelt the failure of the Cripps mission and expressed a hope that American people and government would now appreciate that the British government had made a sincere effort for the solution of the Indian problem, Roosevelt sent a strong reply in which he observed that Americans believed that the failure was due to the unwillingness of the British government to concede the right of self-determination to Indians notwithstanding the willingness of the Indians to entrust to British authorities military and defence affairs of India. He feared that should India be successfully invaded by the Japanese, there would be a great anti-British feeling in the United States. He further observed that an agreement seemed very near on the 9th April and felt that it could yet be reached if

Churchill asked Cripps to postpone his departure from India and authorised him (Cripps) to resume negotiations on that point. If such a move failed only then would Americans be satisfied that the British government had made a fair attempt at the solution of the Indian problem and that responsibility for the failure of the mission must be placed upon the Indian leaders.³² It may be mentioned that this strongly worded letter was perhaps the only exception to the warmth and cordiality that characterised Roosevelt-Churchill correspondence. Churchill replied that Cripps had already left India and that both parties had published their explanations; therefore resumption of talks would only generate bitterness. He concluded by saying that he attached great importance to the views of the President and that "a serious difference between you and me would break my heart and would surely injure both our countries at the height of this terrible struggle."³³ Thus Churchill evaded the request and later recorded in his Memoir that he was happy that the march of events had rendered it impossible for him to try the course of action suggested by the President. It appears, however, that if President Roosevelt had shaken off his hesitation and intervened when Cripps appealed to him through Johnson for his good office, Churchill would not have dared to oppose or evade it, for, with all his sensitiveness about India Churchill knew that England was absolutely dependent on the United States for the successful prosecution of the war. Thus ended the Cripps offer which contained little more than the unkept promise of the First World War.

1. Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee : Report compiled by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Kanwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, December 1945, pp.38-39.

2. Foreign Relations of the United States : Diplomatic Papers 1941, Vol.III, p.177.
3. Ibid : pp.176-180.
4. When the question of India's independence was raised by Roosevelt in the Atlantic Conference, Churchill became angry and growled "You mentioned India," "Yes", Can't believe that we can fight a war against fascist slavery and at the same time not work to free people all over the world from a backward colonial policy", Roosevelt replied. Vide Roosevelt, Elliot, 'As He saw It', pp.37-38
5. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 374 Col. 68.
6. Sharma, S. R., The Making of Modern India, p.559.
7. Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers 1941, Vol.III, pp.185-186.
8. Hull, Cordell, Memoirs, Vol. II, pp. 1120 & 1123.
9. W. H. Mc Neill (ed) : America, Britain and Russia. Their cooperation and conflict 1941-46, p. 41.
10. Foreign Relations of the United States : Diplomatic Papers, 1941 Vol. III, p. 177 ; also Roosevelt and Hopkins, 'Robert E. Sherhood, Vol. I, pp. 270-271.
11. The Memoirs of Cordell Hull, Vol. II, p. 1485.
12. Kulkarni, V. B., British Dominion in India and After, p. 232.
13. Ibid : loc. cit.
14. Foreign Relations of the United States : Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I, pp. 604-605.
15. "The United States had shown an increasingly direct interest in Indian affairs as the Japanese advance into Asia spread westward The concern of the Americans with the strategy of World War was bringing them into touch with political issues on which they had strong opinions and little experiences. Before Pearl

- Harbour India had been regarded as a lamentable example of British imperialism but as an exclusive British responsibility. Now that the Japanese were advancing towards its frontiers, the United States Government began to express views and offer counsels on Indian affairs." Vide Churchill, W. S., *The Hinge of Fate*, p. 209.
16. Percentage given by Churchill is open to question. According to a statement of the Secretary for India given in Parliament on July 8, 1843, the percentage was Hindus 42%, Muslims 34%, Gurkhas 8% Sikhs 10%, others 6%. Vide Parkin, R., *India To-Day*, p. 89.
 17. Views sent were those of Jinnah and Firoz Khan Noon. For details see Churchill, W. S., op. cit., pp. 209-11.
 18. Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History*, pp. 211-212.
 19. Churchill, W. S., op. cit., p. 215.
 20. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I*, p. 617.
 21. Coupland, R., *The Indian Problem, II*, p. 279; also 'Divide and Quit', Penderel Moon, Chatto and Windus, p. 21.
 22. Coupland, R., op. cit., p. 288.
 23. Johnson wrote in a despatch that the name of Roosevelt was acting like a magic. Vide *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I*, p. 630.
 24. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I*, p. 628.
 25. Ibid : loc. cit.
 26. *The Nation*, September 26, 1942, pp. 255-256; also for details see Fisher, L., *Why Cripps Failed*.
 27. *The Nation*, September 26, 1942, pp. 110-112.
 28. Sherwood, R., op. cit., p. 524.
 29. Ibid : p. 525.
 30. *Foreign Relations of the United States; Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I*, p. 631.
 31. Ibid : loc. cit.; also Wilmot, C., *Struggle for Europe*, pp. 633-634.
 32. *Foreign Relations of the United States; Diplomatic Papers, Vol. I*, p. 637.
 33. Churchill, W. S., op. cit., p. 221.

MEGHALAYA—A SEPARATE GEOGRAPHICAL ENTITY

SACHINDRAKUMAR CHATTERJEE

Meghalaya—a separate geographical entity will now become an autonomous state. The political experiment of an autonomous state within the state of Assam is being tried for the first time in India.

With the advent of the new state the long

aspiration of the people for political autonomy has been satisfied and now it would be expected that new state should serve as a shining outpost of Indian democracy.

The new state Meghalaya will be bounded by the Brahmaputra Valley on the North,

East Pakistan in the South and West and the Mikir. North Cachar hills on the East.

The area covered by Meghalaya will be roughly about 8500 sq. miles, comprising two of the five hill districts of Assam i. e. the Garo and the united Khasi Jaintia hill districts.

Meghalaya have an estimated population of more than 900,000 hill tribals, predominantly Khasis, Garo and Jaintias. Density of population is 90 persons per sq miles, about three times lower than the Indian average. Racially, these tribals belong to the mongoloid stock while their dialects are Tibeto-Burman in origin. They are the descendants of the great Baro clan which ruled a large part of Assam at one time. Their ancestors came via Bhutan numbering 4 lakhs. At present most of the tribals are peace loving peasants practising jhum cultivation after clearing the land by slash and burn method. They are also adept in fishing wherever possible. In general, people are brave intelligent and colourful. Culturally, they possess a distinctive form of social organisation in which descent and inheritance are recognised through women rather than through men. Residence after marriage shifts to in-laws' house so that a man goes to live with his wife's family. This kind of matrilineal arrangements have, of course, undergone some modification among the educated and urbanized Khasis and Garos but there are important points of difference in the culture and social organization of Khasis and Garos.

Geologically Meghalaya belongs to archean group of rock (550 m. years) over which lies the alluvium of Ganga and Brahmaputra. The whole terrain was below sea and was

The name Maghalaya (abode of clouds) was first coined by prof. S. P. Chatterjee, Vice President of International Geographical Union for his D. Litt Thesis (Paris University) entitled similarly.

lifted up from the floor of the sea. The geological movement was slow and free from buckling that the sedimentary beds retained their horizontal character and gave rise to structural platforms, well developed in Cherrapunji area. The presence of many rapids and waterfalls in the neighbourhood of Shillong indicates that this region has a youthful topography due perhaps to recent uplift.

Physiographically and administratively also the central and eastern parts of Meghalaya can be grouped together under the name Khasi and Jaintia hills and the western part Garo hills.

Garo hills covers an area of 300 sq. miles lower in elevation and rise gently from southern plains. Tura range (a typical horst) and Simsang Valley are the main physiographic units.

Khasi and Jaintia hills covers an area of 5500 sq miles and it is mainly in the form of Plateau. Here general elevation varies within 4000-6000 ft. (1219.2 to 1824.0 m.). The Shillong hills towering above Shillong town contain the highest peneplane surface. South of Shillong lies the structural platform of Cherrapunji which are built up of sandstones and limestones. From Cherrapunji the plateau slopes very gently south wards for about 6 k.m. and then falls rapidly to the plains. The eastern most section of Meghalaya is the Mikir hills. The hills are rugged and thinly populated due to the presence of barren sandstones of Surma series.

Climatically, Meghalaya experiences two seasons—the mild Summer and the Winter. The climate is noted for its coolness and humidity. Here Cherrapunji receives the world's highest rain fall (600 inches) in a year. Whereas Shillong located 50 miles away receives only 80-100 inches rainfall. This is primarily due to Shillong's position in rain-shadow area. The Monsoon laden with heavy moisture knocked at the Cherrapunji plateau

first before reaching Shillong plateau. Garo hills located in the west receives only 43 inches of rainfall.

Politically the new state will have a full fledged Legislative Assembly of 38 members and a council of 5 Ministers for the present. It will have a common Governor and a common High Court with Assam. At present the overall responsibility for law and order in Meghalaya remains with the Assam Govt., the new state will have its own village and town police. It will also have enforcement powers to cover the 61 subjects out of 65 in its state list. As Meghalaya will be normally within the state of Assam, the present Assam Legislative Assembly constituencies in Meghalaya area will still find representation in the Assam Legislative Assembly even after the formation of the new state. At present there are 16 Assembly constituencies in the hill areas of Assam, reserved for Scheduled tribes of these, nine are from the proposed Meghalaya area. So far as the Meghalaya areas are concerned the Govt. and Legislative Assembly of Assam will have jurisdiction in respect of only certain subjects of common interest including state high ways, major industries and hydro electricity power. Again the Assam and Meghalaya states will have concurrent powers requiring ratification both by state Assemblies in 13 subjects including the acquisition of land.

Economically Meghalaya is one geared to agriculture with rice as the staple food of the people. Many fruits are also found in the area such as apples, pears, peaches and oranges, the last being the most abundant. Apart from this a short staple variety of cotton is grown especially in the Garo hills.

With a heavy rainfall the flora of the hill is regarded as the richest in the Indian subcontinent. There are about two hundred varieties of orchids in the area and few rarest species are potential Exchange earners. Soft woods are another valuable resource of the state.

From the point of view of minerals, the state has rich deposits of coal (1% of India), limestones, silimanite, feldspar (quartz) glass sand and china clay. Geological Survey of India has located strains of uranium and zinc. Further investigations are continuing.

In respect of industries also the new state have high potentiality since most of the hydel power stations of N.E. India i.e. the Uiam, Umtru and Kopili are located in this region. At present small handicraft industry such as weaving of silk, muga and endi are flourishing but there are immense possibility of setting up a few new industries like paper, tea chest and cement by utilising the local coal, limestone and timber. In Cherrapunji a cement factory has now gone into production with a capacity of 250 ton per day or less than one lakh ton annually.

In the field of education the new state have the higher percentage of literacy (31.5%) than the rest of Assam (27.4%). This is mainly due to the service of Christian Missionaries. Like everywhere else the main activity of the Christian Church has been to promote education so that many of the tribes know Latin and not an Indian script. Fascination of tribal peoples for western dress, pop music, English movies and novels projects an image of the average educated tribal of the region.

In hill areas where topography is rough, rainfall is copious. transport becomes a problem. Here also one faces such difficulty of transport. Trains are non existent in hill areas. Only means of transport is therefore motor vehicles. Bus services are quite efficient. The National highway, the life line of Meghalaya connecting Gauhati with Shillong extends upto Dawki on the East Pakistan Border. Garo hills on the other hand is linked with only one all weather road from Goalpara.

The new state have very few cities and towns. Only Shillong and Tura are the cities

that have considerable importance. Shillong the charming hill station located at an altitude of 1961 metres above sea level is the Capital of the new state. The natural setting of Shillong has provided it with attractions for tourists which can well be developed.

Tura, the headquarters of the Garo hills is located in the extreme west of Meghalaya. It is about 1412 metres above sea level and have over 30,000 population. So far as tourists are concerned this small but very beautiful and clean town has also a special appeal.

SHYAMAPRASAD—THE UNCOMPROMISING PATRIOT

BY—J. L. DAS

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, the Royal Bengal Tiger, thundered, "Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always." Small wonder, therefore, that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, illustrious son of such an illustrious father, should wage a relentless struggle for cultural and national freedom, and ultimately sacrifice his life for the preservation of the country's territorial integrity.

Shyama Prasad was elected Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1924, i.e. when he was in his early twenties. On the death of Sir Asutosh in the month of May that year he was appointed a member of the University Syndicate to fill the resulting vacancy. He became Vice-Chancellor in 1934 and adorned the post for two successive terms (1934-38). Besides, as President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Art and Science and as Dean of the Faculty of Arts he was intimately associated with the university's administration for several years. For his conspicuous services to the cause of higher education, he was first selected Member and then Chairman of the Inter-University Board.

Thus Shyama Prasad was called upon to

hold the reins of the Calcutta University at a very young age. The mantle left by Sir Asutosh, who was regarded as the architect of university education in India, could not have been donned by a more capable person. Thanks to his singular tenacity and devotion, Sir Asutosh was able to transform the university from a mere affiliating body to the premier centre for advanced teaching and research in India. It was left to his worthy son, Dr. Shyama Prasad, not only to consolidate the early gains but to give his Alma Mater newer dimensions. Under his stewardship there was a tremendous increase in the university's activities and many other faculties and departments were established. The fact that this was achieved in the face of machinations of the British bureaucracy and the Muslim League, who sought to gain control of the university and communalise education by overt and covert means, speaks volumes for Shyama Prasad's courage and determination. there is no gainsaying the fact that Shyama Prasad's Herculean and uncompromising efforts during those dark days saved the university from being turned into a citadel of rabid communalism and reaction.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee's long record as a parliamentarian is replete with instances of brilliant oratory and sharp repartees which floored his opponents, his devastating arguments which completely swept the Treasury Benches off their feet, and his strong advocacy of national causes and ruthless exposure of callousness, corruption and cant in the highest quarters. On several occasions, before and after independence, Shyama Prasad represented the people in various capacities,—as Legislator, Minister, or leader of the opposition,—but he always fearlessly championed the cause of the oppressed and the persecuted and resolutely stood against tyranny and bigotry. The lure of power and the pride of position could not blunt the edge of his strong convictions nor was he prepared to barter away his conscience for a mess of pottage.

As early as in 1929 Shyama Prasad was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council as a Congress candidate representing the Calcutta University. But when the Congress decided to boycott the Legislature in 1930, he readily resigned from the Council as a disciplined soldier. Subsequently, he was re-elected as an independent candidate. Under the Reformed Constitution following the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935, Shyama Prasad was elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the University Constituency in 1937. Then began his titanic struggle with the Muslim League Government for the preservation of the autonomy of the Calcutta University, and Bengal's enlightening and ennobling culture. Dr. Mookerjee was branded a communalist by interested parties, but this was an entirely false and unfounded allegation. A nationalist to the core, Shyama Prasad could never countenance the idea of preferential treatment to any community, particularly in the sphere of education. That he was all for the progress of the Muslims would be borne

out by the facts that during his stewardship of the Calcutta University, there were greater developments in the Departments of Islamic History and Culture, Urdu, Persian etc., and Muslim scholars won increasing laurels in other branches of learning as well. What he fiercely opposed was the injection of the virus of communalism into the body politic of the country.

Following the fall of the Muslim League Ministry in 1941, Mr. Fazlul Huq formed the Progressive Coalition Ministry. He invited Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee to join the Cabinet. Dr. Mookerjee accepted the offer, as he felt that by doing so he could stem the forces of reaction and obscurantism and do some good to the people. The Ministry came popularly to be known as the Shyama-Huq Ministry. Shyama Prasad held the Finance portfolio from December 11, 1941 to November 20, 1942. The Bhagalpur session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, scheduled to be held at this time, was banned by the Government of Bihar. Dr. Mookerjee as President of the session, was not going to take this unjust order lying down. He proceeded to Bhagalpur to defy the ban and was arrested under the Defence of India Rules but released subsequently. His tenure as Bengal's Finance Minister was, however, short-lived. Following the Quit India Movement (August 1942), a reign of terror was let loose in Midnapore and elsewhere by the British Governor and his henchmen, and Shyama Prasad resigned from the Ministry in protest.

During the Bengal Famine of 1943, which took a toll of several lakhs of human lives as a result of the short-sighted and heartless "boat denial" and other policies of the British Raj, Shyama Prasad organised large-scale operations for the succour of his unfortunate brethren. Again we find him standing by and guiding the students when they were locked in a violent clash with the police in course of the observance of the I. N. A. Day in Novem-

ber, 1945. During the Great Calcutta killing in August 1945, he formed the Hindusthan National Guard and exhorted the youth of Bengal to stand up to and stop the rape, loot and murder perpetrated by the Muslim League cohorts. In 1946 he was again elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the University Assembly. By that time it became evident that the partition of the country was soon going to be a fait accompli. Thanks to the raging and tearing campaign launched by Shyama Prasad and the nationalist press, a portion of Bengal was saved from the clutches of Pakistan and retained in the Indian Union when the country won freedom on August 15, 1947.

Because of his dominant position in the country's public life, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee had to be included in the Central Cabinet as Industries and Supplies Minister by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. It is not known to many that it was Shyama Prasad who resigned his membership of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and made room for Dr. B. C. Roy towards the end of December 1947. Thus Bidhan Chandra was returned unopposed to the State Assembly and guided the destiny of West Bengal for about a decade and a half as Chief Minister. Though a member of the Cabinet Dr. Mookerjee strongly opposed the government's policy of appeasement of Pakistan. The parting of the ways came early in April 1950 when the Nehru Liaquat Ali Pact was signed and the minority population in East Pakistan was thrown to the wolves in spite of persecution, molestation and murder on a mass scale. Dr. Mookerjee resigned from the Central Cabinet and devoted himself whole heartedly to the cause of the hapless refugees.

In his new role as the virtual leader of the Opposition in the Parliament after the first General Election in 1952, Dr. Shyama Prasad frequently clashed with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and his government for its weak kneed policy towards theocratic Pakistan, and its insipid

domestic and foreign policies. He also firmly opposed any measure which sought to restrict the Fundamental Rights of the people. Because of his superb Oratory and trenchant criticism of the foibles and failings of the Government, he came to be regarded as the Edmund Burke of the Indian Parliament. Meanwhile trouble was brewing in Kashmir. The Praja Parishad had started a movement in Jammu for full integration of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with India in view of the complete volte face effected by Sheikh Abdullah, in whom, strangely speaking, Jawaharlal still had implicit faith. But the unflinching patriot in Shyama Prasad could not rest content at this gravely disquieting turn of events. He started for Kashmir to personally take stock of the situation but was arrested (May 11, 1953) as soon as he crossed the Madhopur Check Post, for technical violation of the so-called "Permit System." He was confined in a private bungalow known as the Heather Villa above the Nishat Garden, Sreenagar. The whole country was profoundly shocked at the news that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee had breathed his last as a result of heart attack in the early hours of 23rd June, 1953. As Dr. M. R. Jayakar rightly remarked, "To die in prison house locked there by his country's Swadeshi Government, by persons with whom he shared power as a colleague only a few days ago, is a fitting termination of a warrior life." Shyama Prasad's mother, Lady Jogmaya Devi, wailed in anguish, "I had long dedicated my son for selfless service to the country, and my son sacrificed his life for the cause of the Motherland. . . But my son's courage proved greater than their malice, stronger than any torment their cruelty could devise. And he shall ever live in death, for while thinking of him I cannot but think of those martyrs who had died for the love of God or for a cause—martyrs who had died on the wheel, in the flames, under the sword, riddled with arrows, torn and devoured by wild beasts."

UPENDRA BHANJA

(A Poet of Orissa)

SUDHANSUSEKHAR ROY

It is occasionally dinnoed into our ears that Bhanja's poetry is nothing but words. Yes, words they are, but not a chaotic conglomeration of them, not an anarchy of meaningless utterances. They have a peculiar glory of meaningfulness though occasionally riotous, as there is riotous glory in the streaks of red gold in the evening sky.

Bhanja is not merely a juggler of words. Jugglery there is, quite in plenty, in all that he has written ; but that jugglery transcends itself into some bold utterances about life, into the bold and faithful declaration of his message, and sometimes into the mellow picture of some nostalgic experiences of human life.

Many things are attributed to Bhanja, that he was the propagator of a certain religious creed, that he made a determined effort to uphold the healthy tradition of conjugal life as against certain ascetic tendencies then prevailing in society or certain disintegrating forces let loose by some monastic order, soon and so forth. But we generally forget that Bhanja laid more stress on the enjoyment of life than on any ethical purposes. Beauty, whether in Nature or in human life had tremendous fascination for him ; and he would not scruple to appreciate it even at the cost of appearing to be vulgar. The endless charm that this human body is endowed with in spite of all the horrible decays that it undergoes lured the poet very much. His poetry at certain places was quite voluptuous, but that voluptuousness had a vigour of its own

because of its positive attitude towards the enjoyment of life particularly at a time when a cynical tendency of discarding every kind of mundane joy was considered as of supreme importance.

Born to a princely state and rich possibilities of carving out a permanent niche for himself in the annals of the royal dynasties of those days Bhanja preferred an eventless life of peace and quietude to the humdrum of the court and the palace. He shunned the much coveted kingship which was his due and retired into a sequestered life in order to devote himself fully to writing poetry.

That he was a great and earnest devotee of Ramchandra and that he subjected himself thoroughly to a code of religious penance and discipline in order to acquire the rare abilities of a supreme poet may be questioned. We derive all these informations from legendary sources only and in spite of stories mentioned here and there in his books supporting these facts we may still doubt the full import of such references. Yet, it must be accepted on all hands that Bhanja was above the common greed that people of his status might generally stoop to. He was above the common temptation and hence could easily tear himself away from the political turmoil and domestic feuds of the day without feeling in the least the pang that such wrenching would have caused him. Internecine skirmishes were the order of the day and even the life of a very upright man was not free from

such blemishes as jealousy, avarice and vanity. An eighteenth century Orissa was a cockpit and petty landlords known as princes and potentates were flying at one another's throat; but Bhanja was completely of different mettle. Beauty and poetry were his only passions; and to these two noble objects he entirely dedicated himself. Very quietly without any display of his renunciation, he retired to a secluded place and with calm earnestness he devoted himself to creating a new kind of poetry which bears, all throughout, the stamp of his great genius. His noble predecessors, Sarala and Jagannath had made Oriya language a pliable vehicle for conveying ideas and emotions. Bhanja added to it the stupendous possibilities for unfolding exuberant and variegated charm as well as compact vigour of great poetry.

In his hands words derived new dimensions and hence ideas in all his poetry are found to have been expressed with such great verse and at the same time with such great grandeur. They are found suave and at the same time magnificent, rich and also remarkably penetrating. He experimented with rhythms, rehapsodies and metrical patterns, imageries and thematic innovations with great courage and achieved extraordinary success in that. His poetry will show at certain places words and ideas leaping forward like a wild cataract and at certain other places moving to a crescendo. Somewhere again it will be found that words and feelings are coming so gently as to produce a mellifluous harmony of sorrow or tender brilliance of joy. Yet, as I have already said before hand, one must not conclude that rhetorics were his only stock in trade. No other poet in Oriya literature has been able

to show such rare blending of words and ideas as he has done.

We sometimes sneer at all that is medieval. But the medieval age had something majestic about it, Bhanja was writing poetry finishing one volume after another and opening up new vistas of poetic glory and poetic achievement during this medieval age. Since then nearly two hundred years have elapsed. But this passage of time has not been able to make us oblivious of him. He never appears as tucked away in a remote corner of the past. Time has simply failed to tarnish his fame and renown. He receives now abundant praise and adoration at the hands of all, even at the hands of his severe critics. And a very strange thing about him is that he is loved and adored equally, though in many cases fame and love are antagonistic to each other.

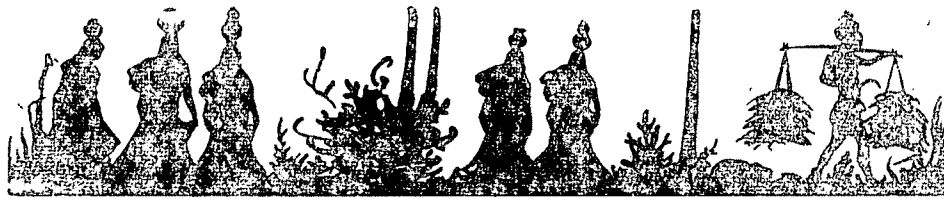
I have said already that he introduced certain epoch making changes. In the domain of Oriya poetry. As regards choosing themes for his poetry he broke away from the past. He no longer stuck to the trodden path of utilising only religious sentiments or scriptural themes for writing poetry. Religion as an other worldly interest had no fascination for him. He wanted to portray the charm and glory of the mundane life though not isolated or banished from spirituality. The charm of a bashful young lady, the lures of music that a lover would long to listen to, the robust and virile sincerity of a prince fighting with pride and prowess in order to gain immortal fame, these and a host of other marvels of this world had a tremendous impact on his imagination. Thus themes other than those derived from the ancient scriptures found a place of honour

in his creation. A Lavanyavati or a Premasudhanidhi was in those days, a clear departure from the beaten track. And this paved the path for future authors like Brajanath or Radhanath. But his immediate successors failed to understand or evaluate the full significance of such a departure. Of course they reaped the full benefit of his heroic enterprise as regards inventing a new vehicle for conveying ideas. An Abhimanya Samanta Srihara a Baladeva would assiduously drive their quill in order to create the magical effect of the same word-patterns that Bhanja had invented and so successfully used. But portray the mundane life! Oh! no, they would simply sting their shoulders and follow the old convention. But it must be mentioned to the great credit of Bhanja that his style held its indomitable sway for nearly a century.

And what had been said above about his tendency to draw the picture of all that is earthly is also amply borne out in his most voluminous work—Vaidehisha-vilasha. This book unfolds the perennial grandeur of that ancient theme, the story of Rama and Sita; and in this work also Bhanja has spared no pains to present the sweet

fragrance of this earth rather than the ethereal beauty of Heaven. Thus his Rama enjoys the same joy and feels the same inspirations as we, ordinary human beings generally do; and his Sita sheds the same tears of sorrow and anguish as a common woman does.

Very wrongly Bhanja has sometimes been dubbed a religious leader and thus the real charm of his poetry had been very unjustly ignored. New meanings as will suit our particular purpose or fancy have been read into his poetry. He has been made to uphold that cause which is dear to us and utter that message that we so eagerly wait to listen to. The whole gamut of his poetic gift has been ransacked in order to discover if there is anywhere an enthusiastic propagation of Rama cult or Krisna cult. It this is one extreme the other extreme is to try assiduously to show that there is nothing but obscenity in his work. And by steering clear of those two extremes we shall not only be able to do justice to this great poet, a peerless poet indeed in the whole realm of Oriya poetry, but also derive endless joy and inspiration from what he has written.



PEACOCK—THE NATIONAL BIRD OF INDIA

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The peoples of world have a deep fascination for the peacock (*pavo Cristatus*). "Proud as a peacock" is an often abused universal term, as it unjustifiably tries to equate human vanity with the serenity and glory of one of the most beautiful and cherished birds of mankind. India has made a proud claim on it to make it her National bird.

Dr. Zafar Tuteshally, an ornithologist of the Indian subcontinent states:

"A few years ago, The Peacock was selected as the National Bird of India. At that time there was a lively controversy among naturalists, both in India and abroad, about the merits of selecting the Peacock. Some said that the Great Indian Bastard should have been given the honor because it would help in the conservation of this fine, rare bird, endemic to India. It was pointed out that the Nene Goose was selected for the same reason in Hawaii, and the publicity which it thus received assisted the effort, of conservationists. Others referred to the fact that the Robin was the National Bird of England, which was not endangered by any means.,

The Peacock is a fitting choice for India, because it is held in reverence by the peoples of Indian subcontinent Pakistan India, Burma and Ceylon, as it has always had a hold on the imagination of these peoples, especially among Hindus and Buddhists. Peacocks are found in the rain forests from India-Ceylon to Vietnam and Indonesia.

Whole dynasties of Indo-Ceylon kings at

various Periods of history were named after this bird. Shan Jahan-the famous Mogul Emperor who made Delhi his capital (1658) built its greatest monuments, including the Jama Masjid (Great Mosque), Jag Mahal (one of the wonders of the world) and the Imperial palace, glorified this bird by naming the throne of Delhi after it. The inscription in the Emperor's private audience hall: "If there is a heaven on earth, it is this" (hall). The exquisitely proportioned public audience hall contained a solid gold, jewel-encrusted peacock throne, which was carried off in 1739 with other booty by the Persian General Nadir Shah, and Delhi fell into the hands of the British in 1803. Even today the shaky throne of Iran is called the peacock throne.

There are two species both found in deep forests, the common peacock of India and Ceylon, and the Burma-Thai-Vietnamese-Indonesian peacock natural to these regions. The white peacock is thought to be a mutation of the Indo-Ceylon species. The crested male of the common peacock, which is often kept in captivity, has a magnificent green and gold erectile train, modification of the tail coverts, adorned with an eye like blue-green spots. This magnificence it displays before the duller plumaged trainless hen during courtship.

There are many superstitions relating to the Peacock all over the countryside of India, Ceylon and South-Eastern Buddhist Asia, such as the amorous dance of the male bird with the coming of the rains. Visitors to Ceylon's famous Yala Animal and Bird

Sanctuary could actually see the amorous display of the male bird's feathers during their mating season in open places.

In the opinion of experts, in spite of their general shyness, peacocks become very tame and confide in areas like Saurashtra and Rajasthan where the people treat them with reverence. In the Sterling Gardens in the New York State one could find the peacocks, unmindful of the visitors or spectators, roaming all over the gardens in the summer months. Apparently they are housed in heated cages in the winter months and brought out to this communal garden in the summer.

In places where they are persecuted it is difficult to get near them, and they start to move away when one is still at a distance of 400 yards. In big forests in India, Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon; where they are not in touch with human beings and thereby not molested by humans, they are extremely shy and untrusting.

The Peacock has the reputation of gazing with stupefaction at any new object that comes within its ken. It is said that when leopards crawl up to them, and finally come into view, the birds stare at them as if hypnotized, and this makes it easy for the animals to pounce upon them. Col. Tytler tells an incredible story about his experience when stalking peafowl. He once came upon a bird that was so taken up with watching something else, that it allowed him to come quite near. He found that the Peacock was looking intently at a leopard that was slowly crawling up to it. Just as he raised his gun to shoot the animal, it suddenly threw up both its paws and shrieked out "Na Sir. No Sir don't fire," and the supposed leopard

turned out to be a professional hunter in a leopard's skin. These men had learnt that the easiest way to get near a peafowl was to pose as a leopard, by which means it was easy to get close enough to shoot them with bow and arrow.

It is extraordinary how a peacock with its gorgeous lengthy train can slip through scrub country without getting its feathers entangled in the undergrowth. It can be as sinuous as a snake in its movements, moving its body sideways in a most dexterous manner.

Peacocks are polygamous birds and, like all who shower their affections over many wives, they do not take their domestic responsibility seriously. The male takes no interest in either incubating the eggs or in looking after the young ones. His harem consists of two to five females; and the females hide their nest and their young ones very carefully from the male, who is reputed to ill-treat his mates during their period of confinement.

There is not much data about the life of peacocks in the wild, for we know little about their social life, and of their attachment to particular territories. George Schaller, the well-known ecologist, was in the Kanha National Park from December, 1963 to July, 1964. While he was studying tigers and deer, he took the opportunity of having a close look at the peafowl in the Park. He arrived at some interesting conclusions. The birds remained inconspicuous until mid-January, the sexes living separately, except the young birds which tended to stay in the company of hens.

About the middle of January the cocks suddenly came into prominence, and they started to call loudly, which indicated the

beginning of the breeding season. In the following month the cocks were mainly concerned with establishing a territory, and then courting the hens. After an initial period of prospecting, each adult cock would select an area of 400ft. to 600 ft. in diameter by late January or early February. Most cocks favoured territories with one side bordering the forest, and the other touching the territory of a neighbouring cock. Within his domain, each cock had a small area corresponding to a pulpit, usually a rock or termite mound on which it stood to show itself better, and to proc-

lain to all that he was both defacto and legal owner of the property. Apart from this prominent feature, the territory of each cock consisted of a small open area such as a road or patch of short grass on which he could court.

whenever two cocks met at the boundary of their territories, they walked parallel to each other 5 ft. apart, until suddenly one or the other turned away at a 90 degree angle swinging his long tail abruptly towards his opponent. This seems to be an intimidative display. When this proved to be an insufficient deterrent, they jumped at each other with slashing feet.



THE OFFICE OF OUR VICE-PRESIDENT

Prof. SUKUMAR DAM

There is no gainsaying the fact that the office of Vice-President is a unique feature of our parliamentary democracy. Such an office does not exist in other parliamentary democracies of the world. An office akin to this exists only in the United States of America. But there the system of government is not the same as ours. It is to be noted, in this connection, that the office of our Vice-President is analogous to, though not identical with that of the American Vice-President. In fact, there are vital differences between the Vice-President of India and his counterpart in the U. S. A.

Our Vice-President is elected by an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote. The election of the Vice-President differs from that of the President inasmuch as the Vice-President is not elected by the same electoral college as the President. The method of removal of the Vice-President is similarly different from that of the President. No formal impeachment is necessary for removing the Vice-President from his office. A resolution passed by an absolute majority in the Rajya Sabha and agreed to by a simple majority in the Lok Sabha is enough to remove him. It is worthy of note in this context that the Constitution of the U.S.A. provides for similar methods of election and removal for the President and the Vice-President.

Any Indian citizen who has completed the age of 35 years and is qualified for election as a member of the Rajya Sabha is eligible for election as the Vice-President of India. The

term of office of the Vice-President is 5 years. He is eligible for re-election and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was really elected for the second term in 1957.

Although the fundamental law of the land includes the Vice-President in the Union Executive it does not entrust him with any executive powers and functions as Vice-President. In the words of D. Basu (1), "No functions are attached to the office of the Vice-President as such."

The normal function of the Vice-President is to act as the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Here we have followed the American system. The Vice-President of the U. S. A. is the ex-officio Chairman of the Senate. Our Vice-President does not draw any salary as Vice-President, he draws his salary as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

Besides presiding over the Rajya Sabha, the Vice-President may be required to act as, or discharge the functions of, the President in certain contingencies. This function of the Vice-President may be described as a contingent function.

In the event of the occurrence of any vacancy in the office of the President by reason of his death, resignation or removal, or otherwise, the Vice-President shall act as President until a new President is elected and enters upon his office. Here is a departure from the American system in this respect. In the U. S. A. the Vice-President in these circumstances holds the office of President till the expiry of his predecessor's term of office. Eight Vice-Presidents have so far succeeded to the American Presidency in this way.

But in India a new President must in these circumstances be elected as soon as possible after, and in no case later than 6 months from, the date of occurrence of the vacancy. When the new President enters upon his office the Vice-President who was so long acting as President must revert to his office. To borrow the language of Asok Chanda (2), "Unlike in the U. S. Constitution, the Vice-President does not automatically become the President on that office falling permanently vacant. He acts merely as President, until arrangements can be made to hold an election. There occurred, in fact, a permanent vacancy in the office of the President by reason of President Dr. Zakir Husain's death on May 3, 1969, when Vice-President V. V. Giri was sworn in to function merely as the acting President of India.

Apart from a permanent vacancy, there may also occur a temporary vacancy in the office of the President. The President may be temporarily unable to discharge his functions owing to absence from India, illness or any other cause, in which case the Vice-President shall discharge the functions of the President until the date on which the President resumes his duties.

On a number of occasions the Vice-President discharged the functions of the President during such temporary absence of the President. The first occasion took place in June, 1960 when Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan performed the functions of the President during the 15-days visit of President Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Soviet Union. Again, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was sworn in to discharge the functions of the President on July 25, 1961, when Dr. Rajendra Prasad became temporarily incapable of discharging the functions of the President owing to his serious illness. As Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain performed the functions of the Presi-

dent temporarily on two occasions when President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had to undergo an eye operation in February, 1964 and again in March, 1965.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that President Dr. Rajendra Prasad had been abroad on five occasions during the tenure of his office. But only on one occasion such a stop-gap arrangement was made. Again, when President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was away on an official visit to the U. K. in the summer of 1963, no such arrangement was made. "It appears" observes D. Basu (3), "that the power to determine when the President is unable to discharge his duties or when he should resume his duties has been understood to belong to the President himself."

When the Vice-President acts as, or discharges the functions of, the President, he shall have all the powers and immunities of the President. He shall also be entitled to the same emoluments as the President. During any period when the Vice-President acts as, or discharges the functions of, the President he shall not perform the duties of the office of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and shall not be entitled to any salary payable to the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

The role of our Vice-President is not surely one of much significance in the constitutional system of the country. "The Constitution" as M. V. Pylee (4) says, "provides for a Vice-President whose role in the Government is comparatively insignificant." Although the Vice-President is the second highest dignitary of India, no functions and formalities are attached to his office. "The Vice-President" to quote the words of H. M. Jain (5), "has no functions of his own and no ceremony about himself. As the dignified part of the Constitution he is overshadowed by the President and as such cannot be a focus of citizens interest or attention."

It cannot, however, be denied that the office of our Vice-President has still come to be one of dignity and prestige. The eminence of the first two occupants of the office is mainly responsible for the same. As Dr. J. N. Lal (6) observes, "The office of Vice-President has come to acquire a position of respect in our constitutional system. Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Zakir Husain made their valuable contribution to making it what it is to-day. It may, however, be noted that in the absence of power, an office like this tends to be regarded as superfluous." What is, therefore, necessary is to increase the utility of the office of our Vice-President to the greatest possible extent.

Needless to say, the importance of Vice-Presidential office is much more genuine in the U. S. A. than in our country. The fact that the Vice-President may succeed to the Presidency in the event of the death, resignation or removal of the President has made the office of the American Vice-President potentially important.

In order to make the office of our Vice-President similarly important, it is suggested that an amendment should be made in the Constitution to provide that in the event of occurrence of any vacancy in the office of the President by reason of his death, resignation or removal, or otherwise, the Vice-President shall replace the President, as in the U. S. A., for the remainder of his predecessor's term of office. Suitable amendments should also be made to provide that the method of

election as well as removal of the Vice-President shall be the same as the President.

Apart from amending the Constitution, the utility of our Vice-Presidential office may be increased by other means. In recent years the stature of the office of the American Vice-President has been elevated considerably through statutory and extra-legal means. He is now not only included in the Presidential cabinet but a variety of diplomatic and executive duties are also assigned to him. Such things cannot of course be envisaged under a parliamentary system of government obtaining in our country. It is not, however, impossible to find ways and means to invest the Vice-President with some duties and functions within the limitations of our parliamentary system. In fine, our efforts should be to make the office of our Vice-President really an important one.

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- (1) D. Basu : Introduction to the constitution of India, 1966, p. 130.
 - (2) Asok Chanda : Indian Administration 1965, p. 46.
 - (3) Ibid, p. 131.
 - (4) M. V. Pylee : India's Constitution, 1967, p. 200.
 - (5) Vide his article on The Vice-President in the Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Vol. III, No. 1 (January-March, 1969), p. 114.
 - (6) Vide his article on The Vice-President Of India in the Indian Journal of political Science, July-September, 1967, p. 116.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE ON TOP OF THE WORLD

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKAR

My interest in mountaineering, wholly vicarious and bookish, was aroused in my childhood by the late Nripendrkrishna Chattopadhyay through his book entitled "Eimalaya Abhijan" (expedition to the Himalayas). Over many hours and for many days my heart ached over the mysterious disappearance of Irvine and Mallory. Yet even in those early days I wondered why there was no Indian in the Himalayan expeditions. We were too young to know the answer. A doubt often hurt my mind. Were we not capable of climbing the mountains? My children laugh at such questions which they consider to be silly. Why not? Now not only Indian men have distinguished in mountaineering, women—even teenaged school girls all on their own have conquered many mighty peaks; Yet in our young days these were but mere dreams. We had little in our contemporary life to give us confidence except the growing militancy of the freedom movement. Not unoften we used to turn to history to prop our self-confidence. No doubt that diffidence was largely the outcome of political subordination to the British who had forced us out of all active pursuits.

The elation that we felt when an all Indian team conquered the Mount Everest in 1965 can be easily imagined. No doubt, earlier also Indians like Tensing Norgay and Nawang Gombu had climbed the Everest in 1953 and 1963 respectively. Yet they had done so only as part of the British and American teams respectively. The full credit for the ascent of Everest by the Indian team led by Commander Kohli—which was the fourth authorized ascent of the Everest excluding the Chinese claim of having reached the top of Mount

Everest in 1960—laid all doubts to rest. The Indians had conquered the Everest with a bang having sent nine men to the top—a record; and once three persons at a time—another record; with an Indian claiming the first distinction of climbing upto Mount Everest twice—yet another record.

A. S. Cheema and Nawang Gombu reached the summit first on 20 May 1965. The second team composed of Sonam Gyatso, the oldest member of the team at 43, and Sonam Wangyal, the youngest person to have stood on the Mount Everest at 23, reached the summit on 22 May. The third team consisting of C. P. Vora and Ang Kami reached the summit on 24 May. The fourth party of H. P. S. Ahluwalia, ECS Rawat and Phu Dorji reached the summit on 29 May 1965.

What does one feel as one stands on the top of the world? The feelings vary as the evidence of the nine Indian summiters shows. Sonam Gyatso and Sonam Wangyal fell down on their knees and prayed. "I must confess, I was a little frightened. I was new to Everest, the mountain overwhelmed me. The fear of getting back safely was suddenly uppermost in my mind. It was the same fear which I had felt when I went first to the ice-fall. Gradually that fear had dissolved itself. But now it came back again", writes Sonam Wangyal (p 160). Ang Kami reportedly carried a pin-up picture of a film actress with which he wanted himself to be photographed on the summit but his companion C. P. Vora would have none of it. (p 170) Rawat prayed silently (p 199). He worshipped an idol of Devi Durga which he had brought from home and burned incense

before her." Phu Dorji gave me a rosary which I put around the idol. I kept five cubes of sugar in front of the idol and after completing my prayers, took away three of them as prasad. "Phu Dorji took out a silver locket which had a miniature photograph of the Dalai Lama and tied it to the American flag pole", he writes in his diary (p 200).

Ahluwalia had tears in his eyes : tears of joy and gratitude. He writes, "I left a photograph of Guru Nanak sent to me by my fiancée's mother and a rosary given to me by my mother. I also left my wrist watch tied to the American flag pole as my personal offering. To my surprise I found a pile of chocolate slabs under the Indian flag pole. None of the summiters had ever mentioned leaving chocolate on the summit. Leaving two slabs of chocolate there, I picked up four and kept them in my pocket. That, of course, I did with the leave of the 'Goddess Mother of the Earth.'" (p 200) (It is interesting to note that the ski-ing member of the successful Japanese Everest team in 1969 ate those chocolates left behind).

—Note added on 21 May 1970 by the writer.

I have quoted at length of the reaction of the summiters to enable the readers to know that men who have risked their lives to reach the top, feel and do when they attain that objective. Few of us are as hardy and as courageous as the mountaineers who climb lonely heights all by themselves. They are not ordinary men by any sense. The physical stamina alone has to be extraordinary. A member of the party had heart attack and had to leave almost at the beginning. Another, Major H. V. Bahugana (Bogie) was stricken when he was on his way to the summit and had to give up after climbing nearly 28000 feet of the needed 29028 feet ! (p 195) In 1960 three members of the first Indian Expedition—

Capt N. Kumar (who became the Deputy leader of the successful Expedition in 1965), Sonam Gyatso (the only person who has reached Mount Everest twice) and Nawang Gombu had to admit failure after climbing 28,300 ft. due to bad weather. Two years later in 1962 three members of the second Indian Expedition—Lt. M. S. Kohli (who became the leader of the successful Indian Expedition), Sonam Gyatso and Hari Dang had to beat a retreat having climbed 28,600, again due to inclement weather. Those who reach the Everest are thus men of exceptional courage and luck. To know their mind is a great privilege.

Everest Expedition is a time-consuming and costly affair. On 18 August 1964 Commander Kohli was selected leader and Lt. Colonel Kumar Deputy leader. After a lot of preparatory work had been done the selected team assembled in New Delhi on 11 February 1965. On 22 February the team left New Delhi by train for Jaynagar. On 26 February the trek began. The base camp (17,800 ft.) was set up on 22 March and the final camp (27,930) on 19 May. The summit was reached on 20 May, again on 22 May, 24 May and 29 May. The team returned to New Delhi on 23 June 1965 by air from Kathmandu. Commander Kohli has given a very vivid account of the expedition. Although he had earlier missed the Everest by a mere 428 ft. he denied himself the privilege of being included in the summit party. Another indomitable person was the Deputy Leader Lt. Col. Kumar who joined the team despite his serious toe injury which necessitated him to put on electrical heated socks with such distinguished mountaineers at the lead, the Indian team was poised to create history. And, no doubt, it did by placing nine persons on top of the Everest.

Another distinctive feature of the volume is the detailed chapters on organizing the

expedition that have been contributed by persons handling the respective assignments: Equipment and clothing, food, oxygen, transport, Sherpas, medicine, communications, photography, geology and imports. "Out of 810 porters, who made the caravan of our expedition", Colonel Kumar writes, "more than 300 were female porters. I, personally, would like to have only female porters if possible, as they create less fuss, drink less and make no trouble. It was a common sight on the approach march especially in the South Khumbu area, that the men-folk got drunk and their loads were being carried by their women-folk in addition to their own load; or, sometimes, after dumping their own loads at the destination, they returned to carry the load of their drunk men-folk." (pp 291-292)

There is a very interesting account provided by Group Captain Situ Mullick of how the news of the conquest of the Mount Everest was broken to the newsmen in New Delhi. Another interesting chapter is about the aerial flight over Everest by Sqn. Ldr. Neel Batra. The flight took place on 9 June 1965 within a fortnight of the fourth successful summit climbing on 29 May. The first aerial flight over Everest had taken place thirtytwo years earlier in, 1933 on 3 April. The first "authorized" and planned flight by the Indian Air Force Plane took place on 6 June 1953. Even in 1953

electrically-heated suits had to be worn by those in the plane to guard against the extreme cold of high altitude. By 1965 such a tremendous change had taken place in aviation that all the passengers could go to Everest in their summer clothes (p 237). "Instead of operating from an airfield much nearer the Everest region, this time it was possible to fly direct to the mountain, spend a considerable time there and reach back Delhi, all in a matter of few hours," he writes. (p 237).

This book is not only a record of the record set up by the Indian Everest Expedition but is also a guide book to the Everest. A small point. There is no mention in the chronology of Radhanath Sikdar who correctly established the height of Mount Everest for the first time in 1852.

The photographs, many of them in colour, greatly add to the value of the book. If I may suggest, this book ought to be translated into all languages and sold at a popular price to enable a wider Indian reading public to derive benefit out of it.

Nine Atop Everest (Story of the Indian Ascent) by M. S. Kohli. Orient Longmans Ltd, 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta—13. 1969 Pp xviii, 384 with monochrome and multichrome plates. Rs. 75.00.

IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(14)

In the evening we went over to Dinubabu's for the song session. Dinubabu expressed his concern over our young servant's sudden interest in singing. Whenever we were out, the boy would start his self-taught music lessons and drive our neighbours to distraction. We decided to control his ardour a bit.

Early next morning as we came out to the verandah, we noticed that the toy room, next door, was open and a mosquito net could be seen. We realised that the poet had returned by the night train. Minutes later he came out on the terrace to sit in meditation in the usual place. I had to rush in again for some household chores and when I came back, I saw Rabindranath coming down the stairs, with a plate of food in his hand. Some professors lived with their families in the small cottages around the poet's house. I watched the poet coming near Kshitimohanbabu's place. The children ran out to touch his feet and soon after, their mother came hurrying to take the plate from his hand. The poet returned to his dining room and came out again with some thing else in his hand. He seemed to be coming towards our house this time. When he was near enough, we noticed that he was carrying a large loaf of bread. We rushed out to welcome him. Placing the loaf in my sister's hands he said "Santa, I came to help you with your domestic duties—but this is an Islamic creation"

To those who have seen him only in his last years,—physically broken down—this pen-picture of the poet may seem unbelieva-

ble. But those who had known him in his glorious middle years, would recall in memory the wonderful days. Rabindranath's personality was many faceted, like a diamond help up to light. Any ordinary action would gain a particular beauty through his hands. He had composed, in his youth, a song—'Amaray korotomar Bina', 'make me your Bina'—and god had fulfilled his prayer indeed. This strange golden Bina had never struck a discordant note. He sat down and chatted with us on the wooden bench outside. The ashram women had formed a literary club and their hand-written journal, 'Sreyashi', was then in circulation. The name had been chosen by Shri Dwijendranath Tagore. The club allowed women of all age-groups to sing and to write and discuss literature for the association. We had had a meeting, most probably, the day before the poet's return. Santoshbabu's young sister Nutu had read out a small essay there. Rabindranath must have heard about it from someone, because he asked me, "What was the sermon delivered by Nutu the other day?" He talked with us for a few more minutes and then left to visit some of our neighbours. We watched him stop to chat before most of the cottages.

In the afternoon we were told that he would read out his 'kartar icchay karma'. But the reading was not done that afternoon, as he was to preside over the ashram-association meeting at that time. We would turn up at all the meetings held at the ashram, particularly when the poet was present. The meeting, was being held in the hall called

'Bithika-griha'. When we reached the place, there were so many inside that we could not go in. The boys pulled out a bench for us, near a window, and we sat to watch the proceedings for a while. After sometime we saw Rabindranath drive off in his motor car, towards Surul. We guessed that the essay-reading might be done in the evening. After our afternoon tea we went for a walk with Nepalbabu. Soon we saw streams of people coming towards the ashram from the direction of Bolpur. We waited there for news when some ashram boys stopped to inform us. They said, in all eagerness, that they had invited the Bolpur audience to come and hear the evening's lecture. Even the English padre of the local church was not excluded. Nepalbabu didn't seem too pleased--"What have you done?" he exclaimed. Anyway, we intended to take that evening walk, so we walked on. Almost immediately we heard the car coming and it soon stopped before us. The poet got out to ask Nepalbabu who had arranged about this unexpected audience. His face showed clear signs of displeasure. After a few brief words he went away while we marched at a quick pace towards the ashram. But it took us quite a while to come back, once we were in the Khoai dunes. We realised that the readings would start soon and we tried to take a short cut through the fields. We came near a railway crossing, but the gates were locked. My sister and I slipped through a narrow opening, but Nepalbabu had quite a struggle with it before he could escape. Then we lost our way and wandered about. It was a dark, moonless night and the idea of being lost for ever kept fleeing through our minds. At last

we came to a mud road and walking furiously over it, we soon found the main highway. We could hear the ashram bell from a distance. Near the ashram gate we saw a well built and comfortably cushioned bullock carriage waiting. "Disastrous!" said Nepalbabu and we realised that the unwanted guests had arrived. When we came near Natyaghar, we could hear the opening strains of "Desho desho nandito kori mandrito tobo bheri". We hurried in to sit down and were told that search parties had been sent out to bring us back in time.

After the song we eagerly turned towards the poet, to listen to his 'kartar icchay karma' Rabindranath came forward and said, "this evening I shall read for you, a poem I had written many years ago. Please don't expect me to read anything else afterwards." Then opening a book, he began to read "Gardharir abedan." I whispered to my companions, "What is the matter? They also whispered back, We'll tell you later". After the recitation the meeting came to a close with the singing of 'Jana gana mana adhinayaka'. The hundreds from Bolpur returned home, rather puzzled. Later we were told that the huge crowd had irritated him immensely.

Anyway, we did get to hear 'Kartar icchay karma', the next day and no outsider was informed about it. The ashramites gathered around him and Pandit Bidhushekhar Shastri came to preside over the meeting. It was a long essay and the reading took more than an hour. There were no songs afterwards, but the poet sang out the first line from "Desho desho nandito kori" and stopped. After the meeting the two of us strolled about, with a professor's baby-boy

in our arms. Rabindranath came to pat the boy's cheeks and asked us, "So, he is your pet? Afterwards he returned home.

Quite a few football teams used to come to play to Santiniketan in those days. I loved watching these football matches, as I had been a football player in my childhood. It was not quite proper to go near the field alone, so I went to ask Meera Devi. She was very busy then and could not come with me. "Why don't you take my ayah along?" She said, "How will the ayah protect her?" Remarked the poet from upstairs. Meera Devi did come along after sometime and we returned after the match was over.

We went and sat in Dinubabu's verandah in the evening—expecting songs. Hearing the shuffle of Japanese slippers we turned around to see Rabindranath. When we rose to greet him, he said, "Do sit down—I don't wish to upset you. Let us chat a bit." He sat down on the bench beside us. Kamala was standing by him. Pulling her down beside him he said, "Kamala, you sit here beside me. Let them see how close our friendship is. Let them talk about it in Calcutta." That threw us into fits of laughter. He did like Kamala Devi very much and mentioned this fact often. My father had once asked him to translate "Chirakumar Sabha" into English and he had retorted, "Really, Sir! You surprise me. How can they appreciate our humour? They have no relationships such as we know, between a man and his wife's sister. Take, for instance, my feeling for Kamal. Do you think they would understand it at all—if I write a story about it?"

Rabindranath's stay in the ashram was cut short again. News from Calcutta said

Bela Devi was very seriously ill. The poet left for Calcutta about the 30th of August. It was a Wednesday and the mandir held the prayers in the early dawn as we did not wish him to rush to catch the train.

Returning from the mandir we saw the luggage lying packed, before the house next-door. The car arrived soon after. Rabindranath came downstairs a few minutes later. After our pranam he blessed us and said that he would soon return. "You will be here and I shall see you again," he said. His little grand-daughter, Nandita, pulled at his fingers and he remarked, "She is asking for my hand it seems!" This was one of his favourite jokes about his grand-daughter. He left for the station soon after, as there were signs of a thunder shower and the train was to arrive soon.

In those days, the students and teachers, the poets relatives and the few permanent residents like us would live together and feel like one big family, in the ashram. None were considered to be outsiders and all shared each others moments of joy or sorrow. Sri Dwipendranath Tagore was a very warm and generous person. Being frail in health, he never went out much, but his front porch seemed to function as the local club! He always kept in touch with the others and gifts of fruit and sweets from his home were pouring in for us, constantly. We never seemed to stop eating them. My brother Ashoke had once remarked that everything about Santiniketan was wonderful but by far the best thing in it was Dwipendrabu's 'pantua'! When Dwipendranath heard about this, he made it a point to send Ashoke some 'pantua', whenever he visited the ashram.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Current Affairs

British Elections

The British Elections brought up the question of the relative merits of capitalism and Socialism. Those who believe in socialism, that is in the common ownership of production and the removal of various privileges, class rights and feudal ways of life; find it to be the ideal method of existence. Those who find capitalism satisfactory, do not admit its faults and think that individual freedom of enterprise guarantees human progress much more than the creation of collective rights could assure or achieve. In fact both socialism and capitalism have their good points as well as faults and much depends on the way these different types of socio-economic institutions are set up and operated. The evils arise quite often out of wrong use rather than from any basic or fundamental defects.

Those who criticise capitalism ascribe many faults to it which are not really and exclusively inherent in capitalism. Such as, some say that capitalism is responsible for Wars. It may be argued, in answer that there can be capitalism in countries which never engage in wars and there can be wars participated in by purely socialist countries. Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark, for instance, are capitalistic countries which never engage in wars. They do not belong to military blocs which might involve them in conflicts of a military kind. On the other hand China, which is a socialist country invaded

Tibet without being provoked in any manner and occupied that theocratic state by citing some alleged historical rights claimed by the Chinese emperors of the Ming period. If a socialist country can commit acts of aggression on the ground of imperial rights; no one can thereafter say that socialism avoids warfare or that socialist states have no love or respect for imperialism. Among other instances of socialists indulging in wars, one may mention North Korea, North Vietnam, the Russian attacks on Hungary and the attack on Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw powers. Both Russia and China have put down by force attempts at revolt by their associated states in Turkistan and other places.

The second charge against capitalism is that it causes famines. Admitting that this accusation is correct in so far as many great famines have occurred in capitalistic regimes in various countries; one has to point out that there have been great famines also in socialist countries. When Russia abolished private farming and made collective farming compulsory; cultivation was badly affected and in the great famine that followed about thirteen million people died of starvation in the U S S R. Other socialist countries have experienced famines too from time to time and one cannot establish any exclusive connection between capitalism and famines. There is no such connection between socialism and famines either.

Is poverty the result of capitalism? Had it been so all capitalist countries would have produced poverty on a fair scale. But there is evidence that many capitalist countries have little poverty. These countries are, among others, the USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden, West Germany, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland. The affluence of the common man in these countries is quite noticeable. On the other hand some socialist countries like China and North Korea have large numbers of very poor people.

Another charge against capitalism is that capitalist countries show racialism in a strong manner. The USA, South Africa and Rhodesia suffer from racialism and are capitalist countries. But the Chinese are extremely race conscious without being capitalistic. The French are quite free from this fault but are capitalistic. Racialism now affects many countries and not for the same or similar reasons. The UAR and the Israelis are both racialists. The UAR claim to be socialistic. The Israelis are clearly capitalistic. Racialism also has two meanings. One is prejudice against dark races and the other is just racial exclusiveness. There can be no connection between race consciousness and belief in private ownership of the means of production. Some socialists may be free from such prejudices; but so can be a number of capitalists.

The British elections may separate the socialistically inclined people of Britain from those who are not inclined that way. But, generally speaking, British socialism and British capitalism are not so sharply antagonistic as they are in other countries. The British are, as a rule, not a fanatical people. They have a rare mental balance which

enables them to be rational even when they are swayed by ideological considerations. That of course, happens very seldom with the British voters. They vote for a quid pro quo and do not bother about considerations which cannot be readily exchanged for a loaf of bread or a bottle of beer. So, no matter whether war, poverty, famine or racialism darken the horizon, the British look for their own material advantages when they vote for this party or that.

Commonwealth Games

The Commonwealth Games will be held this year in Edinburgh. It is believed that an Indian contingent of sportsmen and athletes will also participate in the Games. The Government of India controls all such participation in international sports meets by Indians, through their Ministries of Education and Finance. The Ministry of Education does its work through the National Council of sports which is a government appointed body making grants of money to various sports federations and arranging coaching through high salaried coaches of world standing. Technically however the National Council of Sports has no standing in the field of international sports competitions. For the International Olympic Association does not recognise the right of any government to interfere in the selection of national sports representatives for international competitions controlled and managed by the Olympic organisation. The National Council of Sports, therefore, should not try to influence the selection of teams of sportsmen and athletes who will represent India at the Commonwealth Games or, for that matter, any other sports meet of an

international competitive type. Such selections both of numbers and of personnel should be made exclusively by the Indian Olympic Association, who in their turn should be guided by the choice of the various National Federations.

In actual practice, the Ministries of Education and of Finance usually tell the Indian Olympic Association to cut down this team or that of this game or that sport and also suggest how they should change one man for another. This is done through the National Council of Sport. This council is composed of persons nominated by the Government and the persons so nominated are usually selected for reasons other than knowledge and experience of games and sports. The rule laid down by the International Olympic Association relating to non-interference in selections by government officials, is quite clear and makes it obvious that the Government of India's actions in the sphere of controlling games and sports are not in keeping with correct international practice. The Government of India does not pay for most of the expenses of the National Federations which organise and manage the different games and sports. They possibly make ad hoc grants which work out at about 20 to 25 per cent of all expenses incurred by the Federations. Whatever that may be the Government cannot expect to dictate to the Federations or to the Indian Olympic Association just because they hold the whip-hand in the matter of giving permission to obtain foreign exchange. But those who know the lay out always say that the Government officials concerned with the grant of permits for foreign exchange work on the assumption that the Government

should have a say in the matter for which the foreign exchange is granted. And that is where the violation of Olympic rules would be occurring. Sooner or later this will come to the top and the Government of India will have to face a situation which will be very unpleasant for them.

Earthquake in Peru

Natural calamities can be utterly devastating at times. The earthquake in Peru has been one such terrible disaster. In this earthquake two mountain towns each with a population of about 40000 have been more or less wiped out. The reason for this was the bursting of the dams of Lake Llanganues. Another city, Huaraz was almost totally destroyed. It had a population of 80000. The earthquake was so severe that only piles of debris now stand where houses stood before. Flooding has been quite extensive and even air supplies could not be made easily on account of the destruction of air fields. The death roll has been heavy. Some say about 35000 thousand persons have died. Whatever the immediate and direct casualties might be, the indirect consequences would cause much suffering to the people of Peru over long decades. It would take years of hard work to replace the houses, places of work, sanitary arrangements, machinery, transport vehicles, water supply fittings and other aids to civilised living. A disaster of such magnitude leaves a long trail of after effects ranging over long years.

U A R and Israel

The Russians are giving military assistance to the United Arab Republic in a lavish manner. But they are not satisfied

with the Arab handling of the weapons supplied by them, and are therefore supplying personnel too for the safe and expert handling of these weapons. The Russians are therefore getting involved in the war more than they would like to be. We don't know whether the Russians are staying outside the frontiers of Israel and attacking only such Israeli soldiers as are going beyond their own frontiers to damage UAR centres of industrial and military importance. Most probably they are taking that precaution and thus avoiding any accusations of launching attacks on Israel with which country the USSR are at peace. But any large scale use of Russian personnel by the UAR would surely put the Russians in a difficult position at any time. This would induce the Americans to send American airmen to bomb UAR territory. Thus the possibility of a third world war will become greater.

Cambodia

The War in the Far East has shifted its centre from Vietnam to Cambodia. Here forces of Communism and Democracy are facing one another in a manner which is not quite clearly known to outsiders. The American forces are quite large in this area and the South Vietnamese supporting the non-Communist Cambodians are also fairly extensive in number. The Viet Cong that is the Communists are aligned quite forcefully against their enemies. Upto now, the anti-Sihanouk court faction supported by the forces of America have been having things in their own way. It gives the world an idea that the Communists have been defeated in Cambodia by the forces of the USA.

But this is more wishful thinking than based on clearly understood realities. Chances are that the Communists are organising their forces in a suitable manner after studying all factors. The easy victory that the Americans and the South Vietnamese claim makes the suspicion that it is not a real and final victory, doubly strong. Prince Norodom Sihanouk also runs a government of Cambodia from Peking with the approval and support of the Chinese. This makes the position of Cambodia more intriguing and one expects developments. Surely, one says to oneself, there are surprises in store for those who think they have won the fight in Cambodia.

That is as may concern the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong forces who are the only Communists known to be fighting in that far eastern corner of South east Asia. But there have been heavy movements of Chinese troops too in that part of the world. That is a sign of Chinese fears of extension of the War in South East Asia. The world situation being what it is with Russian operated planes bombing Israeli positions and America supplying scores of fighter bombers to Israel; one looks for unexpected developments in all fields where Communists fight non-Communists. The battle fields of South East Asia are also suitable for increased war efforts by both sides. The Chinese have allowed Prince Norodom Sihanouk to form a Cambodian Government in Peking, thus admitting their interest in Cambodia. If now Cambodia prepares for battle on an expanded scale, China may easily get drawn into it. That will surely magnify the fight and make it a war of proper dimensions.

(Continued from page 408.)

houses that are centred at Calcutta, have been well established over long decades ; and the removal of Assam tea from Calcutta auctions will upset the commerce in tea to a great extent. It may even affect the world purchases of Assam tea, contrary to the expectations that the Assam government may now be harbouring. It may also encourage the production of coarser varieties of tea in West Bengal in the Terai areas, which may be used in place of Assam tea by the blenders who now buy Assam tea. The Calcutta port may also adopt retaliatory measures which may make it cheaper to export tea from Calcutta thus neutralising the savings that tea exporters are now being promised by the Assam government and the Kandla port authorities.

The idea of producing matching qualities of heavy liquor tea, similar to Assam tea, in West Bengal should be considered seriously by the Government of West Bengal, for that doubtless will help Calcutta port to maintain

its traffic in tea. There will be other plans made by rival ports and new schemes thought out by the central or other governments to create advantages for different ports and states at the cost of Calcutta and W. Bengal. For no matter what "national" purpose such destruction of Calcutta's trade and commerce may serve, the people of West Bengal may not like to be martyrs to these man made causes. We believe the Bengalis have already suffered much for India's political advancement. The suffering has been very real and the advancement quite conjectural. There is therefore not much faith among Bengalis in national plans and schemes which bring gain to some and loss to many. It has to be admitted that some Bengalis are responsible for the development of situations which are not conducive to the easy functioning of the nation's economic institutions. But that cannot justify the victimisation of the entire population of the state. Particularly when many people think that the situation in Bengal has been mainly a by product of unwise national planning and unfair use of the powers vested in national ministries.

Indian Periodicals

Labour's Share in Industry

The following are extracts from the editorial comments in the LABOUR BULLETIN of the Coordinating Committee of Independent Trade Unions :

MR. SANJIVAYYA, the Labour Minister of Union Government has proposed a new step towards labour policy of the Government.

The sharing of the Management and co-partnership in industry on the basis of distribution of shares to the labour is not approved by the American Labour and British Trade Union Congress. This scheme is of course half-heartedly accepted by the German Trade Unionists and also practised by Law in Yugoslavia. Recently the new President of the French Government declared that 50 per cent of the shares of industrial units should be distributed among the workers. There also the workers sold off the shares distributed to them to the brokers, thus they rejected it indirectly. Instead of sharing the Industry and Management, the workers in U. S. A. and U. K. believe in increasing the profits and production and sharing profit and production bonus. Even though their wages, in comparison with Industrial Labour of India is hundred times more, still they refuse to become co-partners in industry and sit on the side of Management.

In our country the labour is paid only that much which can barely feed them for

a day so that they can come back alive the next morning. In such a condition when the profit is not shared either by the private sector or by the public sector, the worker will not have that enthusiasm to buy the shares and to sit on the Management Board, but if they concede to the new scheme they would further axe their own interest.

In our country the labour laws have multiplied giving much scope for victimization of the Trade Union Organisations. As the Industrial relation in our country is not harmonious, Industrial disputes have increased. There are more than one union organised and managed by the outsiders and the politicians. It is also to be noted that the central trade union organisation have no common programme for the benefit of the workers of our country. The Central Trade Union Organisation is busily engaged in splitting their own organisation on ideological and political grounds and run down each other, but join hands to exploit organised labour to achieve their own political ends. How then, the co-partnership in industry be possible in India ?

The Government is also not taking any positive steps to bring any internal reform to discipline the labour organisation, before introducing such a scheme.

We have our own doubt that this scheme which apparently look more progressive and liberal would create complications. We doubt the success of this scheme.

Referring to the statements (published elsewhere) we heartily welcome the scheme proposed for Family Pensions and appeal that the same should be improved and implemented without any political strings.

We also welcome the reforms which are proposed to be introduced for farm labour. We appeal to all the liberal and genuine trade unionists who have been dedicating their entire life for the labour movement, in building up collective bargaining strength, for the welfare of workers to bring prosperity of the Industry and trade to improve the standards of living of workers thereby. We positively believe that if industry is running in profit due to higher production because of the efforts of Labour, we can share the profit by our collective strength.

Revolt of Youth in Europe

Sibnarayan Ray, writing in *THE RADICAL HUMANIST* analyses the nature of the revolt of youth in Eastern and Western Europe. We are reproducing portions from his article. :

Common to this world-wide phenomenon of rebellious youth are certain features like the intense feeling of bottled frustration, the passionate rejection of conformity and power bureaucracy, and, in the words of Sartre, "the urge to extend the limits of the possible." However, there are also significant differences caused largely by circumstantial factors.

Thus in Europe, youth revolt seems to have taken almost opposite forms in the two halves of the continent. In East Europe young men and women are becoming increasingly liberal and pragmatic, and opposed to Communism. On the one hand they demand

the end of the Soviet Union's colonial overlordship over its satellites; on the other, they cry for greater democracy, liberalisation and legality in their own countries. The potent combination of nationalism and democracy has given to the unrest of youth in East European countries a distinctly positive and purposeful orientation. One of its first powerful expressions was the spontaneous uprising in Hungary in 1956, and although it was ruthlessly crushed by the Red Army the spirit has proved to be infectious. In Poland, despite Gomulka's repressive measures, Warsaw University continues to seethe with discontent. The anti-authoritarian manifesto of Kuron and Modzelewski, the liberal writings and lectures of Leszel Kolakowski, the widespread student demonstrations which followed the expulsion of the student leader Michnik in 1967, bear witness to the growing hostility of Polish youth to the Russian-supported Communist regime. In Czechoslovakia, the revolt of the youth succeeded at one stage in replacing the Stalinist regime of Novotny by the democratically inclined leadership of Alexander Dubcek. In this case, too, the movement has been suppressed by the Russian military political intervention, but this has widened the gulf between the Communist establishment and the young generation of Czechs.

In the countries of West Europe however, the revolt is mostly negative and shows strong anti-liberal traits. The German student movement led by the S. D. S. committed in its own words to *PROVOZIERENDE IRRATIONALIST* (provocative irrationality); it is not only against monopoly and bureaucratism, but also against democratic stability and reform by negoti-

As leader Rudi Dutschke is an advocate of all-out destruction by violent means. Although the Communist underground in West Germany has been trying to gain control of the S. D. S. the spirit behind the youth movement there is pronouncedly nihilist. Instead of liberalising the admittedly conservative regime, the aggressive irresponsibility of the S. D. S. threatens to destroy the weak foundations of post-war German democracy and to help unwittingly a neo-Nazi resurgence.

In France, too, the young rebels of Nanterre and Sorbonne were moved more by a passion for destruction than by any positive concern for tangible improvements. Of course, there was good reason to resent the government's arrogant and all-embracing paternalism; and the French education system is oppressively anachronistic. But the student uprising initially led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit would not be satisfied short of complete overthrow of the existing system. The discontent is genuine, but while it makes a mystique of violence it refuses to accept

the responsibility of making constructive proposals. As the French sociologist Raymond Aron has pointed out, violence in France has become the orgasm of the young.

The basic difference between the student leaders of East and West Europe came out very sharply at some of the television programmes of the BBC devoted to student revolt. Questioned by the interviewers the former were able quite clearly and persuasively to formulate their demands—free and secret elections, abolition of censorship and secret police, introduction of multi-party system, open trial etc. But the latter could speak only vaguely though passionately about the need to uproot the existing systems without suggesting any feasible alternatives. Their vision is essentially apocalyptic. The present society of alienation must perish of a violent death; only then will humanity regain its lost soul, and a society sustained by love and creative imagination spontaneously emerge.

Sickness in W. Bengal Collieries

Sakti Gorai, Research Officer, Asansol Plan Organisation, writing in COAL FIELDS TRIBUNE gives us the following information relating to sickness and deaths recorded by the Asansol Mines Board of Health.

Diseases	No. of cases		Deaths	
	1931-32	1965-66	1931-32	1965-66
1. Cholera	172	45	91	12
2. Small-Pox	20	21	2	1
3. Typhoid	121	—	6	—
4. Malaria	9684	70	69	Nil
5. Other fevers	6259	52879	54	3
6. Tuberculosis	26	305	16	4
7. Pneumonia	470	1486	183	5
8. Influenza	2896	38260	10	1
9. Other Respiratory diseases	2834	33169	66	5
10. Dysentery & Diarrhoea	3564	80322	61	3
11. Other causes	—	63418	—	16
12. Accident	5054	14726	53	19
TOTAL	31100	284701	611	69

It can be observed that though there have been marked decline in case of preventible diseases like Cholera, Small-Pox, Malaria etc. cases of 'other fevers,' Pneumonia, Influenza Gastro-intestinal diseases, Tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases continue to dominate the scene. In fact the number of incidence of these diseases have increased considerably. The situation calls for hygienic environment and hygienically pure drinking water apart from other health measures.

Occurrence of respiratory and other pneumoconiotic diseases can be attributed to the pollution of inhaling air by coal dust, an unavoidable element of mining operations. The late recognition of the coal miners' pneumoconiosis could be seen from a memorandum submitted to the Labour-Investigation Committee 1944 which stated that, 'the Health authorities ignore the existence of silicosis in their published reports and it is probable that many deaths resulting

from it lie hidden in the unsorted blo respiratory diseases, which occupy imposing place in Indian vital The report on 'Pneumoconiosis in the Mines in Jharia and Raniguni coal (1961) by the Director General of Factory Advice Service and Labour Institutes based on a survey of 'silica content of coal' in coal mines and radiological examination of 920 miners revealed 'slightly high prevalence of Tuberculosis and pneumoconiosis as stated that' in dust suppression lies the ultimate control and prevention. The recommendations included periodic medical and X-ray examinations and administrative of extensive dust suppression methods.

Commenting on air-Pollution the Health Survey and Planning Committee headed by Dr. A. L. Mudaliar mentioned that very little information is available to day on the degree of contamination' and emphasized need for research in this direction.

ERRATUM

The volume numbers printed in the first pages of this Review from January to May 1970 should be CXXXVI and not CXXVII—VI as printed by mistake.

Foreign Periodicals

Economic Crisis in U S A

The circumstances which normally bring about an economic crisis are not present in the U. S. A. But a crisis is impending and may start sweeping on the markets of the world at any time. The NEW STATESMAN says :

The Wall Street slide, which has been gathering momentum for 18 months now threatens to shoot over the precipice..... since governments whatever their complexion, now claim credit for economic success, they are universally expected to act decisively to avert economic failure. The inaction and complacency of the Nixon regime is now the biggest single factor in transforming worried investors into panic-stricken idiots. "Why don't the Nixon people wake up?" A New York broker said "This is what capitalism is all about" but one of the troubles about capitalism is that it makes up new rules as it goes on. The old assumption that military spending kept American economy going has blown up in the Administration's face. It was Mr. Nixon's decision to extend the war to Cambodia which detonated the latest wave of selling. LBJ's Vietnam war first imperilled the dollar, now Nixon's Indochina war threatens to jam the industrial economy itself, as money goes underground to join the peaceniks and GI deserters. There is no doubt that the US faces an economic crisis more severe than any since the Second World War. The rise

in real national income has been levelling out since the spring of 1968, it has actually fallen since last autumn. At the same time the rise in prices to the dumb founded dismay of the White House "experts" has accelerated. Unemployment has reached 4.8 per cent of the work force, concentrated most heavily among the blacks, the young and the unskilled. The balance of trade has slipped into deficit, and the overall balance of payments is far worse.

It is no longer true that when America sneezes the rest of the world catches pneumonia. But clearly if America catches pneumonia the rest of the world may get a very bad cold. The US economy alone still produces two-fifths of the entire "free worlds" industrial output and its imports are one-seventh of total world trade. Britain, despite its present healthy position, could get caught in a very nasty draught. Not only does the US directly account for one-eighth of our total exports, but its prosperity powerfully affects the well being of all our overseas markets. Even our present massive external surplus, let alone our slow rate of economic growth, would not survive a real slump in America.

This is a man-made crisis and it can be stopped by men, if they have the wisdom, the power and the willingness to act. But how much has really been learnt this last 40 years? The combination of Keynesian economics and wartime full employment has banished the trade cycle and slumps from

the textbooks; governments have advanced from the crude task of ensuring work for every able-bodied adult (more or less) to the sophisticated business of accelerating economic growth while stabilising prices and the payments balance.....

To make matters worse, the Americans have believed until recently in a magic potion as cure: if the money supply were increased at a rate equal to the underlying growth rate of the economy, all would be well...full employment, steady prices, stable growth the lot... ..

The US may soon be living through a laboratory experiment in misjudged economic policy. A typical 19th century monetary crisis could be upon us with a flight into money (in spite of rising prices), a collapse of asset values and paper wealth, a vicious cut in investment, output and employment and unpredictable consequence for American society.....The best hope both for Wall Street and the American economy in general lies in monetary expansion to restore business liquidity quickly, fiscal expansion to stimulate steady demand prices and income policy to restrain inflation, and an end to the current madness in Indochina to restore confidence in the Administrations sanity. All this is a very tall order.

"Class war" in Russia

The Guardian Weekly published an interesting account of what goes on in Communist Russia about school and college admissions by "influencing" the authorities. The writer is Victor Zorza. We quote passages from this account:

"Russian parents who misuse their wealth or position to get their children into the

Universities have been warned by "Pravda" twice this month against this unsocial temptation.

"As the summer comes near, with its end of the year examinations in the schools, and entrance examinations in the Universities of Soviet society, and those who are less favoured, reaches its annual climax."

"The 'Pravda' warnings were addressed to parents who bribe their childrens' way into colleges, and to those who obtain exemption from examinations on grounds of nervous strain.' These are some of the more obvious stratagems. But there is also the 'Telephone call from above' to the head of a Moscow college, as mentioned in 'Izvestia' which secures admission for properly educated students.

"'Izvestia' did not say how far 'above' the call came from, but it was less revealing about the several dozen parents who provided evidence in a Moscow court last year of the bribes they have paid to the College authorities. It represented these as purely Commercial Transactions arranged by parents determined to get their children into college 'at any price'—such as, for instance, the offer of a plot of ground in the holiday resorts of the Black Sea Coast. Five of the teachers were sent to prison for terms upto 15 years. One parent was given a suspended sentence of one year. Their social and official positions were not disclosed.

.....The new Prime Minister of the Azerbaijan Republic...dismissed a number of his Ministers for grave misdemeanours announced.....That the 'children of some higher officials' had received graduation diplomas with the connivance of the Azerbai-

jan Minister of Education, although they had not qualified for them.

.....

"Out of nearly 1200 students who had taken the entrance examination, 200 were found to have received higher grades than they deserved. But the examination papers of others had been deliberately destroyed, so the investigators could not establish the full extent of the scandal.

.....

"A girl who failed her entrance examinations to a Teacher's College was admitted nevertheless, said 'Izvestia' earlier this year, because she had 'influential parents.' Another report, from the Odessa Institute of Technology said. that the examiners had been furnished with a list of students—with the Dean's knowledge—to whom they were to give higher grades.

"At first this was done only for 'acquaintances', later for those who were willing to pay bribes. The 'Pravda' article this month reminding colleges of 'the flood of applications' which will be reaching them shortly, described the case of an engineering college which had admitted 20 students for bribes ranging between 1500 and 2000 roubles.....

.....

"The recurrent condemnation of such practices in the Press shows how anxious the Soviet leaders are to stamp them out. But the need to repeat these warnings, year after year, shows how ineffective they are. The same leaders who give instructions to the press will, no doubt make every effort to secure the best education for their children: parents are the same the world over."

War on Poverty in the U S A

It is very fashionable in India to talk about declaring a total war on poverty. It sounds very necessary too as poverty seems to be the common factor of Indian life for the vast majority of India's inhabitants. The average Indian income being Rs 300/- per annum one may say with no fear of contradiction that the average Indian cannot ever eat one good meal a day. In the United States of America conditions are entirely different. But even then Prof. R. Ferguson writing in the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW said that "In January 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson asked for declaration of an 'unconditional war on poverty in America' Although the nation was enjoying the highest standard of living in the history of mankind, the President stated, some 35 million citizens, nearly a fifth of the population, had incomes too low, to permit them to live at 'minimum standards of decency'. Responding to the President's call to arms against privation, the Congress enacted a variety of measures to stimulate employment, improve educational facilities, provide job training, increase health care, foster community and area rehabilitation, and combat racial discrimination.....

"To-day, the tally of 'poor' Americans approximates 2.2 million persons, nearly 40 per cent fewer than when the 'war on poverty' started. Whereas the 'poor' comprised 19 per cent of the population in 1965, they constituted less than 12 per cent at the close of 1968.

"In the United States two measures of poverty have been employed in recent years. One introduced by the Council of Economic Advisers, defines 'poverty' for a family

regardless of size as income below \$3000 a year and for an unrelated individual as income below \$1500." (This works out at Rs 22500/- and Rs 11250/- respectively in Indian currency). The statistics provided by prof. Ferguson are illuminating.)

Money Income of Families and Individuals

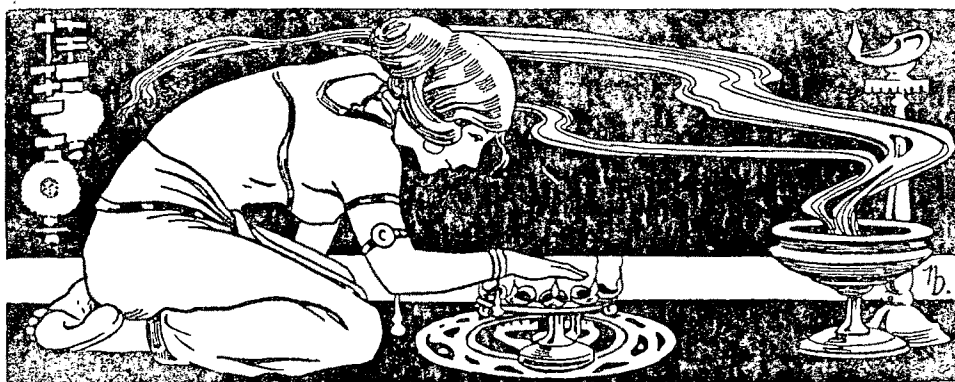
Year	No. of Families in millions	Median Income \$	Incomes below No. \$3000 in million	Indi with below \$1500
1947	37.2	4531	10.2	
1952	40.8	4893	10.0	
1957	43.7	5889	8.9	
1962	47.0	6587	8.3	
1967	49.8	7974	6.2	

The figures clearly show how family incomes have gone up steadily since 1947 and how fewer and fewer families earned incomes below \$3000 per annum.

In 1959 out of 176479900 persons in the USA only 38940000 belonged to the 'poor' group. In 1967 out of 195677000 persons 26146000 were 'poor'.

The 'poor' families in the USA are considered poor with their annual incomes of nearly 22500 rupees per annum because they have to spend about \$1000 per annum on food. That is 33% of their income goes in buying food. In India most families

spend more than 75% of their food. Many Indians spend 90% of their income on food. Ideas of poverty differ. The USA handle their 'poverty' problem by providing employment opportunities, arranging for better education and training and by making people conscious of their production potential. In India where utter misery prevails in the majority of homes, nothing is really done to ameliorate the condition of the people.



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